This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

FOR

OCTOBER 1903: JANUARY 1904

VOLUME LVII

LONDON
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
SPOTTISWOODE & CO. LTD., NEW-STREET SQUARE, E.C.
1904

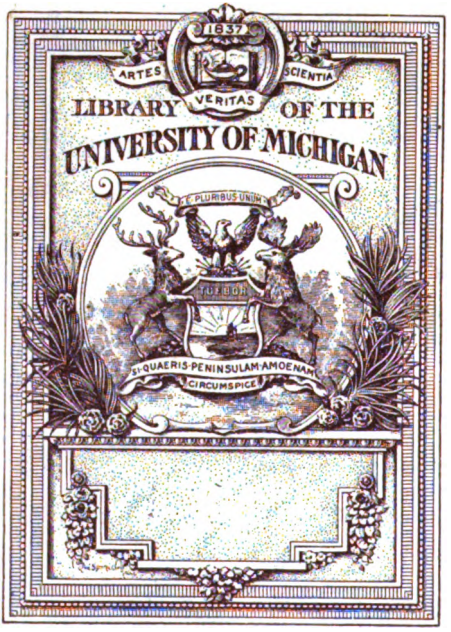
n, and
een as-
r actual
f these
d reply
tion of
loubted,
n grow-
'sign of
counts of
reparing
arly date
iraculous
, 295; St.
with their
chmiedel's
miracles,
historical
rection, 298

our Lord,
the Syriac
Mr. A. J.

Testament,

ndon, The,
ive British
414; plans
liment, 415;
rsities need
for a liberal
great centres
provision of
professions,
nt of know-
f recent in-
on, 419; of
es and Col-
of the Uni-
n, 421; its
lack of en-
ed of an ap-
and of pro-
s, 426; the
the claim on
he 'Faculty'
'Board' of
ers, 429; a
students for
g's College:
dvance of its
ressing need
33

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

11369

FOR

OCTOBER 1903 : JANUARY 1904

VOLUME LVII

LONDON
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
SPOTTISWOODE & CO. LTD., NEW-STREET SQUARE, E.C.
1904

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CHURCH WORSHIP AND CHURCH ORDER	1
THE GOLDEN LEGEND	29
THE HOLY EUCHARIST: AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY. PART VIII.	52
WELSH METHODISM: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH	80
A PURITAN UTOPIA	101
JOAN OF ARC	131
SOME NOTES ON THE CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA	146
THE IMPERIALISM OF DANTE	167
THE CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA	241
A PHILOSOPHY OF PHRASES	257
THE CRITICISM OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS: THEIR HISTORICAL VALUE	284
MONOTHEISM IN SEMITIC RELIGIONS	300
A JESUIT PHILANTHROPIST. FRIEDRICH VON SPEE AND THE WÜRZBURG WITCHES	318
CHARLOTTE MARY YONGE	337
THE HOLY EUCHARIST: AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY. PART IX.	360
THE EDUCATION ACTS AND AFTER	396
THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON	414
SHORT NOTICES	188, 435
INDEX	493

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº CXIII. *October* 1903.

Art. I.—CHURCH WORSHIP AND CHURCH ORDER.

1. *Declaration of Clergy on Ritual, with the Names and Addresses of those who have signed it.* (London: W. Knott, 1903.)
2. *Statement made in Introducing the Deputation to the Archbishops.* By the Rev. H. Russell Wakefield. (Privately printed.)
3. *The Guardian*, July 15; *The Record*, July 17; *The Church Times*, July 17, 1903.
4. *The Church of England. An Appeal to Facts and Principles.* By the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's, and the Rev. Darwell Stone, M.A., Principal of Dorchester Missionary College. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1903.)
5. *The Relation of Church and Parliament in regard to Ecclesiastical Discipline.* By Walter Howard Frere, of the Community of the Resurrection. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1903.)
6. *The English Liturgy.* Being the Office for Holy Communion according to the Use of the Church of England: the Order of Administration, with the Music necessary to the Priest: the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels pointed for Singing: the Kalendar, and the Rubrics and Canons

Digitized by Google

bearing on the Office. Together with Additional Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the lesser Holy Days and for Special Occasions. With a Preface by the Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER. Edited by PERCY DEARMER, M.A., Vicar of S. Mary the Virgin, Primrose Hill, with the assistance of WALTER HOWARD FRERE, M.A., of the Community of the Resurrection, and SAMUEL MUMFORD TAYLOR, M.A., Canon and Precentor of St. Saviour's, Southwark. (London: Rivingtons, 1903.)

7. *The Church of our Fathers.* As seen in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury. By DANIEL ROCK, D.D., Canon of the English Chapter. A new edition. Edited by G. W. HART and W. H. FRERE, of the Community of the Resurrection. (London: John Hodges, 1903.)
8. *The Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers.* Edited by VERNON STALEY, Provost of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew, Inverness. *Hierurgia Anglicana.* Part I. 1902. Part II. 1903. *The First Prayer Book of King Edward VI.* 1903. (London: The De La More Press.)
9. *Choralia.* A Handy Book for Parochial Precentors and Choirmasters. By the Rev. JAMES BADEN POWELL, M.A., Exeter College, Oxford, Precentor of St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge. With an Introduction by the Rev. HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral. Second Edition. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1903.)

DURING the last two years we have refrained from making any direct comments on the various disputes which have prevailed in the Church of England. There were often many things which we should have liked to say. We were indignant at the palpable injustice of much that we heard, and at the open disloyalty exhibited in more than one direction. But when we asked ourselves the question what good anything that we said would accomplish, we felt so doubtful about the answer that the wisest course seemed to be silence.

Digitized by Google

There are times when it is better to possess one's soul in patience, and wait until an opportunity occurs which may lead to a real solution of what lies at the root of the difficulty.

The cause of the present disputes largely is that it is impossible to govern a Church in the twentieth century by rules and laws which have been practically unchanged since the sixteenth. However excellent our judges may be, they would find it difficult to apply the law of real property in a rational manner if they had only enactments of the reign of Queen Elizabeth to interpret, no continuous tradition of cases to guide them, nor any legislation to amend their decisions. The real question before the Church is, How ought Divine Service to be conducted so as to promote, in the very widest sense of the word, the edification of the people? The apparent question is, What is the interpretation of certain rubrics passed some hundreds of years ago, which were probably in many cases intended from the first to be ambiguous? The Church services for each age ought to be settled by the living voice of the Church; nor will our present difficulties cease until we have a living voice.

But two recent events have suggested hopes that we may be on lines which may lead eventually to a settlement. One is the *Declaration of Clergy on Ritual*, with the Archbishops' reply; the other is the combined meeting of the two Houses of Convocation and the Houses of Laymen on the question of a National Synod. The two suggest that there is a real desire for some expression of the corporate voice of the Church, and that until such a clear expression of opinion is obtained a *modus vivendi* is quite possible. On the question of a National Synod we have already expressed our opinion.[1] We propose now to discuss the chief points raised by the *Declaration*, and to examine shortly some of the various questions concerning public worship which call for solution.

The aim of the *Declaration*, which had obtained over four thousand signatures, including many that, particularly in this

[1] See the *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. lvi., No. 112, July 1903, pp. 419 *sq.*

Digitized by Google

connection, were very weighty, is stated to be to 'maintain the Faith, promote the peace of the Church, strengthen the hands of the Bishops in securing obedience to the Church's laws, and to reassure the minds of those of the faithful laity who may be disquieted by present difficulties'; it is, in fact, made quite clear to the world that the High Church party is, and always has been, intensely loyal to the Church of England, and that the small number of those who are not loyal to it have not the sympathy of the great bulk of the clergy. They may have opinions of their own about the interpretation of rubrics or the authority of the state courts, or the exact meaning of canonical obedience, but on the question of loyalty to the Church they have no doubt at all. Nothing could be clearer or more definite than the words of Canon Body:

'We affirm in the most emphatic terms our unlimited loyalty to the Church of England as the God-commissioned Church of this realm. We believe it to be the representative to us of the Church of Pentecost, the *Ecclesia Anglicana* of English history. We believe that this Church passed through the crises of the Reformation with her Catholic character preserved, and hence loyalty to her is with us an essential condition of our obedience to Him Who is her King and Supreme Head—our Master, Christ. We affirm as a necessary condition of Catholic obedience the recognition of the authority of our Bishops as over us by the will of the Lord, and we desire to submit ourselves in accordance with our ordination vows to their godly judgment. Without the recognition of such an obedience the associated life of the Church seems to us to be an impossibility. One basis of such association must be conformity to the common law, and such a law is practically non-existent unless it has its authoritative interpreters. Obedience must be given to the decisions of such interpreters, not because they are of necessity infallible, but because they are authoritative. We are not seeking to bring the faith, life, and worship of the English Church into conformity with that of the Roman Church of to-day . . . Nor are we seeking to reintroduce the worship of the un-Reformed Church of England. Our desire is to be loyal to the Reformation settlement . . . as it is in the Book of Common Prayer. Some of us may believe that there are some things in which the Prayer Book might more fully correspond to the primitive standard to which it appeals . . . But we accept unreservedly the limitation obedience involves, and we seek to conform absolutely to our own Prayer Book.'

Digitized by Google

In this connection we should like to quote also some very weighty words of Canon Newbolt and Mr. Darwell Stone in their important pamphlet on *The Church of England*:

'The English Church . . . voices to us the Catholic Church, appeals to us in clear tones, emphasizing a definite position, claims to have made such alterations, as were made, with a certain end in view, with her eye on the primitive Church, and with a determination to preserve all laudable practices of the whole Catholic Church. . . . Our difficulties arise now from the fact that this attitude is not accepted, and that in its place has arisen the dangerous and anomalous contention that the English Church, or rather the Church in England, is committed to an untenable position; that she only represents so many dioceses of the Western Church, and may well be arraigned on the charge of schism. . . . Therefore it is the duty of all those who owe allegiance to the Catholic Church, to ignore all the peculiarities and crotchets of a pseudo-Anglicanism, and to take advantage of troublous times to make a series of expeditions into the regions of pure Catholicism, and annex privately such portions of the heritage as those who live in England seem to have been deprived of, to dwell in them, to obtain squatters' rights, and then at last, by persistence and threats, to obtain Episcopal recognition and public toleration for their annexations. The result of this policy has been and must be disastrous; in grasping at the shadow of "Catholic privileges," we have lost the essential principle of Catholicism, "obedience to authority."

'The Prayer Book, in the preface, practically says that the Church of England has abolished no œcumenical custom. If A or B thinks that she has so abolished a laudable practice, it is not open to him to correct the Church of England in that particular, any more than a Roman priest who conscientiously objected to refuse the chalice to the laity, could supplement his defective Catholicity from the Anglican or Eastern Churches, and yet remain in the Roman obedience. It is the Church in the exercise of her collective authority who must decide these things. And that is the point to which all effort should be directed, how to secure the expression of the living voice of the Church, instead of in the direction of individual reformation.'[1]

From the preamble of the *Declaration* we pass to the first clause, which runs as follows:

'We affirm our sense of the sacred obligation imposed by the

[1] *The Church of England*, pp. 3–6.

Digitized by Google

declaration made by the clergy under Canon XXXVI. not to alter the services in the Prayer Book by unsanctioned omissions, or by any additions which hinder the service, or which suggest its insufficiency; nor to introduce other services or prayers without the authority of the Bishop.'

It is probable that we should have drafted the clause, if we had been asked to do so, somewhat differently, but with its general meaning we are in perfect agreement. More important, however, than the *Declaration* is the manner in which the Archbishop dealt with it. We quote his words:

'I have been a little surprised not to notice either in the *Declaration* itself, or in any of the speeches which have been made to-day, any allusion to the extremely significant fact of the alteration that was made in those terms of subscription in the year 1865. Some of those who are in the room to-day—I hope that I am not imputing to them greater age than they have—must, I think, have signed that declaration originally in a different form from that in which it is signed to-day, and without the final words which are there now. You signed long ago "that in public prayer and administration of the sacraments I will use the form prescribed in the said book, and none other." In the year 1865 there were added the words "except so far as shall be sanctioned by lawful authority." Is not that really an answer to those people of whom we have been told to-day, that they declined to sign the *Declaration* because they thought that it ran counter to even such a thing as the use of a hymn-book. The lawful living authority of the Bishops with whom, if anything rests, that kind of lawful authority ought to rest, has sanctioned variations of the one kind, and has not sanctioned variations of another kind; and I value that clause added at that period, and I think you will value it partly because it supports the very cause that you have come here to-day to plead; and I value it because it strikes the keynote which, I think, must at this particular juncture of our Church's life, ring through all our actions—that some living authority should deal with the necessary elasticity as to minor matters in our Church's order and systems, that living authority being the Bishop of each diocese. That seems to me to be the value of that particular clause; and when that canon and the declaration which it contains are referred to, I am always anxious that that should be borne in mind. Never was it more vital than it is now, when we are dealing with rubrics of so long ago, that there should be that reasonable elasticity made possible which the words of that declaration are deliberately in-

Digitized by Google

tended, as I believe, to cover and to emphasize when it is made. I venture to think, if I may say it with all respect, that my honoured friend, Canon Jelf, in the words that he used about some declaration (I do not know what it was) that had been made by some Bishop that something was not prohibited, was not probably quite taking it for granted, as I should take it for granted, that such a declaration was made subject to the reasonable elasticity that must govern the interpretation of every working rule as regards details in its practical performance; and I should be amazed indeed if I were to learn that any Bishop now in England would make a moment's difficulty as to such a case as he referred to, of the celebration of Holy Communion going forward for two communicants rather than three in such circumstances as he has described to us to-day. I should be amazed to learn it, and it is certainly the first time that I have ever heard it. Nothing would be further from my own idea in every possible way, and I have said so publicly and privately again and again.'

Now the importance of these words lies in the fact that the Archbishop is prepared to accept the responsibility of exercising a dispensing power. The duty of the clergy is, as is well known, and as is clearly recognized by every High Churchman, to say the services exactly as they are ordered in the Prayer Book. But this, as a matter of fact, no one does. We have never yet attended a service (as far as we can recollect) in which the Prayer Book was exactly obeyed, and the service given without additions or omissions exactly according to the Rubrics. Nor is any school of thought in the Church free from such irregularities. It would be a very great gain if it were to be definitely recognized that no variations of any sort should be allowed except with the express permission of the Bishops. We are not now considering points of doubtful interpretation, but those in which there can be no doubt. The omission for example of the exhortations at the Communion Service is clearly irregular. The Bishop, therefore, should give his express leave for their omission at ordinary services, and in doing so might order them to be used on certain occasions. They certainly ought to be read sometimes in every parish church. We have taken an illustration from a point of not very great importance, but the same principle is capable of further expansion. We believe that it would be very desirable for

Digitized by Google

many reasons that permission should be given to omit the Athanasian Creed on Easter Day; but its use on Trinity Sunday should be insisted on universally.

Before we proceed further we will quote another extract on the subject. We have received a very beautifully printed edition of the Communion Service edited by Mr. Percy Dearmer containing Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the Black Letter Saints and other days. The preface is by the Bishop of Rochester, who writes there in defence of the book:

'After a time, in which enrichment and flexibility in the public services had been eagerly pursued, the need of control became both practically and liturgically urgent, and authority had to insist somewhat austerely on adherence to the Book of Common Prayer. . . . But if a rule is to be applied strictly, there is the more reason for interpreting it amply and inclusively. This gives to the purpose of this book its other side. It might be held, for example, that the rule of using the Order of Holy Communion without alteration forbids the use of any other Collects or even other Epistles and Gospels than the book contains. But it is at least as allowable to say that the service is not "altered" because the Scriptures used for Epistle and Gospel are "varied" as the Prayer Book itself constantly varies them. . . . Anyhow history, precedent, and recent episcopal and synodical authority have all alike ruled in favour of the more elastic alternative.'

And later on he writes:

'I do but express the judgment of the editors themselves as well as my own when I point out that most of it, at least, cannot rightly be used in particular dioceses without the authority of the ordinary. . . . Personally I do not desire the association of my name with the book to be interpreted as giving my sanction within my own diocese for use of all its parts, in all places, and at any time.'

Now we quote this because it gives us another instance of a Bishop accepting the obligations to regulate by his authority additional services in his diocese, and that not merely in a purely negative direction. Both these are instances of the acceptance by the Bishops of the one definite principle of public worship which is undoubtedly Catholic, the *ius liturgicum* of the Bishops. Except so far as he is limited by the law and order of the Church, it is the duty of

Digitized by Google

the Bishop to regulate the services in every church of his diocese. He cannot order anything contrary to the Prayer Book, nor need any clergyman obey him if he does, (we are still avoiding questions of interpretation), but no one may deviate from that order without his sanction, nor add anything, even hymns, without his approval, nor except where he approves. We believe that if this principle were wisely acted upon it would be found to correct more effectually each year the irregularities which attend the administration of public worship. We shall recur later to the principles on which we believe that a Bishop should in these circumstances act.

We pass now to the second clause in the *Declaration*:

'We declare our belief that the Ornaments Rubric retains the ceremonial system which was lawful under the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., and that for the peace of the Church this ought to be frankly recognized as a lawful inheritance in the English Church, while at the same time the lesser ceremonial usage which has so widely prevailed ought, as resting on custom, to be equally recognized.'

The wording of this clause is even less happy than that of the preceding, and we hardly think that either of the Archbishops has really seized what we believe to be the point of the *Declaration*. Its aim is in the first place to exclude definitely the suggested interpretation which would make the Ornaments Rubric legalize the system prevailing before the introduction of the First Prayer Book, in fact almost the whole mediæval system. This interpretation, as Canon Body points out, is not really for a moment tenable:

'We do not hold that the Ornaments Rubric . . . allows all the Ornaments in use before the publication of the Prayer Book of 1549 to be employed for the purposes for which they were formerly in use, so as in effect to reinstate all the ceremonies then observed. This does not seem to us to be an equitable or reasonable interpretation of the rubric. The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer definitely speaks of some ceremonies as abolished. We hold that the rubric directs that the Ornaments required for the due execution of the rites contained in the Book of Common Prayer shall be those which were

Digitized by Google

used for the like purposes at the date assigned—*i.e.* in the Reformed Prayer Book of 1549.'

But when that is excluded there are still two antagonistic interpretations, each held so tenaciously as to create a situation with which it is very difficult to deal.

We do not think that the remarks of the Archbishop on this clause were particularly happy, or quite worthy of the occasion :

'When you say, "We declare our belief that the Ornaments Rubric" does so-and-so, I am quite sure that you would be the last to wish to lead me to suppose that all the four thousand men who signed this have really studied the immensely voluminous literature which exists upon this very disputable phrase.' (Laughter).

This is rather a cheap score. Of course, the larger number of those who signed have not felt called upon to study the subject at first hand, although, as a matter of fact, the relevant points are not so hard to master ; but, for all that, they may be quite capable of appreciating the practical situation. The majority of them probably are not in the habit of wearing the Eucharistic vestments ; a large number have very little desire to introduce them ; but they do not believe that it is possible to regulate the worship of the Church by judicial decisions which cannot in any case be considered clear and free from doubt.

There are certain points which are obvious. The meaning of the Ornaments Rubric has been argued before the Courts six times, and has been decided three times in one way, three times in another. The last decision condemned the Ornaments ; but it is widely believed, even by those who have no desire to introduce them, that a new decision might reverse the last. The Archbishop pointed out that it was quite possible that if our knowledge on the subject has, as is believed, increased, the 'new light' will be recognized and the Edwardine Ornaments allowed. Now, a cynic might suggest at the present day, as he might have suggested in the case of the Lincoln Judgment, that the 'new light' was a fairly reasonable pretext to cover what was really a change of policy. For, after all, a judge may be very capable and

Digitized by Google

quite honest, but his wisdom and his wishes cannot help influencing his decision in a subject so uncertain as to be incapable of really scientific investigation. But we will assume that this is not so, and we are left with this, that the ceremonial of the Church is to be dependent on the exact stage of archæological knowledge which has been reached in a certain number of very doubtful legal points. This is clearly an intolerable position. Then, again, no one will accept the decision if he does not agree with it. There are a large number of deans and bishops who have never worn copes in their cathedrals, although legally they undoubtedly ought to do so. Supposing what we may for convenience call the ritualistic interpretations of the rubric were upheld, it would imply that the Ornaments were compulsory. But no Evangelical would for a moment obey such a decision. He would devote all his energies to getting it reversed. Supposing the decision were given the other way, the Ritualist would naturally claim the same right to disobey as the Evangelical does when decisions do not please him. The question has reached a point where no legal decision can settle it, where for the present no decision is possible; where even supposing that legislation were possible, it would not be considered desirable by any one wishing to preserve the unity of the Church of England. You cannot abolish vestments at once, even if you wished. There are many churches where they have been used regularly for fifty years. They are used in many places with the quite general acceptance of the people. They are often introduced into new places not against but in accordance with the wish of the people. No one with any statesmanship would desire to change all this.

What then is possible? The Bishops must accept openly and clearly the situation in which they have practically acquiesced. They must, in a case where there is so much doubt, be prepared to recognize both uses; and where circumstances justify it, they will allow the Edwardine Ornaments. But they must reserve to themselves the right to decide, after consultation with the lay communicants of the parish, and, considering all the circumstances, where they will allow them to be introduced or discontinued. Vestments are not

Digitized by Google

essential to a valid Sacrament, nor the absence of vestments; what is essential is that the service should be for edification, and whether it is so or not the Bishop should be left to decide.

If this is done, a good deal of the friction on the part of those who have made the vestments a sign of Catholicity will cease, and the Church will gradually be able to make up its mind as to the use that it will adopt. We imagine that there are two tendencies which will largely influence the ultimate decision. On the one side there is, we believe, a strong love of simplicity in worship in the English mind; on the other it will be felt, as the Bishop of Southwell reminds us, that a special vestment for the Holy Communion is seemly and right, and that the traditional vestments of the Church are *prima facie* the most suitable. How the Church will ultimately decide we cannot say; but it is one of the points on which uniformity is least of all essential. The Canons concede the principle of variety by ordering copes in cathedrals, and not in parish churches, and it is quite possible that it may come to be recognized that greater simplicity is desirable in village churches than in cathedrals and the large town parishes.

The third clause of the *Declaration* runs as follows:

'We desire to express our belief that the future welfare of the English Church largely depends, under God, on the complete restoration of the synodical action of the Church. We should therefore welcome any measures for promoting this end which may be taken constitutionally, safeguarding the duties and rights of clergy and laity alike. Pending such measures, and as a step towards the recovery of discipline, we submit that on matters which may arise requiring to be dealt with, and on which it is not possible at the present time to get the judgment of the Church as a whole, the admonitions and requests of the Bishops, acting in formal consultation with their clergy, should be obeyed.'

The first part of this resolution emphasizes what we have already pointed out, that the present difficulties arise from the absence of any proper legislative body. There will be no final solution of some of these questions until such a body has been constituted, with the confidence of the Church as a whole, and capable of expressing the living voice of the

Digitized by Google

Church. As Mr. Frere has shown in a pamphlet on *The Relation of Church and Parliament in regard to Ecclesiastical Discipline*, which is among the books that we have quoted at the head of our article, it is the violation of constitutional usage which has been one of the chief causes of the evils which have prevailed in the Church. But we have not yet our National Synod, and there are many points which do not need legislation, but only direction. What is possible at present? The resolution mentions as a temporary expedient what we believe ought to be the normal custom. The Bishop should arrange the services of the church after consultation with his clergy, and, we may add, not as a constitutional principle, but as a wise precaution in many cases, with the laity also. The Bishop is in essence the parish priest of every church; the parish priest is only his delegate, who, except so far as the orders of the Prayer Book extend, should do as the Bishop directs; but the whole body of the presbyters were always in primitive times the council of the Bishop, and it would not be either wise or right for him to act until he had so consulted them. It appeared to us singularly ill-advised in the Bishop of Winchester to approach his new diocese with what had the appearance of being a sort of imperial ukase in disputed matters. If a Bishop wants the loyal and hearty co-operation of the great bulk of the clergy, let him consult them in synod from time to time; let him act (if he thinks it wise to act) with the expressed voice of the greater number of the clergy behind him; and let the minority, however small, have the opportunity of putting their case before their Bishop and their brother clergy. His directions will then have very much greater weight; a discussion of the principles of public worship will be immensely instructive to all who take part in it, and those who do not agree will be much more likely to acquiesce loyally in his decision, when their voice has been heard, and when in the future they may have other opportunities of making their opinions prevail.

We must make, however, a clear and emphatic protest against a suggestion made by Prebendary Montagu Villiers that the clergy consulted should be the prebendaries in larger

Digitized by Google

chapters. They are exactly those whom it is useless to consult. They are all episcopal nominees, and would have no weight at all in representing the clergy with whom it is most difficult to deal. The clergy summoned to the synod should be all the priests of the diocese, beneficed or unbeneficed. In most dioceses the number is not too great for this to be possible. If the whole diocese cannot be summoned at once, at any rate they can be summoned by archdeaconries. In London special arrangements would have to be made. The synod would be a solemn gathering: it might very suitably be held in the nave or transept or Lady chapel of the cathedral. The Bishop would then put before the clergy for discussion just the questions concerning which there were disputes in the Church, and, having heard their advice, he would, according to his discretion, embody it in directions for the whole diocese. In this he would be guided by the opinions of the other Bishops. When he had decided on the general principles on which he wished to act, he should appoint a committee of the more learned clergy and liturgiologists to draw up such directions as were required for the conduct of worship. It has always seemed to us that one of the greatest mistakes that our English Bishops have made has been that, whether in drawing up special directions for service, or in arranging special services, they have despised or neglected the assistance of just those who have studied the subject; they have in consequence often made mistakes, and their authority has been weakened. A liturgiologist, like a musician, is often one of the worst persons to arrange services, because he is not sufficiently in contact with the popular mind, but a wise Bishop would use the services of both, and adapt their suggestions to what he would consider to be the needs of the people.

In some such way as this a series of diocesan 'uses' would be developed which by consultation between the bishops would become a national 'use.' And the very great irregularities of our services in which everyone does what seems right in his own eyes might be checked. Rules thus drawn up would be very elastic. The Bishop, on whose authority they were based, might either dispense in any particular

Digitized by Google

place the clergy from obeying them, or they might be changed where necessary without difficulty. Coming with the authority of the Bishops and the synod of the diocese they would demand loyal acceptance on the part of the clergy and in almost all cases would receive it.

We can now sum up the principles upon which we may believe that Church order may be restored:

(1) Except so far as he is limited by the law of the Church contained in the Prayer Book or other authoritative document, the Bishop is the supreme and absolute liturgical officer for every church in his diocese which is not a Peculiar.

(2) That the Prayer Book extends to him the interpretation of doubtful points in the Rubrics, except possibly so far as there is an authoritative decision by the Archbishop.

(3) That in dealing with a book which has not been revised for over two hundred years a certain dispensing power in relation to the orders of the Prayer Book is necessary and is clearly recognized as necessary by the form in which the declaration of assent is now required. This dispensing power lies in the hands of the Bishops.

In exercising this liturgical authority the Bishop should be guided:

(1) By consultation with his brother Bishops, so as if possible to make the practice of different dioceses uniform;

(2) By consultation with the clergy in synod assembled;

(3) By the advice of liturgiologists and other learned clergy whom he may select;

(4) By the desires of the laity, *i.e.* the lay-communicants of the Church, especially in the case of any particular parish into which he is called.

The adoption of some such course as this would mean that the Bishop would take his proper place not as an inconvenient police officer, but as the source of 'liturgical order.' It is the Bishop of London and not Mr. Wickham-Legg, or Mr. Percy Dearmer, or Lady Wimborne, who should control the services of his diocese. How much injury has been done by the ignorant dogmatism of foolish clergy or still more foolish laymen or laywomen! One of the few Bishops who have recognized their duty adequately in this respect is the

Digitized by Google

Bishop of Salisbury, to whom we are indebted for many wise directions as to the conduct of public service. One small point will show what may be done. A great many clergy naturally have some doubt as to what to do when two festivals clash. Which lessons are they to read, which Collect, Epistle, and Gospel? The proper person to decide is the Bishop. But, so far as we are aware, no Bishop has ever done so. The result is that the clergy have recourse to a number of unauthorised calendars, which in this matter revive all the 'rules called the Pie' that our Prayer Book very rightly wished to do away with. But we find a perfectly simple table, published in the edition of the Communion Service mentioned above, which was drawn up by Convocation in 1879. Why should not each Bishop issue this as his directions? If it is found incorrect or inconvenient he can change it; as it is, it gives a simple rule and will produce a uniform practice. This is a small point; but the columns of the *Guardian* bear witness each year to the fact that it interests the clergy greatly.

While the Bishop must fulfil his part wisely, the clergy must give, as they ought, absolute obedience to his directions. This obedience is quite compatible with protest, and with attempts to get the rule changed, but when the Bishop has spoken authoritatively the obedience on the part of the clergy should be absolute. We are not at all certain that it will not ultimately be found that disobedience will come from the quarter least expected. Such a system as we have described ought to mean levelling up as well as levelling down, and we remember the indignant protest made by a leading Evangelical who, in the midst of his attacks on the disobedience of other clergy, was rightly rebuked by his Bishop for mutilating the Communion Service. Obedience to the Bishop will have to be loyal and universal, and the acquiescence of High Churchmen in the rulings of Bishops with which they do not agree must be balanced by the consent of the Low Churchmen to conform to the diocesan rule.

For the future corporate action will have to be substituted for private enterprise. It will be slower, but it will be more effective. It may be that a considerable number of church-

Digitized by Google

men may demand certain changes. In the future their course will be, not to disobey their Bishop or to start new practices contrary to his orders but, to educate public opinion, and to put forward their views at synods or other meetings of the clergy and laity. The change will then come when public opinion is prepared for it, and the opposition will be as ineffective as it was in the surplice riots, for surplices in the pulpits, it must be remembered, were introduced with the authority of the Bishops. The results of private enterprise have been admirably described by Canon Newbolt and Mr. Stone:

'It may further be doubted whether the advantages secured by private enterprise have been so conspicuous as they are asserted to be. English people have learnt to tolerate certain things which once roused them to frenzy and riot, from the surplice in the pulpit to the Eucharistic vestments, but correspondingly they have not learnt to desire instruction, but to despise sermons; neither as a body do they appreciate the Eucharistic sacrifice, however much many of them may rejoice in the accessories which symbolize that doctrine. It is quite open to any one to say that the victories won in persistent opposition to the Bishops have been dearly won, and that the fault has been by no means all of it on the side of the Bishops. Certainly no one can say that the course of the Catholic movement, as it is called, has been a happy one; the positions have been carried at tremendous loss, a party has been pushed through like a wedge driven broadside foremost, and in some cases hopeless indifference has been mistaken for acquiescence, and a chasuble and Eucharistic lights accepted as compensations for an attenuated flock which has been either starved or overdriven. Can any one say that the education and spiritual attainments of the people, even when they are not actively hostile, are up to the same level as the outward symbols of advance? Restored ritual and restored Catholicity have not gone hand-in-hand, and the reason is that the sense of authority has been weakened by opposition to the Bishops, and that ritual and doctrinal changes have been accepted in too many cases, out of deference to the wishes of a popular priest, as part of "his way," which, with many other things, must be put up with; while in other cases a violent outbreak of Protestant fanaticism merely means that the unpopular "ways" of a priest generally disliked have been assailed at the point of least resistance. The whole of the later developments of the Catholic revival are characterized by the weakness which always waits on

Digitized by Google

individualism. It would surely seem to be of the most vital importance to recall men's minds to a truer and more dignified conception of the English Church as such, not as something to be apologized for, minimized, or even ridiculed, but in the spirit of those who would say, Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν κόσμει.'

In some such way as has been suggested, and making use of the definite Catholic principle—the Liturgical authority of the Bishop, a system of English Church worship should be developed, based on the historical principles of the English Church. To such principles both the slovenliness of the eighteenth century and the ecclesiastical anarchy of the nineteenth are equally abhorrent, and although the latter may have been a process necessary for restoring forgotten elements of decency and order, it is quite intolerable as a permanent principle. In some way or other, then, an orderly system of Church worship ought to be evolved.

But when we have said that, we are only at the beginning of our difficulties, and we propose to discuss certain principles which will have to be kept in mind. To begin with, the services must be for edification. But edification depends entirely on the people to be edified, and varies with temperament, with class, and with training. Fundamentally there are two different types. There is the Puritan and the Ceremonialist. To some minds the thought of all that religion implies arouses such tremendous emotions of awe and reverence that all outward expression of their spiritual feelings will seem insignificant and inappropriate. By the most absolutely simple worship, by the plainest unadorned service, by the severest architecture, some men feel that God will be honoured most.

But there are others again who would feel that the most elaborate music, the most costly ornaments, the most elaborate ceremonial, the most beautiful buildings will alone express their devotion. Both these types of feelings are in a sense right and true; they may even, strange as it may seem, coexist in the same person. There is no service in any church more severe than the ordinary early celebration which is looked upon as the distinctive note of ritualism, and there are few persons who would not feel that a Coronation or

Digitized by Google

some other great service would be fittingly celebrated with pomp and circumstance. The error that has prevailed in recent years has been a constant tendency to forget the fitness of things. When the slovenliness of the old era was broken down, it was quite unnecessary to disturb the simplicity of the village church, to introduce cathedral music and the elaboration of a town parish where everything should be natural and simple. In declaring that copes should be worn in cathedrals and not in parish churches, the Canons lay down a principle which is capable of wider application. Nor, again, is it always necessary to have the same elaborateness of ceremony. In many churches, what was at first done only on great festivals became normal. Ceremonies were found attractive occasionally, and it was thought that they would always help to fill the church. The result has too often been to create a feeling of weariness at all services.

A second point to remember is that the religious mind is intensely conservative. Men dislike, often very intensely, any change in the religious habits in which they have been brought up. There are probably times in all parishes when a complete change may be necessary and right in order to break down old and bad ways, but generally there ought to be the very greatest respect for religious prejudice. Dr. Pusey, we believe, never adopted the Eastward position in Christ Church Cathedral when Dr. Ogilvie or Dr. Heurtley was present. Yet it is now introduced heedlessly and thoughtlessly in many a parish church in which different customs have always prevailed and where the people have never been prepared for that or any such position. And this is typical of much. A young clergyman comes to a church where Anglican music has been used, where the congregation is large and devout, and has always felt that the music was responsive to their religious needs; without any consideration for others he introduces plain-song chants, adding insult to the injury that he has done to acquired religious habits by saying that Anglican chants are so irreverent that he cannot endure them. In earlier days changes in the services of parishes were often only gradually introduced, for the clergyman learnt (often very badly) and

Digitized by Google

taught the people as he went on. Now the curate or young vicar comes to a parish fresh from the system (often excellent in itself) of his theological college, or the ritual of some big church in London or Cardiff or some other city, and imposes all his ideas indiscriminately on the people.

In reading the accounts of the festival services at theological colleges, we notice again and again such statements as the following: 'The music was Merbecke,' 'Matins was said at 7.30, and was followed by a celebration of the Holy Eucharist, sung to Field in F, but with Merbecke's Gloria,' 'the procession included Cross and banner, many clergy in robes, Bishops in cope and mitre,' and so on. Now we imagine that these services were as good and as imposing examples of the very best Anglican worship as is possible; the students would feel rightly proud of what had aroused in them, and responded to, deep religious feeling; they would be anxious to carry out the ideal thus presented in their own parish with perhaps a few additional ritualistic details, and they would forget how strange and unaccustomed such a service would seem to many an English congregation. They could not understand 'Merbecke,' nor would they like it; the hymns would be new and unaccustomed; the ordinary communicant would feel the whole service strange. People whose habits were formed in the old-fashioned English service, or whose ideal was a P.S.A., would be simply unresponsive. We have taken our illustration from services which any Bishop would sanction, and which any educated churchman would thoroughly appreciate, because we have often noticed how very little they would really respond to the feelings of an ordinary country congregation.

And this leads us on to the difficult question of music. Regarding this, we must thoroughly endorse all that has been said recently by the Bishop of Worcester on this subject. There is, so far as we can judge, nothing that has done more harm in recent years to English Church services than the tyranny of the organist and choir, except possibly the badness of the preaching. There are three things that an average working-man—it may be true, indeed, of the average Englishman of every class—demands if he is to go to church.

Digitized by Google

He demands a well-preached sermon which he can understand; he demands hymns with tunes that he knows, and a service in which he can join without feeling uncomfortable and out of place; he demands a seat in church not too conspicuous, where he can sit without any risk of being disturbed. In many churches he meets with none of these things. The sermons are poor, the music is incomprehensible and tedious to the last degree, and some one turns him out of his place shortly after he has entered and says that it is his seat.

Amongst the books which we have placed at the head of our article is one called *Choralia*, by Mr. Baden Powell, of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. It is the work of an experienced choirmaster, and if rightly used might be of great value. If the object of Divine worship were the performance of good music it would be admirable. As it is, we fear that the ideal it suggests is just that which is disastrous to the English Church services. Two or three quotations will be sufficient:

'A service which is diluted, as to its music, *to what only the congregation can join in*, and costs the choir neither pains nor trouble, is one which seems very much to stand on a level with Cain's offering.' 'This is essential where it is wished that a congregation should sing a hymn or certain verses alone, *and very fine effects can be obtained in this way.*'

The italics are our own. The only idea that the writer seems to have is the production of musical effects. He quite forgets that what is important is the hearty expression of religious feeling, and that may be just as valuable if the voices of the congregation are harsh and untrained. Again, he writes, 'that unfortunate conglomeration of noise which has sometimes been called a "hearty" service.' Let him remember that a hearty service means that everyone in the church is expressing his devotion in the best way that he can, and let him learn not to despise the musically-imperfect efforts of real religion. To those who are not very musical there is a tediousness and often an irreverence in the elaborate musical services which are so common nowadays —whether they are well or ill sung—which is not in the

Digitized by Google

least realized by the musician who lives very much in a circle of his own, but we are quite certain that this is one of the main causes of the inadequate attendance at so many London churches. We have not space to develop this topic further, we should only like to mention one further fact. We very much doubt whether—particularly in the country—the great development of the habit of intoning the service is wise. In a cathedral or a large city church intoning is necessary, in a village church we believe a *read* service is infinitely more impressive. Are there not many persons who have memories of some old clergyman, the sound of whose voice still lingers in their ears, whose cultivated, reverent, earnest, clear reading, neither unctuous nor theatrical, is one of their holiest recollections? And when they contrast with that the mechanical thin-voiced intoning followed by the noisy response of the choir, or the irreverent, incoherent gabbling which they often hear, they wonder whether the introduction of the choir into parishes, and the formal habit of saying offices, are after all such unmixed benefits.

So far we have spoken of edification. Another point we should wish to raise is the need of uniformity. It would be perfectly easy to be uniform if there were no need for edification, but as congregations, classes, and individuals have different aspirations, the difficulty is to combine these two principles. From one point of view we require the abolition of the Act of Uniformity and greater freedom and elasticity; from another point of view we demand order and rule in place of the present chaos. It is not our purpose to solve the problem, but only to state it.

Let us take the Holy Communion. The divergence between different types has become so great that it becomes difficult for any one trained in one church to worship in another. We may take an illustration:

'I was brought up as a sound High Churchman,' writes one man, 'and I am inclined to be very tolerant in ritual matters, but my temper was thoroughly roused the other day. I was at a Saint's Day celebration at the English church in a small Italian town, where the English community were courteously allowed the use of a building belonging to the Waldensians. The name of the celebrant I do not

Digitized by Google

know. Vestments (which personally I should be inclined to allow) were not worn, but it was difficult to recognize the service. First there was a long period of silence, during which it was obvious that the introductory portions of the Roman rite were being said with the appropriate ritual. When the English office began there was a low murmur, but although I was quite close to the celebrant I could not hear anything. Throughout the whole service the celebrant faced East, with his head generally bent over the altar, except that during the Gospel there was a slight inclination to the North. The Collect and Epistle were said continuously with the same voice, as if they were all one prayer, and it was quite impossible to know when one was finished and the other began. No notice at all was taken of the congregation, and the pace was that of a clerk reading a formal legal document. The result was to me a frame of mind not at all proper for the purpose for which I had come to church ; and as I went away I felt great sympathy for my Protestant friends who find it so difficult to communicate in many English churches.'

But now let us hear a voice on the other side :

'We have a new clergyman here whose mode of celebrating is almost intolerable. We had been used to a simple ritual, and the people expected everything to be done nicely. Proper altar linen had been provided by voluntary gifts, but he dispenses with the use of it, as also he does with a cassock, nor does he consider it necessary to keep his hands clean. We still have an 8 o'clock celebration, but it generally begins with the Offertory, all the earlier part of the service being omitted. The "priest" not only does not take the Eastward position, but sprawls offensively over the altar, and obviously desires by a vulgar irreverence to show his impatience of any superstitious usage. At the end of the service he makes no ablutions in church, and we understand leaves the vessels to be cleaned by the clerk. Many of the people have left off communicating, and some of them have begun to go to the Roman Catholic church, where there is a very nice priest.'

Now, of course, we have taken two extreme instances, but do we realize what a chaos of *uses* there is? Compared with many other things, the question of vestments is in itself a small matter. One man reads so quickly that we can hardly follow him, another makes long pauses, during which we know that the imperfections of the Anglican rite are being made up for in secret. One man continuously bows, another

Digitized by Google

genuflects, a third does neither. One man gives the chalice into the hands of the worshipper, another keeps it in his own. One is decent and quiet in the administration, another repeats the words as if they were an empty form, and quite forgets the infinite meaning they should bear to each recipient; a third makes an elaborate and aggressive sign of the cross. It is very difficult for a clergyman who goes about much from parish to parish to know what to do in each place. Even among churches of the same way of thinking the 'use' varies continually. There is another series of variations which are very perplexing to an average Christian. A well-brought-up girl is in the habit of attending the Holy Communion at 8 o'clock; she has been always accustomed to receive fasting; she goes to another parish where the normal time for celebrations is at the evening service. An elderly man has been a regular communicant at the mid-day service on the first Sunday in the month for the last thirty years. A new clergyman comes, who immediately tries to prevent people from communicating at the mid-day service, and hurts his feelings inexpressibly by telling him that the first Sunday in the month is not a church festival, and asking what saint it commemorates. Very probably he says that for the last thirty years he has been guilty of sin in not communicating fasting. It is intolerable that in any church an individual clergyman should take upon himself to say that this or that custom is necessary when the Church has never said so.

There are some points on which there is no need of uniformity. The extent and character of the music and the amount of ceremonial may within certain limits be allowed to vary considerably, so long as the edification of the people is remembered. But the Church service ought to be read from beginning to end, with no addition of any sort which is not expressly authorized. If hymns are added, it should only be at suitable places. And there ought to be no long pauses, with additional matter said secretly. Then the whole service should be said or sung in a perfectly clear and audible voice, and all tendency to hurry and excessive rapidity should be checked. The question of vestments we believe to be

Digitized by Google

unimportant; it is quite possible for two uses to go on side by side. But we should like the question of the Eastward position to be discussed until a uniform practice prevails. The reading of the Gospel facing to the North and of the Epistle facing East are at the present day meaningless and inconvenient pieces of antiquarianism. If any ceremonial is required, it would be much better that it should take the form of a short procession to the body of the church, that they may be read where all can hear them. The rule of turning East for the prayers, and turning to the people for all portions directly addressed to them, seems to embody a wise and natural principle. On many small points, where needless elaboration has often crept in, we should like definite episcopal directions aiming at a reverent but simple custom —such as altar ornaments, altar linen, ablutions, and so on. And genuflexions and all ritual acts not ordered by the Prayer Book or necessary for the service should be forbidden. Uniformity cannot be attained at once, but if definite directions were drawn up and put before the clergy of each diocese, the great bulk of them would conform, and the laity would gladly welcome a uniform use. Up till now the only episcopal direction that the bulk of the clergy have had in liturgical matters has been to tell them what they must not do. Let an order of service be gradually developed reverent and severe, capable of being used with quiet simplicity in a village or other church where such is desired, capable of being used with a dignified if severe ceremonial in places where on occasions such is suitable, and the necessary uniformity would quickly come.

There are two other points on which we should like to touch shortly. One is the principle of historic continuity as applied to worship. A school of liturgical students has developed in recent years, which is devoting itself to determining in the most scrupulous way the exact form which the national rite should take. They are unwearied in archæological investigation. They have published or edited many interesting books and texts to illustrate the history of the English rite both before and after the Reformation. We have at present before us a reprint of the well-known work of Dr. Rock in

Digitized by Google

The Church of our Fathers, for which we have to thank Mr. Hart and Mr. Frere, and the first three volumes of the very handsome *Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology*, edited by Mr. Vernon Staley, including a reprint with additions of *Hierurgia Anglicana*, a well-known compilation of the early Tractarian period, and a new edition of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. We cannot give too much praise to the printing and general get-up of the volumes. This movement is connected particularly with the names of some well-known London clergy, and its object is to try to develop a uniform and intelligent English rite.

Now with the general aim and principle of this movement we have every sympathy. The fact of historic continuity is great and inspiring. The traditions of the Church, as of the nation, are a splendid heritage, and even though they may convey no meaning to the mass of the people, there is nothing that we should cling to more tenaciously, or desire more earnestly to realize in our worship; for it is just the idea which may at any time seize hold of the popular imagination. But when we pass to the detailed directions of our Liturgiologists, we find that there is a good deal which seems to us over-scrupulous. We are often amused at the extreme positiveness with which we are instructed by well-meaning and half-learned people on unimportant matters. And although the rites may change, the infallibility is a constant quantity. There was a time when we were considered hopelessly old-fashioned if we did not wear a stole at morning service, now we are told that to do so is an unpardonable error. A few years ago our curate would not rest until he had persuaded the ladies of the parish to work a set of silk chalice veils; our new curate tells us that the silk chalice veil is a quite unauthorized Roman innovation. He wears a very full surplice and a broad black scarf, which make him look like a Doctor of Divinity,—a mistake on our part which is very soon corrected when we hear his sermons. There is no matter too trivial for him to have an opinion on it, and hardly any point on which he does not differ from the usage which has been gradually established among us.

The movement in fact suffers from two faults, over-scru-

Digitized by Google

pulousness and antiquarianism. For certain legal purposes it may be useful to know that a certain method of interpreting the Prayer Book prevailed in the sixteenth century. It is no doubt an interesting fact that the correct form of the English chasuble is quite different from that of Rome. But after all we are not bound by either. If there had been no violent Reformation, it is very probable that the services of the whole Western Church might in the last four centuries have changed to a very great extent. We should not be bound by the fifth, or the fifteenth, or the seventeenth century. We want the traditions of the Church interpreted by the living voice of the Church, and adapted to modern needs. We do not want antiquarianism. Nor do we feel that over-scrupulousness is right. We can well imagine some laymen to whom religion means the strong support of spiritual comfort in all the difficulties and problems and struggles of life wondering how a clergyman, on whose shoulders rests the spiritual care of so many thousand persons, is able to devote so much time to the elaborate study of such very trivial points. We have felt, too, ourselves at times a longing for some spiritual life, some reality and heartiness, when we have listened to the scrupulously correct celebration of a service with plain-song chants admirably sung, with office hymns in their correct place, with surplices and vestments according to the best British Museum pattern. The old-fashioned ritualistic service might be Roman, or vulgar, or incorrect, or anything you like, but there was a swing and a life about it which covered many defects; in an old-fashioned Anglican church our souls are stirred by the hearty singing of Dr. Dykes's hymn tunes, of which modern musicians speak so scornfully; in the Dissenting chapel we have the genuine emotionalism of Moody and Sankey; but here we feel as if we were in a museum.

We are glad of the learning and advice of the Liturgiologist, but we do not care for his Services.

But yet one more thought. Our aim, it is said, must always be reunion, and so we must always be trying to make our worship similar to that of the rest of Christendom, which means the Church of Rome. Here again the object is an excellent one; but the method suggested is not wise, nor will

Digitized by Google

it have the desired result. We have no doubt at all that on any tenable Catholic principles our own rite is adequate and sufficient, and if that is so we ought to be true to our inheritance. We do nothing but bring our Church into contempt by imitating in an unauthorized manner the unessential rites of other Churches. Moreover, the first duty to be accomplished as a step to reunion is to unite the English-speaking peoples in one Church which shall be strong and important enough to influence other branches of the Christian Church. It is by being strong and clear and definite on our own lines that we shall bring Christians nearer to one another, not by being untrue to our own principles. But let us quote those who can speak with much more authority than we do:

'It is not chimerical to believe that a great future may yet be open to the English Church, as a rallying-point, in ages yet to come, of possible reunion. But no reunion will be possible if any or all of the uniting bodies lose their individuality and their value. . . . If we could but recognize the fact, the Church of England has a character of her own, in parting with which she parts with a valuable possession. A Liturgy in the vernacular, popularized choir offices, a copious use of the Bible, an appeal to the intellectual rather than to the emotional side of man—to mention only a few obvious things—if frankly accepted, would be found to be features full of significance, and wholly excellent. . . . We are often told that reunion will only be brought about by a frank recognition of our errors all round; it would also be true to say, by a generous recognition of our various points of excellence. As it is, the tendency is to count all Anglican virtues to be errors, and all Roman errors to be virtues, and to imagine that Christendom is to be reunited by the total disappearance of that body which for centuries has endeavoured to make an appeal to primitive antiquity as the only basis of reunion, and which, among all the taunts levelled against isolation, has refused the *quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, without its balancing *quod semper*. . . . It would be wrong and unfaithful, in view of what God has done for us already, if any one allowed himself to be disheartened by a temporary failure, or a passing abandonment of ideals. The spirit of Catholicism must be invoked to drive out individualism, the spirit of whole-hearted loyalty to drive out that form of apology which means treachery, and that form of imitation which sacrifices original worth; and then the wisdom of God, which is justified of all her children,

Digitized by Google

will be clear and manifest in His dealings with the English people and the English Church.'[1]

We are foolish enough to believe, in spite of all appearances, that the reunion of English Christianity on an Anglican basis is more possible and nearer than facts might seem to justify. To attain this end, it is demanded that the English Church should be above everything true to itself: that its work in the present century should be to organize into a solid and harmonious whole all the different elements of religious life which the nineteenth century produced with such astounding prolificness. Conspicuous among its duties is that of developing for English-speaking races a system of worship true to historical tradition, Catholic in every essential, simple, dignified, severe, responding to the deepest needs of the human heart, satisfying the Puritan by its simplicity, the Ceremonialist by its order and dignity, weaving into one harmonious whole all the spiritual traditions of the inheritance of our Fathers.

ART. II.—THE GOLDEN LEGEND.

La Légende Dorée. Par le Bienheureux JACQUES DE VORAGINE. Traduite du Latin d'après les plus anciens manuscrits, avec une Introduction, des Notes, et un Index Alphabétique. Par TEODOR DE WYZEMA. (Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1902.)

WE question whether it would be possible to meet with a volume of professedly Christian literature which transports the reader to an atmosphere more strangely different from that of our time than the *Golden Legend* of the Blessed Jacobus de Voragine. The author, described as a saint and one of the most learned men of his day, is separated *toto caelo* from the mental standpoint of the twentieth century. His standard of holiness, his overpowering love of the marvellous, his entire lack of the critical faculty, his un-

[1] Newbolt and Stone, *The Church of England*, p. 46.

Digitized by Google

hesitating adoption of the most incredible legends gathered indiscriminately from diverse sources, are but typical examples of the tone and spirit of the mediæval monkish chronicler. Yet the *Golden Legend* has exceptional interest for those who would realize what was the character of European literature during the dark ages, and what Christian Europe owes to the revival of learning. For Jacobus de Voragine was at one time probably the most popular writer in all Western Christendom. His work in the original Latin was circulated in manuscript throughout Europe, and on the invention of printing was speedily reproduced—as it was by our own Caxton—in all the modern languages scattered over so wide an area. Of the reasons for the popularity of legend, roughly speaking, from the eighth to the thirteenth century, we may have something presently to say. We will first offer a few remarks upon the recent edition before us.

M. Teodor de Wyzema hardly entertains an adequate conception of what a scholarly recension put forth from the *Librairie Académique* of Perrin and Co. ought to include. His introduction contains little more than the meagre biography of his author and a vindication of his work from some of the aspersions cast upon it by such eminent critics as Vivès, the friend of Erasmus, and Jean de Launoi, 'the iconoclast of the saints': a vindication grounded on so lofty an assertion of ecclesiastical authority as will not be accepted by the average English reader. What can be said of a writer who upholds the accuracy of the legend that another man's finger, fraudulently substituted for one of St. Augustine's, actually wrought miracles, while on investigation the saint's hand was found to have that identical finger missing, with the observation that nothing is impossible with God, and the triumphant remark that no learning of Vivès or Launoi can prevail against this article of faith? M. de Wyzema would have done more wisely to devote some of the pages he wastes upon foolish contempt of the scientific spirit to supplying the reader with information which would serve to elucidate the *Golden Legend*. There are, for example, in this edition no references to the places in which the numerous quotations

Digitized by Google

from the Fathers are to be found, and no warning when the extracts are taken from spurious writings. The reader will consult the notes in vain for such needful help as, to quote one instance only, that the *Histoire Tripartite*, frequently named in Jacobus de Voragine's pages, is the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates, Sozomen and Evagrius. As we turn to the body of the work we are tempted to pause and inquire from whence on the theory of evolution arose that love of the marvellous so specially conspicuous in a backward stage of human development. We are curious to know how the survival of the fittest was aided by minute accretions of the unregulated fancy and unchastened wonder, which so long swayed and influenced man's mental growth, but have been exchanged in later days for sceptical distrust and minutest critical investigation. In the *Golden Legend* romances that rival the achievements of Baron Munchausen or the adventures of the *Arabian Nights* are recorded with a simplicity of assurance that is infinitely amusing. *Credo quia absurdum* must have been the accepted motto and the faithful index of the mental attitude of an age which could give the *Golden Legend* a place in the ranks of serious literature.

Yet the influence of legendary history admits of rational explanation. It sprang up in the eighth century, when ecclesiastics dominated men's minds and monopolised the intellectual arena. It was in the infancy of modern European society, which was just emerging from the confusion that had naturally followed the conquest of the Roman Empire by barbarians and the consequent stagnation of all mental progress. It was the infancy of Modern Europe, and the only literature supplied to it by its clerical instructors was suitable to the earliest stage of its intellectual development. This was, however (as M. Guizot has pointed out), a veritable literature, with no other end in view than that of providing intellectual and moral pleasure. 'As after the battle of Troy,' the historian of French civilization continues, 'almost every town in Greece had poets who collected the traditions and adventures of the heroes and made a diversion of them for the public; so at this epoch the lives of the saints played the same part for the Christians.' How completely the pabulum

Digitized by Google

thus provided was congenial to the state of the age is proved by its enormous expansion: the folios of the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists containing over 25,000 Lives of saints. The simple recital of these legendary marvels had an unspeakable charm for that time, which it satisfied and fascinated as more exact biography delights later ages.

There was a further and a deeper want to which the Legends of the Saints ministered. They grew up in a time of extreme misery and disorder, when the moral instincts of humanity were daily revolted by unutterable violence and depravity; when unrestrained lust and ungovernable passion and brute force reigned supreme; when everything was abandoned to chance or to savage ferocity; when the world seemed plunged in Cimmerian darkness and chaos irretrievable. Upon such a condition of society the legends cast the bright light of morality and heroic self-sacrifice and devotion to truth and duty. The exaggeration of their details, even the substantial accuracy of their histories, were of little importance to men weighed down by the servitude and the sorrows and the sufferings that surrounded them. They afforded a welcome relief from the spectacle of vice and crime presented on every side. They answered to the yearning for sympathy and affection which, though dormant and even dead to all appearance, yet ever lies deep in the human heart. What if their estimate of celibacy were extravagant, and their picture of endurance which no torture could subdue were incredible! What if a tinge of coarseness in description sometimes blurred the page, or a contempt even of the most legitimate and natural affections were at times apparently advocated! Such blemishes in that epoch were trifling in the judgment of a harsh and semi-civilized state, whose sensibility was at once awakened and charmed by the benevolence and tenderness which everywhere gleam forth in these legendary stories. Here lies the secret of their extraordinary multiplication, of their wide dissemination, and of their universal acceptance.

It was to this huge mass of mingled history and fable, which had been accumulating for three centuries, that Jacobus de Voragine turned for the material of the *Golden Legend.*

Digitized by Google

His purpose was to compose a work which should serve as a commentary to illustrate the Calendar of the ecclesiastical year, explaining the origin and meaning of the Christian fasts and festivals, and describing the lives of the saints to whose honour special days are dedicated. His work speedily gained the widest popularity, and was reproduced in countless editions with unauthorized additions, which M. Teodor de Wyzema claims to have carefully excised. It is time, however, to turn to the volume itself and examine its contents.

The materials appropriated by Jacobus de Voragine in the *Golden Legend* are of a strangely heterogeneous character: the most fanciful explanations of the purpose of the chief Church festivals being interspersed with narratives that are simply reproductions of the text of Holy Scripture. Historic and apocryphal biographies are mingled indiscriminately, and the length of a saint's memorial is not infrequently in inverse proportion to the authentic record of his career and the importance of his work. The largest space in the collection is accorded to the stories of Barlaam and Josaphat, of St. Dominic and St. Gregory, of St. Augustine, St. Clement, and St. Bernard; but in these, as throughout the work, the selection of details is most capricious. In the last of them, for example, no mention is made of St. Bernard's public disputation with Abelard, nor of his influence in promoting the Crusade. The account of St. Peter is spun out with a long description of his fabled struggle at Rome with Simon Magus, and the biographies of St. Thomas and St. Andrew are swollen with legends of equal uncertainty, while that of St. Paul—for which so much ampler materials were available—is markedly meagre and concise. To the close of each brief memoir there is generally appended a list of miracles, real or imaginary, wrought at the saint's tomb or through the medium of his relics and intercession. The faintest thread of connexion suffices for hanging upon it any anecdote that presents itself to the author's memory: as when the writer passes from the martyrdom of St. Peter to a conversation between Seneca and Nero. 'Why do you want to put me to death?' asks the philosopher. 'Because I am afraid of you, as I used to fear you when a child, and I cannot be at ease

Digitized by Google

so long as you are living.' 'At least let me choose how I shall die.' 'Choose what you like, provided only you die at once.' On this Seneca opens his veins in a warm bath, and fulfils by suicide the prophecy implied in his name—*se necans*!

It is frequently difficult to trace, beyond the most childish admiration of the marvellous, any purpose in the miracles recorded in the *Golden Legend*. When St. German inquires at the tomb of his deceased friend St. Cassian how he is, and the dead man replies in a voice loud and clear enough to be heard by the bystanders that he is enjoying sweet repose, and is waiting for the Redeemer's coming; when the statue of St. Agnes holds out its wedding finger to receive and retain a ring from a sorely tempted priest; when the candles in the church are all spontaneously lighted on the entrance of the corpse of St. German; when two pairs of fetters which had enchained St. Peter at Jerusalem under Herod and at Rome under Nero, of their own accord melt together into one; when three candles wrapped in linen become lighted inside the cloth and burn out there without scorching the material that envelops them; when all the sins of the Emperor Henry are counterbalanced by a gift to St. Lawrence of a golden chalice, at which a troop of devils are so wroth that they break off one of its handles, as was proved by the fracture of the handle on the very day of the emperor's decease; or when, to quote but one further example, upon the consul's endeavouring to enforce his marriage with Domitilla the wedding musicians cease to play and the dancers to trip, but the consul himself, seized with a sudden vertigo, goes on dancing for two days without intermission, and finally expires from fatigue:—in each and all of these cases a demand is made on our credulity without any adequate advantage resulting from the prodigy. Not infrequently the saints are described as influenced by what in meaner men would be regarded as unworthy jealousy or by greed for the gifts of their devotees; and sorrows, quite disproportionate to mistakes we might well deem venial, are inflicted for the withholding of an offering or even the substitution for some special gift of another of equal value.

Digitized by Google

We are perpetually reminded as a great Imperial nation of the wide difference which separates Eastern from Western modes of thought, and a like vast interval appears to sever us from the mental attitude which obtained largely in the middle ages. A thousand men cannot carry St. Lucy, although she is bound hand and foot, and a thousand pair of oxen are equally incapable of moving her. Incantations, fire, hot resin, boiling oil, fall harmless on her body, and even a sword thrust into her throat does not prevent her announcing that peace is restored that very day to the Church by the death of Maximian and the deposition of Diocletian. The staff of the Apostle St. Peter, when laid upon the body, restores to life a man who had been dead *for forty days*! yet the writer allows that the accounts are conflicting about the name of the saint who was the subject of this astounding miracle. St. German indeed offered to render a like service to one of his disciples, who had died at Tonnerre when on his way to join his master in Great Britain: but the dead man replied that he was so happy he preferred not to have his rest disturbed, and so was left in peace. We mark in passing that this is not the only instance in which St. German conversed familiarly for a brief space with departed friends. We select under this category of miracles, to modern thought transparently incredible, only one of the mighty works attributed to St. Dominic. One day, while he was preaching, some heretical women fell at his feet, exclaiming 'Servant of God, come to our aid; for if what you have been saying to-day is true, the spirit of error has for a long season blinded our eyes. 'Wait a moment,' he replied, 'and you shall see to what god you have been adhering.' And they saw springing into the midst of them a terrible cat, as large as a dog, with great flaming eyes and a huge and bloody tongue which hung down as low as his chest. We omit further unsavoury details. After encircling the women several times the animal disappeared in the clock tower by grasping one of the clock ropes. This appropriate and grim spectre converted the beholders to the orthodox faith. We are sorely tempted to reproduce some of the portents connected with St. Loup, such as that of the church clock of St. Stephen's at Sens, whose

Digitized by Google

beautiful tones lost all their sweetness when King Clotaire was carrying it off to Paris; on seeing this the monarch was sending it back again when it sounded out so bravely at seven miles from the place that all the city heard it, and St. Loup went out to meet it. Hardly less quaint is the story of his keeping a fiend confined in cold water all night by clapping his pillow over the glass which the unwary demon had entered. We content ourselves with one further and well-known example. When St. Denis and his two companions St. Rusticus and St. Eleutherus were all three beheaded, the body of the first sprang up, seized the severed head, and, conducted by an angel, walked with it two miles to the spot on the hill of Montmartre where, 'in accordance with his own wishes and the order of Divine providence, his remains rest to this very day.'

The entire absence of the critical spirit and the lack of any sense of proportion are conspicuous in the exaggerated numbers with which the writer 'enforced' his stories. In the reign of Diocletian, we are assured, the prefect Dacian commenced so violent a persecution of the Christians that 17,000 of them received the crown of martyrdom in a single month (p. 229). The heroic sufferings of St. Margaret convert 5,000 persons, all of whom are promptly put to death (p. 337), while the cure of a dumb man by St. Apollinaris wins for Christ 500 followers (p. 348). The crown of unparalleled success in preaching must be awarded to St. Simon and St. Jude, who baptized 60,000 persons, including the king and his chief nobles, during a stay of fifteen months in the city of Babylon (p. 601). Results in themselves sufficiently astounding, but which pale into insignificance beside these huge figures, adorn the legends of the finding of St. Stephen, of St. Savinian, and St. Christopher. As soon as the earth is stirred in which the body of the protomartyr was laid a delicious perfume exhaled from it which healed 70 persons of divers diseases. Upon St. Savinian planting his walking-stick in the ground it forthwith put forth leaves and flowers, and 1,108 spectators—the exact figure is significant—were gained to the faith. A similar miracle wrought by St. Christopher is the means of converting 800 men, and

Digitized by Google

successive bands, each of 200 soldiers, are so touched by the piety of the giant saint that they adopt his creed and are ready to share his martyrdom. Occasionally 'wrath goes out from the Lord' upon the persecutors, or the indignant Christians turn upon their foes. When her own father ordered St. Christine to be tied to the wheels over a blazing furnace fed with oil, the fire, which refused to harm the young girl, threw out a flame which consumed 1,500 of the by-standers.

It is characteristic of the age in which the *Golden Legend* was compiled that all the martyrs do not suffer in a spirit of perfect meekness. Fierce recrimination is at times hurled back in reply to the taunts of their judges, and one infant prodigy fixes her teeth in the shoulder of her heathen jailer. We wonder whether it is quite fortuitously that the most angry language is put into the mouths of women by the Blessed Jacobus de Voragine. 'Insatiable and shameless dog' is the well-deserved but somewhat startling title which St. Margaret confers upon the prefect Olybrius. The climax of strong invective and passionate reproach is reached in the horrible story of St. Christine. Yet even when she is enduring the most sickening tortures, inflicted by her own father, our sympathy is shocked by her calling him 'Man without honour, without shame, and detested of God,' and telling him that she rejoices that she is no longer acknowledged as the daughter of such a devil as he. The father having died suddenly, the sainted sufferer blinds Julian, his successor on the bench, with a fragment which has been cut from her tongue.

We are fully prepared in an age when everything was read in the light of the baldest literalism to meet with strange examples of babes and sucklings in whose mouths God perfected praise. Some infants, as St. Nicholas, refused the breast on fast days, or would not take it until after sundown, or performed marvels of asceticism in other ways. Conspicuous among the examples of precocious firmness in the faith and of Christian heroism are the three daughters of St. Sophia, aged respectively eleven, ten, and eight years, each of whom after enduring terrible

Digitized by Google

torments, received the crown of martyrdom. The youngest, after being scourged and having her limbs broken, was cast into a burning furnace, which shot out sparks that killed six thousand persons, but she felt no harm and walked amid the flames as one encircled in shining gold. No wonder the writer adds that their mother, who witnessed all their sufferings, underwent a triple martyrdom through sharing in all they had to endure. Angels come down to strengthen such youthful witnesses to the truth, and the father of St. Vitus, who had cruelly beaten and sorely tempted his son to apostatize, was struck blind by the sight of one such heavenly visitant in the boy's chamber.

Not merely the existence, but the active interference, of spiritual beings both malign and beneficent in the daily life of men was the influential and persistent conviction of the Middle Ages, and it naturally finds abundant expression in the *Golden Legend.* The Christian's wrestling against principalities and powers is pictured in its pages, sometimes as a fair stand up fight between the saint and his fiendish assailant, sometimes as a legal controversy after death to determine the rightful destination of the departed. A whole troop of fiends is met returning disconsolate from their defeat at the inquest over the dead body of the Emperor Henry. In vain they had alleged that his many sins rightly demanded punishment: the gift of a single golden chalice availed to cancel the record and secured for the donor admission to the joy of Paradise.

The spirit world—both of angels and demons—which fills so subordinate a place, through the questionable complacency of modern thought, in our religious consciousness was very real to men's apprehension in the thirteenth century. For them the struggle with principalities and powers and spiritual wickedness in high places had not been ranked among the exploded delusions of effete superstition, nor relegated to negligible regions of speculation beyond the boundaries of positive and practical knowledge. In the *Golden Legend* the demons take possession of people and afflict them with painful disorders. They assume human form and retain it for a long season to consummate the damnation of a notorious sinner.

Digitized by Google

They boldly dispute with St. Peter or the Virgin or one of the angels the body of a defunct before the judgment seat of God, and allege the dead man's sins in support of their claim. They tempt to sensual indulgence, not only in most alluring guise, but with such seductive subtlety as to deceive, if it were possible, the very elect. They load their followers with gifts of gold and precious stones, and restore them at the price of apostasy to lost or forfeited honours even in the ecclesiastical order. Yet with all their craft they are easily outwitted. They are absolutely powerless before the touch of a relic or the sign of the cross; while with deeper significance they confess that the virtue which most readily conquers them is humility.

The legend of Fursy, saint and bishop, is a quaint example of the contest for a soul. After a long and virtuous life the bishop rendered up his spirit to God. He then saw three angels come to him, two of whom carried his soul while the third preceded them bearing a white shield and brandishing a sword of fire. He saw too some demons, who, to prevent his advancing, shot flaming arrows, which the foremost angel caught on his shield and at once extinguished. Then the demons said, 'This man belongs to us; he has often indulged in idle talk; he has no right to enter the assembly of the blessed.' And the angel replied, 'Unless you can prove him guilty of great vices, he will not be punished for trifling faults.' After further discussion the angel exclaims, 'Let God judge between us.' So they fight, and the angel beats back his adversaries. Once more the demons charge the bishop with accepting gifts from wicked men. 'He believed them to be penitent.' 'But he ought first to have assured himself of their penitence.' Again the issue is referred to the God of battles, and the combat is renewed and the angel is victor. After further parley—during which the devil not only smote Fursy so cruelly that he never afterwards forgot the blow, but also plucked from hell and hurled at him one of the damned who struck and burned his shoulder—the accuser alleges that Fursy has not loved his neighbour as himself. 'He has always done good to his neighbour,' pleads the angel. 'That is not enough,' replies the demon. Once

Digitized by Google

more they fight and the evil spirit is worsted. Then the demon urges, 'If God be just, this man deserves chastisement, for he promised to renounce the world, whereas, on the contrary, he has loved it.' 'If he has loved the things of the world,' says the angel, 'it has not been for self-indulgence, but in order to give them to the poor.' Again the conflict is renewed, but God gives the angels victory and the dead man sees himself enveloped in an atmosphere of astounding brightness. And after all this, continues our author with inimitable simplicity, the soul of Fursy re-entered his body, to the deep surprise of those who were watching his corpse, and the aged bishop still lived for some time, after which he died, laden with good works.

An interview between St. Dominic and the Prince of darkness is too characteristic to be omitted. One night, as St. Dominic was praying in his church in Bologna, the devil appeared under the guise of a friar, and the saint, supposing him to be one of the brethren, made signs that he should go and sleep with his companions. The devil derisively repeated the signs with his head, and the saint, desiring to know what brother it was who so disregarded his orders, lighted a candle at one of the lamps and soon discovered with whom he was dealing. Thereupon he vehemently reproached the fiend, who dared in his turn to twit St. Dominic with breaking the rule of silence by speaking to him. The saint reminded him that his dignity as abbot released him from the rule of silence, and then commanded him to say how he tempted the brethren in the choir. 'I make them come too late and leave too soon.' The saint, 'How do you tempt them in the dormitory?' The devil, 'I make them go to bed too early and rise too late.' 'And how do you tempt them in the refectory?' and the fiend, leaping from one table to another, only answered several times over, 'By too much and too little,' and when questioned what he meant replied, 'I induce some to eat too much, that so they may sin through gluttony; and I persuade others not to eat enough, that they may be less fit for the service of God.' Next Dominic inquired of the devil how he tempted the brethren in the parlour, and the devil said, 'Ah, that is my veritable domain, for when the brethren assemble

Digitized by Google

there to talk together I incite them to indulge in disorder and to get lost in idle, useless talk, and all to open their mouths at once.' Finally, Dominic led the fiend to the chapter-house of the convent, but he would not enter it at any price (*à aucun prix*), saying, 'This place is malediction, and hell to me; for I lose here all that I have gained in the rest of the convent. As soon as I have led a monk astray to sin, he comes here to purge himself of his fault and make public confession of it.' This said, the fiend disappeared. We may notice, among other quaint conceits about demoniacal possession, that on one occasion a fiend enters a man in the guise of a mosquito which is swallowed in a draught of wine.

In marked contrast with such fantastic conceptions is the following account of the office and ministry of angels. 'Lastly, the Church celebrates,' we read, 'on this day [September 29] the memory of St. Michael and all Angels.' We ought, in truth, to remember

'to laud and to honour them for many reasons: they are our guardians, our helpers, our brothers, our fellow citizens; the bearers of our souls to heaven, the representatives of our prayers before God, our comforters in our sorrows. They are, first of all, our guardians, for everyone has by his side two angels: one evil, to try him, the other good, to guard him. Our good angel guards us from our mother's breast; it is he who preserves us, as soon as we are born, from dying before we are baptized; and in adult age inclines us to good and defends us against the oppression of the tempter. In the second place, they are our helpers: for as the book of the Hebrews says, they are spirits charged with ministries. Nothing so much shows the Divine goodness or the love of God for us as this fact that God charges these sublime spirits, who are of His household, to aid us to our salvation. In the third place, the angels are our brothers and fellow citizens. For all the elect are distributed among the hierarchy of angels according to their merits: some are placed among the angels of higher, others among those of inferior, others among those of intermediate, order. And the holy Virgin alone is above them all. In the fourth place, they are the bearers of our souls to heaven: as in the Gospel of St. Luke, the beggar Lazarus was carried by an angel into Abraham's bosom. In the fifth place, they present our prayers before God: witness the angel saying to Tobias "While you were praying and burying the dead, I presented your

Digitized by Google

prayer to the Lord." In the sixth and last place, they are our comforters in trouble. They are this in three ways. They strengthen and stablish us, they help us to endure, they quench the heat of our tribulations, as did the angel in the book of Daniel, who came down into the furnace with the three young men and caused a sweet breeze to blow in the midst of the flames' (pp. 549, 550).

A hint which Jacobus de Voragine lets fall in concluding the apocryphal story of the Virgin's Assumption supplies the key to much that, if understood *au pied de la lettre*, would lose all its charm. There are some things, he says, which should be taken symbolically: and to these we should refer a whole class of phenomena that occur very frequently in his pages. The brilliancy which so often encircles the saints in their last hours; the intolerable stench emitted from the presence of evil spirits; the delicious fragrance that exhales from the bodies of saints long after the period when decay would naturally have set in, may be regarded as the poetic expression of convictions which possess all Christian minds; sometimes enshrined in such Scriptural phrase as 'the path of the just is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day'; sometimes expressed in such lyric verse as declares that

> 'Only the actions of the just
> Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.'

From the body of St. Paul at the moment of his martyrdom, from the corpse of St. Nazaire when disinterred by St. Ambrose three centuries and a half after his burial, from the cave which formed the sepulchre of St. Dominic—to name but three out of a host of like prodigies—sweet perfumes were poured forth. In the last case, we are assured, the smell was so exquisite that it surpassed all the perfumes in the world, and so powerful that it impregnated not only the saint's remains but his coffin and all the earth piled around it, and even the hands of the brethren who touched it. The symbolism of the celestial lights is too obvious to call for comment. Two of the fraternity of St. Benedict, one with the saint in his cell and the other at a distance, both see a luminous track rising from the cloister eastwards up to heaven, and

Digitized by Google

are both informed by a strange being that it is the path by which the blessed St. Benedict is mounting up to glory.

We turn from these illustrations to some other poetic features of the *Golden Legend.* It is a pretty fancy, and, as the history of St. Francis teaches, not without some element of truth, that God's creatures of the lower order recognize the sanctity and minister to the wants of His devoted servants. The ravens which fed Elijah night and morning find their counterpart in the birds and beasts, and even in the insects, which watch over the safety of the saints or help to supply their necessities. A spider's web, *hung by Divine ordinance,* over the entrance of a ruin in which St. Felix had taken refuge, convinces his pursuers that there is no one there in hiding (p. 82). A raven at the bidding of St. Benedict takes a poisoned loaf, which has been designed to cause his death, and carries it to a spot where no one will touch it (pp. 187–8). Bulls, wolves, lions—'creatures of note for mercy-lacking uses'—become obedient under the orders of the saints, and even in the presence of their relics. Two kings of the forest dig the grave of St. Paul 'the hermit' (p. 84), and St. Blaise has power to restore to a poor woman her only pig, which a wolf has carried off and at his command brought back again. The golden age of Isaiah is anticipated when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. Not only animate, but inanimate, nature is submissive to the constraining force of sanctity. The stone on which the body of St. James the Great is laid becomes plastic as wax and forms itself into a sarcophagus that encloses and exactly fits his body (p. 355). With such poetic legends we may class the pretty conceit that a hundred youths clothed in white and led by a young man in a silk tunic, placed a tablet of marble with a suitable inscription at the burial of St. Agatha upon her sepulchre and then instantly vanished (p. 149). Closely allied in thought is the fable connected with the death of St. Ignatius. 'Why do you repeat so constantly the name of Jesus Christ?' his executioners inquired. 'Because I carry His name written on my heart,' was the reply. After his death the

Digitized by Google

martyr's body was opened, and the sacred Name was found inscribed on his heart in letters of gold (p. 145).

The four days dedicated in the Calendar to the Nativity, the Annunciation, the Purification, and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, serve to illustrate the development of the Virgin-cult in the thirteenth century, and afford occasion to the author of the *Golden Legend* for recording some of the most fanciful of his anecdotes. The story of the Virgin's birth from parents already well stricken in years is mainly described in language borrowed from Holy Writ, and is designed to show that its attendant circumstances were in no degree inferior to the marvels that encircled the cradles of Isaac, of Samson, or of John the Baptist. Her early life, spent within the hallowed precinct of the temple, was only diverted from the perpetual celibacy which Mary had designed for herself by the special revelation which bade her submit to be the betrothed of Joseph. Strange to tell, the Virgin's natal day had long been forgotten in the Church when a certain saint named John Beleth observed that each year on the 8th of September he had heard angelic music keeping high festival, and in answer to his prayers he was informed that this was the anniversary of the Virgin's nativity. In the recital of the Annunciation, Jacobus de Voragine does little more than transcribe the words of the angel Gabriel as recorded by St. Luke; but the Purification affords him wider scope for pious ingenuity and practical instruction which are too characteristic to be passed over.

The festival, we are told, bears the threefold name of Purification, Presentation, and Candlemas (Chandeleur). The Virgin needed not to have submitted to the Jewish law of purification, but of her own will she did so for four reasons. First, to set an example of humility. Second, to do homage to the law, which her Son came not to destroy but to fulfil. Third, to put an end to Jewish and to commence Christian purification, which is wrought through faith purifying the heart. Fourth, to teach us to purify ourselves throughout the whole of our lives. The question why only the offering of a pair of turtle doves was made by one who had lately received a large quantity of gold from the Wise Men receives

Digitized by Google

the threefold solution, that the Virgin may have immediately given it to the poor, or that she kept it for her stay of seven years in Egypt, or that perhaps the Magi did not give much, but only a little gold as a mystic symbol. Passing over the Presentation, we come to the Candlemas, so called because at this feast the faithful carry lighted candles for four reasons. First, to correct the pagan custom of celebrating the Rape of Proserpine by searching for her in the early days of February with lighted torches.

'As it is always difficult to renounce an established custom, Pope Sergius decreed, in order to give the practice a Christian purpose, that everyone should pay honour to the Virgin on this day by carrying a taper that had been blessed. In this way the ancient usage was continued, but was elevated to a higher intention.'

Second, the lighted candles were to serve as emblems of her who is all-light. Third, the procession of that day symbolizes that made by Mary and Joseph, Simeon and Anna, at the presentation of Christ in the temple. Lastly, the festival was designed to instruct us that, if we would be pure in the sight of God, we must have sincere faith, disinterested action, and right intention. The lighted taper represents faith and good works, the wick concealed in the wax, right intention: of which St. Gregory says, 'Let your works be public, but let your intentions remain secret.'

It fully accords with such intermixture of fact and fable that strange, incredible, and pointless stories—some of them grotesquely antinomian in tendency—are strung upon the explanation of the four festivals in honour of the Virgin. A soldier who had adopted the cowl proved too stupid to learn anything beyond the Ave Maria, which he repeated daily with conscientious reiteration. After his burial a lily sprang from his grave, whose root was traced to the dead man's mouth, and on every leaf of it was imprinted the Angelic Salutation in golden letters. A highway robber, *who stole everything he could lay hands on, but had a great devotion to the Virgin Mary*, was at last captured and hanged for his crimes; but the Virgin kept him alive in her arms for three days upon the gibbet, at the end of which time he was cut down and, having entered a convent, passed a life of penitence.

Digitized by Google

In one case a mother whose son was taken prisoner in war, finding her prayers to the Virgin for his release were fruitless, boldly carried off the image of the infant Saviour from the statue of the Virgin and Child in a neighbouring church, and vowed to keep it as a hostage for the restoration of her son. Needless to say, the Virgin, thus pressed, speedily effected the liberation of the captive, and received back again her own sacred Bambino. The absolute severance of any moral reformation from the regular and mechanical performance of outward acts of devotion, and the apparent unconsciousness of any necessity for contrition in order to obtain forgiveness at the bar of divine judgment, displayed in the pages of the *Golden Legend*, betoken a terribly degraded conception of Christian truth, upon which further light is cast by the abnormal crimes which meet the reader's eye. How cheap, for example, human life must have been when a woman could hire two ruffians to strangle her own son-in-law in her daughter's absence merely to be rid of the utterly groundless calumny that she was herself enamoured of him!

Already the authority of the Virgin Mary had become so influential that devotion to her atoned for the most serious crimes. Dissolute priests, debauched monks, thieves, murderers, all escape condemnation, if only they have been worshippers at her shrines. It would require more space than we have at command to describe in detail the many wonders assigned to her. The mere repetition of the Ave Maria daily foils for years all the arts and crafts of the devil to drag a brigand down to hell. Yet more singular is the legend which tells how one of her devotees was permitted in a dream to assist at a celestial Mass, attended by the Virgin and her heavenly court, at which our Lord Himself was the celebrant. In the course of the service large wax tapers were distributed to the worshippers, which at its close they all handed to the acolytes, except the earthly visitant, who refused to part with so precious a memento, whereupon the angelic official strove to wrest it from her by force. In the tussle that ensued the taper was broken, and the dreamer awoke to find the fragment of it still in her hand—a priceless souvenir of her vision, and gifted with the power of curing all manner of diseases.

Digitized by Google

All the wealth of legendary imagination naturally enough runs riot over so fascinating a topic as the Assumption of the Virgin. St. Jerome confesses that the story, which was commonly attributed for obvious reasons to St. John, is absolutely aprocryphal, but it is at least a very charming specimen of romantic fancy. The Virgin has spent the years since the dispersion of the Apostles at her home near Mount Sion in visiting the spots consecrated by memories of her Son; but at length her desire to rejoin Him has become an all-consuming passion, and an angel clothed in light appears, who, with a respectful salutation, hands her a palm branch from Paradise, which is to be borne before her bier three days later, for then her Son awaits her coming. And Mary replies, 'I earnestly beg that my sons and brothers, the Apostles, may assemble round me, so that I may see them with my eyes before I die and render up my soul to God in their presence and be buried by them. I ask, too, that my soul as it leaves my body may encounter no evil spirit, and that I may be delivered from the power of Satan.' And the angel 'Know that this very day all the Apostles will meet together here, and in their presence you shall breathe forth your spirit. For He who in old days transported the prophet from Judea to Babylon needs but a moment to bring them all here. And as for the evil spirit, what have you to fear? You have bruised his head under your feet, and have despoiled him of his power.' This said, the angel mounted up again to heaven, and the palm he had brought shone with exceeding brightness. It was a green bough, but its leaves were as brilliant as the morning star.

We cannot reproduce the legend in full. A cloud carries off St. John as he is preaching at Ephesus, and deposits him at the door of the Virgin, who welcomes him and bids him bear the palm branch at her burial. As she is speaking all the other Apostles are brought on clouds, and John explains the reason of their assemblage, while the Virgin forbids their weeping when she is gone lest the people should say, 'These men preach the resurrection to others, but are themselves afraid of death.' At the third hour of the night Jesus Himself comes with a legion of angels, the company of the

Digitized by Google

patriarchs, the army of martyrs, the cohorts of confessors, and the choirs of virgins; and all this holy troop, ranged before the throne of Mary, begin to sing canticles of praise. Then Jesus says, 'Come, My Beloved, that I may place thee on My throne, for I desire to have thee near Me.' And Mary, 'Lord, I am ready.' And all the holy choir sang sweetly the praises of Mary. After which Mary herself chanted, 'All generations shall call me blessed, because of the great honour He hath done me who can do all things.' And the leader of the heavenly choir sang out, 'Come from Lebanon, my betrothed, to be crowned.' And Mary, 'Here am I. I am coming, for it is written of me that I must do Thy will, O God, for my soul delighteth in thee.' So then the soul of Mary left her body and flew to the bosom of her Son, released from sorrow as it had been freed from stain. And Jesus said to the Apostles, 'Bear away the Virgin's body and deposit it in the Valley of Josaphat in a monument you will find there, and wait for Me there three days.' And immediately the Virgin's body was encircled with roses and lilies, the symbol of martyrs and angels, of confessors and virgins.

Whilst three virgins, who chanced to be there (*qui sè trouvaient là*), are laving the sainted body, it emits, during their travail, a light so brilliant that they cannot see it even as they touch it. Then the Apostles reverently lift it and place it in a coffin, and a friendly contention arises between Peter and John, each desiring to assign to the other the honour of carrying the celestial palm branch. Peter insists that he must bear it who was deemed worthy to recline on the Saviour's breast, but that he and St. Paul will be the bearers as he intones *Exiit Israel de Aegypto, Alleluia.* All the rest of the Apostles followed singing, and the Lord enwrapped them in a cloud, so that their voices were heard without their being seen, and angels joined in with them in harmony, and the whole earth was filled with marvellous sounds. Attracted by the melody, the Jews, headed by their chief priests, attempted to seize the coffin, but instantly their outstretched arms were withered and their eyes blinded. 'Have pity on me,' cried the high priest to Peter, 'and pray to God for me. Remember how I stood your friend on that

Digitized by Google

day when a maid-servant accused you.' We cannot linger any longer over the legend, which concludes with the miraculous preservation of the Virgin's body from corruption and with the victory over the unbelief of Thomas—who had not been present at the miraculous assumption—and disbelieves until the Virgin's girdle fell from heaven into his hands, and so all his doubts were removed.

Having reached this termination the writer observes, 'all that has just been said is absolutely apocryphal, as St. Jerome says in his letter to Paula and Eustochium'; but, the saint adds, there are, however, some of the details we ought to accept as true—viz. the divine assistance promised and displayed to the Virgin, the reunion of all the Apostles, the preparations for the burial in the Valley of Josaphat, the persecution of the Jews, the performance of the miracles, and finally the simultaneous assumption of the soul and the body. Of the other details, some should be regarded as symbolical; others, like the absence and the doubt of Thomas, may be absolutely rejected.

The legendary history of the Virgin as recorded by Jacobus de Voragine serves the twofold purpose of determining the development of her cultus at the opening of the thirteenth century and of illustrating the stores of romance which are enshrined in the *Golden Legend*. What wealth of poetic imagination meets us in its pages! The story of Nicolas who, entering the purgatory of St. Patrick, passed unhurt through long protracted perils solely by prayer for the help of Jesus, and at length reached the Elysian fields, vividly recalls the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The tale of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus and the singular fiction of St. Mary the Egyptian are flights of fancy no less fantastic and alluring. How many later stories have plots founded on similar incidents to the legend of St. Alexis, who passed seventeen years unrecognized as a servant in the house of his own wealthy father, or to that of Pelagia, who lived as a monk upon the Mount of Olives for years, and whose sex was only discovered at her death! How attractive to the taste of the age were the conversion of St. Eustace, the hunter, and St. Christopher, the giant, and St. Thais, the courtesan, with her penance of unutterable foulness! The author, after his own peculiar

Digitized by Google

fashion, at once relates and repudiates the fables which had accrued around the genealogy and the career of Judas Iscariot, and which repeat the tragic destiny of incest and ruin that overwhelmed the house of the Atreidæ. The fall and penitence of St. Theodora are identical in *motif* with Hawthorne's pathetic novel of *The Scarlet Letter*. While the field of historical romance is occupied by such examples as the struggles of St. Peter and Simon Magus, the Eastern tale of Barlaam and Josaphat, and the well-known and deeply touching legend of St. Elizabeth of Hungary.

The undying charm of incidents embodied in these romances is enhanced by the quaint simplicity with which they are described. Constantine the Great, before his conversion, has a dream in which two shining ones, whom he takes to be gods, appear to him, but *when the portraits of St. Peter and St. Paul are shown to him*, he recognizes them as his mysterious visitants. The finding of the body of St. Stephen forms the subject of a pretty legend, in which Gamaliel and Nicodemus play their parts. The ashes of all three are supposed to be gathered in golden vases and placed in one sepulchre with a vase of silver. One of the golden vases is full of red roses, the other two of white ones, and the silver vase of saffron. That with the red roses was the coffin of St. Stephen, who alone of the four was deemed worthy of a martyr's crown; the white blossoms typified the sincerity of heart with which Nicodemus and Gamaliel persevered in the faith of Christ; the saffron symbolised the virgin purity in which Atibus, Gamaliel's son, had lived and died. Such is the information thrice over conveyed in a dream by Gamaliel himself to Lucian, a priest in Jerusalem in the year of grace 417, who also pointed out the spot where the sacred relics were deposited in the priest's garden. The bishop and his clergy gathered at this place, and scarce had the digging commenced when a fragrant odour was emitted, which cured seventy persons of divers diseases. The vases were transported to the church of Jerusalem, *in which St. Stephen had formerly performed the functions of archdeacon.*

We must not linger further over the wonders recorded in the *Golden Legend*, nor give more examples of the reasons

Digitized by Google

assigned for the observance of many Church seasons. It would be only insisting upon the obvious to dwell upon the startling contrast between the miracles recounted by Jacobus de Voragine and those recorded in the Gospel narrative, and the equally startling contrast in the motives alleged for their performance. The demand for a sign from heaven so repeatedly and vainly made to our Blessed Lord by the unbelieving Jews is, in the *Golden Legend*, constantly accepted as a reasonable request, even when coupled with the most arbitrary conditions, and the wonder wrought in compliance with it invariably results in the conversion of the most obstinate and stiff-necked infidels.

The unbelief which, as we read in St. Matthew's Gospel (xiii. 58), chilled the loving energy of Omnipotent Love, is in the *Golden Legend* no obstacle to the exercise of inconceivable prodigies. The predominant appetite for thaumaturgy is insatiable. Incessant appeal is made to the ordeal of the miraculous. Even the question of the continuance or disuse of the Ambrosian, in preference to the Gregorian, liturgy was referred, although with only doubtful results, to the decision given by a special sign from heaven.

The illustrations already given will, we think, enable the reader to form an adequate conception of what for centuries formed the staple of the most popular literature throughout Central and Western Europe. As an object lesson, showing how long and how dense was the darkness which preceded the dawn of the new learning in the fourteenth century; as a vivid representation of an early stage in the development of the mind of the West; as an example of the fascination which the story of life's tragedy—the constantly renewed struggle of man against overwhelming odds—invariably exercises over the imagination; as a witness, however strangely and even grotesquely offered, of the absolute supremacy of conscience and the inviolable sanctity of duty; and more than all, as a striking presentment of examples of invincible purity and superhuman gentleness in an unspeakably coarse and cruel age, the *Golden Legend* must have had its value when it was first compiled, as it has through the softening atmosphere of six centuries its charm for ourselves.

Digitized by Google

But to claim more than this for it, as M. Teodor de Wyzema does in his Preface, to speak of its incredible absurdities as though they admitted of intelligent acceptance, is to place the *Golden Legend* in utterly false perspective, to do infinite damage to the cause of truth, and to afford excuse for those assaults upon the miracles recorded in Holy Scripture which are so common and so pernicious at the present day.

ART. III.—THE HOLY EUCHARIST: AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY.

PART VIII.

To the lists of books prefixed to Parts I.–VII., add the following:

58. *The Whole Works of the Right Rev. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D., Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore.* By the Right Rev. REGINALD HEBER, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Revised and corrected by the Rev. C. P. EDEN. In ten volumes. (London, 1850–1856.)
59. *A Discourse concerning the Adoration of the Host, as it is taught and practised in the Church of Rome.* (London, 1685.)
60. *A Discourse against Transubstantiation.* (London, 1685.)
61. *A Discourse concerning the Necessity of Reformation with respect to the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of Rome. The First Part.* (London, 1686.)
62. *The Necessity of Reformation with respect to the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of Rome. The Second Part. Wherein is showed the Vanity of the Pretended Reformation of the Council of Trent.* (London, 1686.)
63. *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century, being the Correspondence between the Eastern Patriarchs and the Nonjuring Bishops.* By GEORGE WILLIAMS. (London, Oxford, and Cambridge, 1868.)

XXI. At the Savoy Conference in 1661 a paper of 'exceptions' against the Book of Common Prayer was drawn up

Digitized by Google

by the Presbyterian divines. Among the requests contained in this paper, it was asked that kneeling at the reception of Communion might be optional,[1] and that the 'declaration on kneeling' which the Council had added to the Prayer Book of 1552, but which was omitted in the Prayer Book of 1559, might be restored.[2] In the reply of the Bishops it was stated that kneeling was 'most convenient' and 'most decent' at Communion ;[3] and that, as to the declaration, it was

'not in the liturgy of Queen Elizabeth, nor confirmed by law; nor is there any great need of restoring it, the world being now in more danger of profanation than of idolatry. Besides, the sense of it is declared sufficiently in the twenty-eighth article of the Church of England.'[4]

In the revised Prayer Book, however, drawn up by Convocation in 1661, and given the sanction of the State by the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the 'declaration on kneeling' was added at the end of the Order of Holy Communion, with one alteration of great significance, namely, that the words 'corporal presence' were substituted for the phrase 'real and essential presence.'[5] As we have already pointed out,[6] the declaration in the form adopted in 1552, while it was capable of an interpretation not inconsistent with the statements of the Council of Trent by laying stress on the word 'natural,' was not likely to have been drawn up by any who believed in the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the consecrated elements. In considering its meaning in the altered form in which it appeared in the Prayer Book of 1662, it is necessary to ask what reasons led the Bishops to assent to the addition of the declaration after replying to the Presbyterian divines that it was unnecessary, and with what object the alteration in its wording was made. Such evidence as there is supports the opinion that in the meantime they had been shown how the declaration might be admitted

[1] Cardwell, *A History of Conferences and other Proceedings connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 310, 321.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 322, 323. [3] *Op. cit.* p. 350.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 354. [5] *Op. cit.* p. 383.

[6] See Part V. of this article, *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1902, pp. 88, 89.

Digitized by Google

without any rejection of the doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and that the alteration was made so as to secure this result.[1]

In other respects no change bearing on the doctrine of the Eucharist was made in the Prayer Book of 1662. Moreover, the Articles remained unaltered. By the official statements of the Church of England, therefore, it was left possible for her members to hold any doctrine regarding the Eucharistic presence other than Transubstantiation and Zwinglianism, and any doctrine regarding the Eucharistic sacrifice which allowed for a 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' and a 'remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ,' and did not impair the completeness and efficacy of the sacrifice offered on the cross. Yet, now as in 1604, the words of the Catechism could most easily be understood to imply the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the consecrated elements prior to their reception in Communion.

John Cosin was born at Norwich in 1595. In 1616 he became librarian and secretary to Bishop Overall. After holding several preferments, he became Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1634, and Dean of Peterborough in 1640. He suffered in the troubled times which followed that year, and from 1643 to 1660 he was in France. In July 1660 he returned to his deanery at Peterborough, and on Dec. 2, 1660, he was consecrated Bishop of Durham. In January 1672 he died.

Cosin's great learning and the prominent part taken by him in the revision of the Prayer Book of 1662 make his belief about the Eucharist of special interest. About 1652, when he was in France, he wrote a book entitled *Regni Angliae Religio Catholica*, at the request of Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, with the object of giving Christians abroad a just idea of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. The English Church, he says,

[1] See a clear statement in Pullan, *The History of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 316–18. Cf. Procter and Frere, *A new History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 197. For other interpretations, see Perry, *Some Historical Considerations relating to the Declaration on Kneeling*; Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, pp. 823–60; Tomlinson, *Prayer Book, Articles, and Homilies*, pp. 264, 265.

Digitized by Google

rejects 'the fable (figmentum) of Transubstantiation,' and 'the repeated (iteratum) sacrifice of Christ to be offered daily by each priest for the living and the departed.'[1] The Eucharist is celebrated on the greater festivals and on the first Sunday of each month; and, if those who can rightly communicate wish for it, it can and therefore ought to be celebrated on any other Sunday, festival, or weekday. In describing the service, he mentions the retention of the ancient ceremonies, prayers, and vestments; that, after the Prayer for the Church Militant, those who are not about to communicate leave the church; that the communicants enter the chancel before the Confession; that, at the Prayer of Consecration, the priest 'blesses each symbol, and consecrates them to be the Sacrament (in sacramentum) of the Body and Blood of Christ;' that, in the posture of kneeling at and after Communion the communicants 'adore Christ, not the Sacrament;' and that there is 'the solemn Eucharist or sacrifice of praise of the Church, offered to God Most High as a commemoration (in commemorationem) of the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ once offered on the cross.'[2]

Cosin wrote for the Countess of Peterborough *A Paper concerning the Differences in the chief points of Religion betwixt the Church of Rome and the Church of England*, which was printed in 1705 by Dr. Hickes from the copy which Cosin had given to the Countess. It contains lists of 'the differences' and of 'the agreements' 'between the Roman Catholics and us of the Church of England.' Among 'the differences' are the Roman Catholic beliefs

'That the priests offer up our Saviour in the Mass as a real, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and that whosoever believes it not is eternally damned:

'That, in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the whole substance of bread is converted into the substance of Christ's Body, and the whole substance of wine into His Blood, so truly and properly as that after consecration there is neither any bread nor wine remaining there; which they call Transubstantiation, and impose upon all persons under pain of damnation to be believed.'[3]

[1] Cosin, *Works* (*Anglo-Catholic Library*), iv. 347.
[2] *Op. cit.* iv. 357–60. [3] *Op. cit.* iv. 333.

Digitized by Google

Among the 'agreements' are, that 'Roman Catholics' and 'we are at accord'

'In commemorating at the Eucharist the sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood once truly offered for us:

'In acknowledging His sacramental, spiritual, true, and real presence there to the souls of all them that come faithfully and devoutly to receive Him according to His own institution in that holy Sacrament.'[1]

In 1656, while at Paris, Cosin wrote his *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis*, which was published in London in 1675 after his death. An English translation by Luke de Beaulieu appeared in the following year. The position maintained at great length in this treatise is probably the same as that briefly expressed in the quotations which have already been made. Cosin associates the doctrine of the Church of England with that of those foreign reformers who followed Calvin in asserting a real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ to faithful communicants. A few passages at first sight seem to imply that the consecrated elements are the Body and Blood of Christ before Communion; but, when these are closely examined and viewed in their context, the meaning of them appears to be that it is the office of the consecrated elements to enable the communicant to receive Christ's Body and Blood.

'In the Eucharist, by virtue of the words and blessing of Christ, the condition, use, and office of the bread is wholly changed; that is, of common and ordinary, it becomes our mystical and sacramental food; whereby . . . the real Body of Christ is not only shadowed and figured, but also indeed given and received in the souls of worthy communicants.'[2]

'The form of this Sacrament consists in the union of the thing signified with the sign, that is, the bestowing (exhibitione) of the Body of Christ with the consecrated bread, still remaining bread. By the appointment of God these two are made one; and, though this union be not natural, substantial, personal, or local, by their being one within another, yet it is so straight and so true that, in eating the blessed bread, the real Body of Christ is given to us, and the names of the sign and of the thing signified are reciprocally changed, what is proper to the Body is attributed to the bread, and what

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 336. [2] *Op. cit.* iv. 46 (*cf.* 172).

Digitized by Google

belongs only to the bread is affirmed of the Body, and both are united in time, though not in place.'[1]

'We do not hold that only the merits of the death of Christ are represented by the blessed elements, but also that His very Body which was crucified for us, and His very Blood which was shed for us, are both signified and offered, that our souls may possess Christ as truly and certainly as the material and visible signs are by us seen and received, eaten and drunk. . . . We own the union between the Body and Blood of Christ and the elements, whose use we hold to be changed from what it was before. But we deny what the Papists affirm, that the substance of bread and wine are abolished or changed into the Body and Blood of our Lord in such sort that the bare accidents of the elements do alone remain united with Christ's Body and Blood. And we also deny that the Sacrament still retains the nature of a Sacrament when used otherwise than according to the institution of God, so that Christ in the consecrated bread ought or could be kept and carried about, because He is present only to communicants. . . . We do not say that in the Lord's Supper we receive only the benefits of Christ's death and passion; but we join the ground with its fruits, that is, Christ with those advantages we receive from Him, affirming with St. Paul that "the bread which we break is κοινωνία, the Communion of the Body of Christ, and the cup which we bless the Communion of His Blood," of that very substance which He took of the blessed Virgin and afterwards carried into heaven, differing from the Papists only in this, that they believe the eating and Communion of Christ to be in a corporal fashion, and we, on the contrary, maintain it to be indeed as real as if it were naturally and corporally, but not in a corporal or natural way. . . . But that Christ, as the Papists affirm, should give His Flesh and Blood to be taken and eaten with the mouth and the teeth . . . . this our words and our hearts do utterly deny.'[2]

The fifth volume of the edition of Cosin's works in the *Anglo-Catholic Library* contains three series of notes on the Book of Common Prayer ascribed to Cosin. There is nothing in the second and third series, both of which are the work of Cosin, which suggests any different doctrine from that explained in the *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis.* The most important passages are the following:

'True it is that the Body and Blood of Christ are sacramentally and really (not feignedly) present, when the blessed bread and wine

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 48 (*cf.* 173). [2] *Op. cit.* iv. 48, 49 (*cf.* 174, 175).

Digitized by Google

are taken by the faithful communicants; and as true is it also that they are not present but only when the hallowed elements are so taken, as in another work (the *History of the Papal Transubstantiation*) I have more at large declared. Therefore whosoever so receiveth them, at that time when he receiveth them, rightly doth he adore and reverence his Saviour there together with the sacramental bread and cup exhibiting His own Body and Blood unto them. Yet because that Body and Blood is neither sensibly present (nor otherwise at all present but only to them that are duly prepared to receive them, and in the very act of receiving them and the consecrated elements together, to which they are sacramentally in that act united), the adoration is then and there given to Christ Himself, neither is nor ought to be directed to any external sensible object, such as are the blessed elements.' [1]

'The Eucharist may by allusion, analogy, and extrinsecal denomination, be fitly called a sacrifice, and the Lord's table an altar; the one relating to the other; though neither of them can be strictly and properly so termed. . . . The prophecy of Malachy.[2] . . . is interpreted and applied by the ancient fathers sometimes in general to all the acts of our Christian religion, and sometimes in particular to the Eucharist, that is, the act of our praise and thanksgiving for the sacrifice of Christ once made for us upon the cross (as here we use in the Church of England).' [3]

'Though the bread and wine remain, yet the consecration, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, do not remain longer than the holy action itself remains for which the bread and wine were hallowed.' [4]

The first series of these notes contains teaching of a different kind, explicitly connecting the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ with the consecration and calling the Eucharist a propitiatory sacrifice. Dr. Barrow, the editor of the edition of Cosin's works in the *Anglo-Catholic Library*, ascribed the notes in this first series to Cosin, and accounted for the doctrinal difference between them and those in the

[1] *Op. cit.* v. 345. [2] Mal. i. 10. [3] *Op. cit.* v. 347, 348.

[4] *Op. cit.* v. 356, 357. From the way it is introduced this sentence seems to express Cosin's own opinion; but it should be noticed that it forms part of a question apparently stated as a basis of discussion which suggests a practical conclusion which Cosin did not accept, namely, that the curates should have any remains of the consecrated elements to their own use.

Digitized by Google

second series and the *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis* by their having been written at an earlier date in Cosin's life.[1] It seems more probable that they are the work of a different writer, possibly a nephew of Bishop Overall named Hayward.[2] They include the following statements:

'It is confessed by all divines that upon the words of consecration the Body and Blood of Christ is really and substantially present, and so exhibited and given to all that receive it; and all this not after a physical and sensual, but after a heavenly and invisible and incomprehensible manner: but yet there remains this controversy among some of them, whether the Body of Christ be present only in the use of the Sacrament and in the act of eating, and not otherwise. They that hold the affirmative, as the Lutherans in *Conf. Sax.* and all Calvinists do, seem to me to depart from all antiquity, which place the presence of Christ in the virtue of the words of consecration and benediction used by the priest and not in the use of eating of the Sacrament, for they tell us that the virtue of that consecration is not lost, though the Sacrament be reserved either for sick persons or other.'[3]

'This is a plain oblation of Christ's death once offered, and a representative sacrifice of it, for the sins, and for the benefit, of the whole world, of the whole Church; that both those which are here on earth, and those that rest in the sleep of peace, being departed in the faith of Christ, may find the effect and virtue of it . . . . It is not only commemorated to have been once offered, but solemn prayers are here also added, and request made, that it may be effectual to all. . . . And in this sense it is not only an eucharistical, but a propitiatory, sacrifice. . . . Why should we then make any controversy about this? They love not the truth of Christ, nor the peace of the Church, that make these disputes between the Church of Rome and us, when we agree, as Christian Churches should, in our liturgies: what private men's conceits are—what is that to the public approved religion of either Church, which is to be seen in their liturgies best of all?'[4]

Jeremy Taylor was born at Cambridge in 1613. He became Rector of Uppingham in 1638, and shortly afterwards was appointed Chaplain to the King. During the Common-

[1] *Op. cit.* v. p. xix.

[2] See a discussion on this point in some letters in the *Guardian* for September 26, October 3, 17, 24, 1900.

[3] *Op. cit.* v. 131.

[4] *Op. cit.* v. 119, 120.

Digitized by Google

wealth he resided in Wales, London, and Ireland. He was consecrated Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore early in 1661. He died in 1667. Indications of his belief about the Eucharist may be found in his *Life of Christ*, *Holy Living*, *Dissuasive from Popery*, *Letters to Persons changed or tempted to a change in their Religion*, and most fully in *The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament.* In the *Life of Christ*, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, in referring to the discourse at Capernaum, speaks of 'the mysterious and symbolical manducation of Christ Himself';[1] and, in connexion with the last Supper, says that our Lord 'gave His Body and Blood in Sacrament and religious configuration.'[2] In the *Fifth Letter* it is asserted that Christ 'is not' 'in the Blessed Sacrament' 'according to His human nature,' but 'is present there by His divine power, and His divine blessing, and the fruits of His Body, the real effective consequents of His passion.'[3] In the *Dissuasive from Popery* and the *Real Presence and Spiritual* it is maintained at length that our Lord's words at the institution of the Sacrament were figurative, and that He is present in effect to the souls of faithful communicants. Among such statements are these:

'The symbols become changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, after a SACRAMENTAL, that is, in a SPIRITUAL, REAL manner, so that all that worthily communicate do by faith receive Christ really, effectually, to all the purposes of His passion.'[4]

'We say that Christ's Body is in the Sacrament really, but spiritually. They' [the 'Papists'] 'say it is there really, but spiritually. For so Bellarmine is bold to say, that the word may be allowed in this question. Where now is the difference? Here, by "spiritually" they mean "present after the manner of a spirit"; by "spiritually" we mean "present to our spirits only"; that is, so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith, or spiritual susception. . . . We by the "real spiritual presence" of Christ do understand Christ to be present as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace; and this is all which we mean besides the tropical and figurative presence.'[5]

'"Take, eat," and "This do," are as necessary to the Sacrament

[1] Taylor, *Works* (Eden's edition), ii. 557.
[2] *Op. cit.* ii. 606.
[3] *Op. cit.* vi. 669.
[4] *Op. cit.* vi. 13.
[5] *Op. cit.* vi. 17.

Digitized by Google

as "Hoc est corpus," and declare that it is Christ's Body only in the use and administration; and therefore not natural but spiritual.'[1]

'He is in the Sacrament as He can be in a Sacrament, in the hearts of faithful receivers as He hath promised to be there; that is, in the Sacrament mystically, operatively, as in a moral and divine instrument; in the hearts of receivers by faith and blessing.'[2]

'His Body figuratively, tropically, representatively in being, and really in effect and blessing.'[3]

'That there is no implicit warrant' [for adoration] 'in the Sacramental words of "This is My Body" I have given very many reasons to evince, by proving the words to be Sacramental and figurative.'[4]

'Christ's Body and Blood are only present to faith and to the spirit.'[5]

A passage in *Holy Living* approaches more nearly to the receptionist view of Calvin than the passages already quoted; but, like them, it is probably intended to express Virtualism rather than Receptionism. It is as follows:

'Believe, if thou art a worthy communicant, thou dost as verily receive Christ's Body and Blood to all effects and purposes of the Spirit as thou dost receive the blessed elements into thy mouth, that thou puttest thy finger to His hand, and thy hand into His side, and thy lips to His fontinel of blood, sucking life from His heart .... Dispute not concerning the secret of the mystery and the nicety of the manner of Christ's presence; it is sufficient for thee that Christ shall be present to thy soul as an instrument of grace, as a pledge of the resurrection, as the earnest of glory and immortality, and as a means of many intermedial blessings.... Believe that Christ in the holy Sacrament gives thee His Body and His Blood. He that believes not this is not a Christian; he that believes so much needs not to enquire further, nor to entangle his faith by disbelieving his sense.'[6]

Jeremy Taylor had a clearer idea about the Eucharistic sacrifice than would be thought likely merely from the consideration of his views as to the presence of our Lord in the Sacrament. And he recovered the thought of the connexion of the Eucharist with the pleading of Christ's sacrifice in heaven which was known to the Fathers and the Western liturgical and Greek writers of the Middle Ages, but lost by

[1] *Op. cit.* vi. 44. [2] *Op. cit.* vi. 59, 60. [3] *Op. cit.* vi. 109.
[4] *Op. cit.* vi. 163. [5] *Op. cit.* vi. 206. [6] *Op. cit.* iii. 218.

Digitized by Google

the schoolmen and in the later Western theology. In *Holy Living* he writes,

'1. The celebration of the Holy Sacrament is the great mysteriousness of the Christian religion, and succeeds to the most solemn rite of natural and Judaical religion, the law of sacrificing . . . . This the Son of God, Jesus Christ, God and Man, undertook, and finished by a sacrifice of Himself upon the altar of the cross.

'2. This sacrifice, because it was perfect, could be but one, and that once: but because the needs of the world should last as long as the world itself, it was necessary that there should be a perpetual ministry established, whereby this one sufficient sacrifice should be made eternally effectual to the several new arising needs of all the world, who should desire it or in any sense be capable of it.

'3. To this end Christ was made a priest for ever; He was initiated or consecrated on the cross, and there began His priesthood, which was to last till His coming to judgment. It began on earth, but was to last and be officiated in heaven, where He sits perpetually representing and exhibiting to the Father that great effective sacrifice which He offered on the cross, to eternal and never-failing purposes.

'4. As Christ is pleased to represent to the Father that great sacrifice as a means of atonement and expiation for all mankind, and with special purposes and intendment for all the elect, all that serve Him in holiness: so He hath appointed that the same ministry shall be done upon earth too, in our manner, and according to our proportion: and therefore hath constituted and separated an order of men who, by "showing forth the Lord's death" by sacramental representation, may pray unto God after the same manner that our Lord and High Priest does, that is, offer to God and represent in this solemn prayer and sacrament Christ as already offered . . . . .

'5. As the ministers of the Sacrament do in a sacramental manner present to God the sacrifice of the cross by being imitators of Christ's intercession, so the people are sacrificers too in their manner: for besides that by saying "Amen" they join in the act of him that ministers, and make it also to be their own; so when they eat and drink the consecrated and blessed elements worthily, they receive Christ within them, and therefore may also offer Him to God, while in their sacrifice of obedience and thanksgiving they present themselves to God with Christ, whom they have spiritually received, that is, themselves with that which will make them gracious and acceptable.' [1]

[1] *Op. cit.* iii. 214, 215.

Digitized by Google

One of the ablest theologians of the times of Charles I., the Commonwealth, and the Restoration, was Herbert Thorndike. His personal history, like that of many in the same period, was of some vicissitude. He was born in 1598, probably in Suffolk, though he came of a Lincolnshire family. In 1618 or 1619 he was appointed minor Fellow, and in 1620 middle or major Fellow, of Trinity College, Cambridge. An inference from the statutes of his College shows that he must have been ordained priest not later than 1627. He filled the office of University Preacher in 1631; he was Greek Reader of Trinity College in 1632, Senior Proctor in 1638, Head Lecturer of Trinity College in 1639. He received the appointment of Prebendary of Layton Ecclesia in Lincoln Cathedral in 1636, but resigned this Prebend because of a requirement of the College Statutes in 1640. In 1639 he became Vicar of Claybrook, near Lutterworth, and in 1642 Rector of Barley, in Hertfordshire. He was ejected from Barley in July 1643 under the Commonwealth. In September 1643 the Fellows of Sidney Sussex College elected him Master by a majority of one, but before the formalities of the election were completed the Parliamentary soldiers interfered and forcibly took away one of the Fellows who had voted for Thorndike, with the result of a tie of votes and the appointment of the other candidate, Richard Minshull to the office of Master. Thorndike was ejected from his Fellowship at Trinity in May 1646. On the Restoration he was reinstated as Fellow of Trinity and Rector of Barley. He resigned the latter post on being appointed Prebendary of Westminster in September 1661. He was a member of the Savoy Conference, and assisted in the revision of the Prayer Book. He died on July 11, 1672.

In view of the neglect with which Thorndike's works have met, and the slighting comments which have sometimes been made upon them, it may be well to recall the judgment of so competent a critic as Mr. Arthur Haddan. Mr. Haddan, writing in 1855, speaks of Thorndike's 'profound theological writings,' refers to his life as 'connected with one of the greatest literary achievements of English theological scholarship'; and,—after explaining the small degree of attention

Digitized by Google

which his works have received as due partly to the imperfections in his style with its cumbrous sentences and want of lucid arrangement, partly to the subjects treated, and partly to 'certain unpopular opinions, the bold avowal of which, together with a somewhat impracticable honesty of temper, stopped his advancement also during his life,' but chiefly to 'the general neglect of an unstudious age,'—goes on to say:

'It would not be easy to find elsewhere among English divines either so suggestive or so impartial a statement of the principles which regulate the relations between Church and State as his treatise on that subject contains; or so compact and systematic and yet profound a summary of the whole range of Christian doctrine as is supplied by his *Epilogue*; or any tract at all giving an entire view, such as that in his *Religious Assemblies*, of the principles as well as the constituent parts of the services of the primitive Church.' [1]

Many references to the doctrine of the Eucharist are scattered about in Thorndike's writings. The most complete and systematic treatment of the subject is contained in the first five chapters of the third part of his great treatise entitled *An Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England; being a Necessary Consideration and Brief Resolution of the Chief Controversies in Religion that divide the Western Church; occasioned by the present Calamity of the Church of England: in three books, viz. of I. The Principles of Christian Truth, II. The Covenant of Grace, III. The Laws of the Church*, published in 1659.

In this treatise Thorndike refers in somewhat slighting terms to the 'opinions' of the 'factions' which maintain (1) Transubstantiation, or (2) Zwinglianism, which he describes as 'the opinion of the Socinians' or of the 'Sacramentaries,' or (3) Calvinism, or (4) Lutheranism. As it is of some importance to observe exactly what he meant by Transubstantiation, his definition of that 'opinion' may be quoted at length:

'The opinion of Transubstantiation . . . which importeth this,—that, in celebrating this Sacrament, upon pronouncing of the words with which our Lord delivered it to His disciples, "This is My Body, this is My Blood," the substance of the elements, bread and

[1] Thorndike, *Works* (*Anglo-Catholic Library*), vi. 155, 156.

Digitized by Google

wine, ceaseth and is abolished, the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ coming into their stead, though under the species of bread and wine; that is to say, those accidents of them, which our senses witness that they remain.'[1]

After describing these four 'opinions,' Thorndike proceeds to affirm, and to support by arguments from Holy Scripture, the statement, in opposition to Transubstantiation,

'that the bodily substance of bread and wine is not abolished nor ceaseth in this Sacrament by virtue of the consecration of it.'[2]

His next point is that, while 'the nature and substance of bread and wine' remain 'in the Sacrament of the Eucharist even when it is a Sacrament, that is, when it is received,' yet it is no less true and supported by Scripture that there is also the presence

'of Christ's Body and Blood, brought forth and made to be in the Sacrament of the Eucharist by making it to be that Sacrament.'[3]

It is, he maintains, contrary to Scripture to hold either that 'the Sacrament of the Eucharist is a mere sign of the Body and Blood of Christ without any promise of spiritual grace' or that the elements are not the Body and Blood of Christ 'when they are received but become so upon being received by living faith.'[4] Against these Zwinglian and Calvinistic views he asserts that

'we receive the Body and Blood of Christ, not only when we receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but also by receiving it;'[5]

that

'the Flesh and Blood of Christ be' in the Sacrament 'by virtue of the consecration of the elements into the Sacrament;'[6]

and that

'the Flesh and Blood of Christ' 'is necessarily in the Sacrament when it is eaten and drunk in it, in which if it were not, it could not be eaten and drunk in it.'[7]

[1] Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 4. [2] *Op. cit.* iv. 6.
[3] *Op. cit.* iv. 11. [4] *Op. cit.* iv. 13
[5] *Op. cit.* iv. 12. [6] *Op. cit.* iv. 16. [7] *Ibid.*

Digitized by Google

Explaining his meaning more fully, he says:

'Supposing the bread and the wine to remain in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, as sense informs and the word of God enforces; if the same word of God affirm there to be also the Body and Blood of Christ, what remaineth but that bread and wine by nature and bodily substance be also the Bodily Flesh and Blood of Christ by mystical representation (in that sense which I determined even now) and by spiritual grace.'[1]

The 'sense' of 'representation' 'determined even now' is thus stated:

'Which kind of presence you may, if you please, call the *representation* of the sacrifice of Christ, so as you understand the word "representation" to signify, not the figuring or resembling of that which is only signified, but as it signifies in the Roman laws, when a man is said "repraesentare pecuniam" who pays ready money: deriving the signification of it *a re praesenti*, not from the preposition *re*; which will import, not the presenting of that again to a man's senses, which once is past, but the tendering of that to a man's possession, which is tendered him upon the place.'[2]

He emphasizes repeatedly that the presence is 'mystical', that this 'mystical' presence of the Body and Blood of Christ is a 'means to convey His Spirit,' and that the Holy Ghost 'makes the elements' 'the Body and Blood of Christ.'[3] He refuses to define 'the manner of that which must be mystical', and what he means by asserting that the Body and Blood of Christ are present 'mystically.'[4] He rejects the view that the 'mystical and spiritual presence of the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the elements' depends on the faith of the communicants.[5] Consequently the Body and Blood of Christ are in some sense received even by those who communicate unworthily. 'For,' he says,

'that the Body and Blood of Christ should be sacramentally present in and under the elements (to be spiritually received of all that meet it with a living faith, to condemn those for crucifying Christ again that receive it with a dead faith), can it seem any way inconsequent to the consecration thereof by virtue of the common faith of

[1] Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 22. [2] *Op. cit.* iv. 20.
[3] *Op. cit.*, *e.g.* iv. 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 47, 69, 77.
[4] *Op. cit.* iv. 35, 36. [5] *Op. cit.* iv. 36.

Digitized by Google

Christians, professing that which is requisite to make true Christians, whether by a living or a dead faith?'[1]

He rejects also the doctrine ascribed to the Lutherans, that

'the omnipresence of Christ's Godhead is communicated to His Flesh by virtue of the hypostatical union, so that the Body and Blood of Christ, being everywhere present, necessarily subsisteth in the dimensions of bread and wine in the Eucharist.'[2]

In a long and elaborate argument Thorndike maintains that the consecration is effected, not by the recital of the words 'This is My Body,' 'This is my Blood,' but by the use of prayer. This position he supports by urging that when our Lord said these words He had already by His acts of blessing and thanksgiving made the elements to be His Body and Blood, and by pointing out that the ancient Liturgies and the Fathers agree in representing prayer as the means of consecration.[3]

After this, he repeats, in many varying ways of expression, his rejection of the 'opinions' of the four 'factions,' and his affirmation of the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ. To quote passages which are representative of what he elaborates and illustrates at great length: he says,

'If it can any way be showed that the Church did ever pray that the Flesh and Blood might be substituted instead of the elements under the accidents of them, then I am content that this be counted henceforth the sacramental presence of them in the Eucharist. But if the Church only prays that the Spirit of God, coming down upon the elements, may make them the Body and Blood of Christ, so that they which received them may be filled with the grace of His Spirit; then is it not the sense of the Catholic Church that can oblige any man to believe the abolishing of the elements in their bodily substance: because, supposing that they remain, they may nevertheless become the instrument of God's Spirit, to convey the operation thereof to them that are disposed to receive it, no otherwise than His Flesh and Blood conveyed the efficacy thereof upon earth. And that, I suppose, is reason enough to call it the Body and Blood of Christ sacramentally, that

[1] Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 38: cf. 82. [2] *Op. cit.* iv. 43.
[3] *Op. cit.* iv. 50–68.

Digitized by Google

is to say, as in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. It is not here to be denied that all ecclesiastical writers do with one mouth bear witness to the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist. Neither will any one of them be found to ascribe it to anything but the consecration; or that to any faith but that upon which the Church professeth to proceed to the celebrating of it.'[1]

'They all [i.e. the Fathers] acknowledge the elements to be changed, translated, and turned into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood; though in a Sacrament, that is, mystically; yet, therefore, by virtue of the consecration, not of his faith that receives.'[2]

'The Canon of the Mass itself prays that the Holy Ghost coming down may make this bread and this cup the Body and Blood of Christ.[3] And, certainly, the Roman Mass expresses a manifest abatement of the common and usual sense of the Body and Blood of Christ unto that sense which is proper to the intent and subject of them who speak of this Sacrament, when the Church in the consecration prays "ut nobis corpus fiat dilectissimi filii tui domini nostri Jesu Christi"—"that they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to us." No man that understands Latin and sense will say, it is the same thing for the elements to become the Body and Blood of Christ as to become the Body and Blood of Christ to those that receive, which imports no more than that which I have said. And yet there is no more said in those Liturgies which pray that the Spirit of God may make them the Flesh and Blood of Christ to this intent and effect, that those which received them may be filled with the grace of His Spirit. For the expression of this effect and intent limits the common signification of the words to that which is proper to this action of the Eucharist; as I have delivered it.'[4]

'As it is by no means to be denied that the elements are really changed, translated, turned, and converted into the Body and Blood of Christ (so that whoso receiveth them with a living faith is spiritually nourished by the same, he that with a dead faith is guilty of crucifying Christ), yet is not this change destructive to the bodily substance of the elements, but cumulative of them with the spiritual grace of Christ's Body and Blood; so that the Body and

[1] Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 69. [2] *Op. cit.* iv. 73.

[3] A comparison of an earlier passage (*op. cit.* iv. 57) seems to show that Thorndike here referred to the prayer in the Canon of the Mass, 'Jube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui,' &c.

[4] *Op. cit.* iv. 76, 77.

Digitized by Google

Blood of Christ in the Sacrament turns to the nourishment of the body, whether the Body and Blood in the truth turn to the nourishment or the damnation of the soul.'[1]

In the same treatise, his *Epilogue*, Thorndike discusses the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice. At the outset of the discussion he connects the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist with the doctrine of the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament which he has already maintained.

'Having showed,' he says, 'the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist because it is appointed that in it the faithful may feast upon the sacrifice of the cross, we have already showed by the Scriptures that it is the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross in the same sense and to the same effect as it containeth the Body and Blood of Christ which it representeth,[2] that is, mystically and spiritually and sacramentally (that is, as in and by a Sacrament) tendereth and exhibiteth. For seeing the Eucharist not only tendereth the Flesh and Blood of Christ, but separateth one from the other under and by several elements, as His Blood was parted from His Body by the violence of the cross, it must of necessity be as well the sacrifice as the Sacrament of Christ upon the cross.'[3]

He explains that there are four distinct parts or stages in the sacrifice of the Eucharist, namely, the oblation of the unconsecrated elements in the offertory, the offering of prayer in connexion with the intercession of Christ in heaven, the consecration in virtue of which 'the elements' 'are truly the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross inasmuch as the Body and Blood of Christ crucified are contained in them,' and the dedication to the service of God of the bodies and souls of those who receive the Sacrament.[4]

'The whole action,' he says, 'is that sacrifice by which the covenant of grace is renewed, restored, and established against the interruption of our failures.'[5]

[1] Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 81, 82.

[2] For Thorndike's use of 'represent' and 'representation,' see p. 66, *supra*.

[3] *Op. cit.* iv. 98, 99 : cf. 101, 104, 112, 116.

[4] *Op. cit.* iv. 106–118.

[5] *Op. cit.* iv. 119.

Digitized by Google

Thorndike emphasizes his belief that reception of Communion and offering of prayer are necessary parts of the sacrifice. After affirming that 'the Sacrament of the Eucharist' is 'a propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice by virtue of the consecration,' he proceeds,

'If from hence any man would infer that, seeing the Sacrament of the Eucharist (that is to say, the Body and Blood of Christ crucified there present by virtue of the consecration) is a propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice for the congregation there present, for their relations, and for the Church, therefore it is so whether they proceed to receive the Eucharist or not, therefore it is so whether they proceed to offer up the Eucharist present by their prayers for the necessities of the Church or not, therefore it is so whether they pray with the Church or not, the consequence will straight appear to fail, because those reasons which make it such a sacrifice make it so in order to the receiving, or to the offering, of it by the prayers of the Church in behalf of the Church.'[1]

He maintains, further, that all the parts of the sacrifice are found in the Eucharist as celebrated in the Church of England in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer.[2]

It is of interest to notice that Thorndike, like Bishop Jeremy Taylor, had recovered, probably through his wide and accurate knowledge of the Liturgies and the writings of the Fathers, the idea of the connexion of the Eucharistic sacrifice with the Offering of our Lord in heaven which had to a large extent been out of sight in the West for a long time. Regarding, as he does, the Eucharist as a commemoration of Christ's death, inasmuch as it is the Lord who was crucified who is present in the consecrated elements, and laying stress on the separate elements as marking the separation of the Body and the Blood in our Lord's death on the cross, he explains also that the Eucharist is sacrificial because in it there is done on earth that which our Lord does in heaven.

'After the consecration is past, having showed you that St. Paul hath appointed that at the celebration of the Eucharist "prayers, supplications, and intercessions be made for all" estates of the world and of the Church; and that the Jews have no right to the

[1] Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 120, 121. [2] *Op. cit.* iv. 134, 135.

Digitized by Google

Eucharist (according to the Epistle to the Hebrews) because, though Eucharistical, yet it is of that kind the blood whereof is offered to God within the veil, with prayers for all estates of the world, as Philo and Josephus inform us; seeing the same apostle hath so plainly expounded us the accomplishment of that figure in the offering of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross to the Father in the highest heavens to obtain the benefits of His passion for us, and that the Eucharist is nothing else but the representation[1] here upon earth of that which is done there: these things, I say, considered, necessarily it follows that whoso believes the prayers of the Church, made in our Lord's name, do render God propitious to them for whom they are made, and obtain for them the benefits of Christ's death (which he that believes not is no Christian), cannot question that those which are made by St. Paul's appointment at the celebration of the Eucharist, offering up unto God the merits and sufferings of Christ there represented, must be peculiarly and especially effectual to the same purposes.'[2]

In several passages in these early chapters of the third part of the *Epitome*, one of which has been quoted above,[3] Thorndike lays great stress on the need of receiving the Holy Communion if there is to be participation in the Eucharistic sacrifice. In a later chapter he writes strongly on the need of all who are prepared receiving Communion at each celebration, but recognizes that circumstances may justify some who are present at the Eucharist not communicating on all occasions.

'I say not, therefore, that whosoever communicates not in the Eucharist, so oft as he has means and opportunity to do it, renounces his Christianity either expressly or by construction and consequence. For how many of us may be prevented with the guilt of sin, so deeply staining the conscience that they cannot satisfy themselves in the competence of that conversion to God which they have time and reason and opportunity to exercise before the opportunity of communicating? How many have need of the authority of the Church and the power of the keys, not only for their satisfaction, but for their direction, in washing their wedding garments white again? How many are so distracted and oppressed with business of this world that they cannot upon all opportunities retire their thoughts to

[1] See pp. 66, 69, *supra*. [2] Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 107, 108.
[3] See p. 70, *supra*.

Digitized by Google

that attention and devotion which the office requires? How many, though free of business which Christianity enjoineth, are entangled with the cares and pleasures of the world, though not so far as to depart from the state of grace, yet further than the renewing of the covenant of grace importeth? Be it therefore granted that there is a great allowance to be made in exacting the apostolical rule for all that are present to communicate.'[1]

The many references to the Eucharist elsewhere in Thorndike's voluminous writings add little to what is contained on this subject in the third part of the *Epitome*, from which our quotations have hitherto been made. But there are a few passages which deserve notice for their bearing on some special point.

In the twenty-fifth chapter of *The Reformation of the Church of England better than that of the Council of Trent*, written during the last two years of his life, Thorndike, like Hooker before him, endeavoured to find some common ground of agreement for those who disagree in much as to the doctrine of the Eucharist. Hooker had maintained that, provided there could be agreement that the Body and Blood of Christ are received by faithful communicants, all else might, as terms of communion, be left open in the Church.[2] Thorndike was inclined to require somewhat more; and sought for the common ground, not in the reception of the Body and Blood of Christ by faithful communicants, but in the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament by virtue of the consecration in accordance with the institution of our Lord.

'If this were agreed upon, which cannot be resisted but by Socinians and Fanatics—that the Body and Blood of Christ become present in the Sacrament by the institution of our Lord by celebrating the Sacrament, whereby His institution is executed by consecrating the elements to the purpose that the Body and Blood of Christ may be received—the whole dispute concerning the manner of presence in the nature of the formal cause might be superseded. For then all parties must agree that they are present sacramentally, as the nature of a Sacrament requireth. And that, as it would be enough to make

[1] Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 569, 570: cf. v. 175.

[2] See Part VI. of this article, *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1903, pp. 339, 340.

Digitized by Google

them "guilty of the Body and Blood" of Christ [that "eat and drink] unworthily," so it would still require living faith to make that presence effectual to all that receive it; which all parties are obliged to require to the effect, as much as they are obliged to require consecration to the sacramental presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament.'[1]

In a later chapter of the same treatise Thorndike refers incidentally to the reservation of the Sacrament for the Communion of the sick.

'Thus far I will particularize, as concerning the Eucharist, that the Church is to endeavour the celebrating of it so frequently that it may be reserved to the next Communion. For in the meantime it ought to be so ready for them that pass into the other world that they need not stay for the consecrating of it on purpose for every one. The reason of the necessity of it for all, which hath been delivered, aggravates it very much in danger of death. And the practice of the Church attests it to the utmost. Neither will there be any necessity of giving it in one kind only, as by some passages of antiquity may be collected, if common reason could deceive in a subject of this nature.'[2]

In a later chapter, again, he condemns the practice of carrying the Sacrament through the streets for the purpose of adoration, and the command of the Church of Rome for adoration at the consecration on the ground of that command having been issued in connexion with the doctrine of Transubstantiation; but asserts that it is right and in accordance with patristic teaching for 'reverence' to be 'tendered to our Lord Christ as present in the Sacrament,' and allows adoration of our Lord in the Sacrament 'when it passes the streets in order to Communion.'[3]

The study of the writings of Thorndike, Jeremy Taylor, Cosin, and the author of the first series of notes on the Book of Common Prayer ascribed to Cosin in the *Anglo-Catholic Library*, shows much difference in belief as to the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. With whatever qualifications and safeguards, Thorndike maintained that the consecrated bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ. The writer of the

[1] Thorndike, *op. cit.* v. 544. [2] *Op. cit.* v. 578.
[3] *Op. cit.* v. 585, 586.

Digitized by Google

notes on the Prayer Book held the same belief, though it is probable that he had given little consideration to the abstruse and complicated questions in which Thorndike's subtle and powerful mind took delight. On the other hand, Cosin and Jeremy Taylor appear to have regarded the effect of consecration as being to set apart the bread and wine to a sacred use, so that, when they are received, faithful communicants receive also the Body and Blood of Christ, or the virtue of them. In the existence of and the limits to these differences, the policy of the reign of Elizabeth maintained its success. We do not find in the time of Charles II. theologians of the Church of England accepting Transubstantiation. Nor are there traces of the Zwinglian view that the Sacrament is no more than a token of Christian fellowship and the elements no more than bare symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ. Between those extremes we do find widely differing beliefs. And it may be worth notice that Thorndike, agreeing with Hooker in himself repudiating Transubstantiation, and, though taking a different point as the centre, seeking like Hooker a common ground, agreed with him also in stating the basis of a possible agreement in such a way as not necessarily to involve the rejection of Transubstantiation.

XXII. In the latter part of the reign of Charles II. and in the reign of James II. many pamphlets were published in England attacking the Church of Rome. Some of these were wholly or partly directed against the doctrines ascribed to the Church of Rome in regard to the Eucharist. We have prefixed the titles of four such pamphlets to the present part of this article. The writers of them reject Transubstantiation; the definition of the Council of Trent that the Eucharist is a 'proper sacrifice'; and the view, supposed to be accepted by some Roman Catholics, that in the Mass Christ died anew. Their positive view is less clearly stated. It is probable that they believed in the spiritual communion with our Lord of faithful recipients by means of the Sacrament; and held that the Eucharist was in some sense a setting forth of the sacrifice of the death of Christ. Thus, one of them writes,

'A sacrifice is one thing, and *a true and proper sacrifice* is another. As the Church of England, and, I suppose, every other Protestant

Digitized by Google

Church, asserts a sacrifice; so, I fear, no Liturgy of the Church of Rome can be produced, preceding the Council of Trent, in which it is called a true and proper sacrifice.'[1]

'The Church of England doth not quarrel at the name of sacrifice; she not only grants, but asserts, that the Eucharist is a commemorative and representative sacrifice. And this was the meaning of the ancient Fathers, who frequently call it a remembrance or commemoration, a resemblance or representation of the sacrifice which Christ once offered upon the cross. And this is as much as Cassander seems to mean by it. But this will not satisfy the present Church of Rome; but Christ (as they will have it) is truly and properly sacrificed; that is, according to their own notion of a sacrifice, Christ is truly and properly put to death as oft as the priest says Mass. For in a true sacrifice (as Bellarmine tells us) the thing sacrificed must be destroyed; and, if it be a thing that hath life, it must be killed. And so indeed many of the Romanists roundly assert that Christ every day is by the Mass-priest.'[2]

XXIII. The accession of William III. and Mary led to the formation of the religious body separated from the Church of England known as the Nonjurors. The Archbishop of Canterbury and eight other bishops refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new king and queen. Three of these bishops died shortly after. The rest were deprived of their sees by process of law. At the same time about four hundred of the clergy were deprived of their benefices. The Nonjurors included very many of the best men in the Church of England; and the separation caused a grievous loss to the Church.

An excellent instance of the teaching current among the Nonjurors, and among some of those who remained in the Church of England, as to the Holy Eucharist, may be found in the book by John Johnson, vicar of Cranbrook in Kent, entitled *The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar, unvailed and supported, in which the Nature of the Eucharist is explained according to the Sentiments of the Christian Church in the four first Centuries.* Johnson himself was not a Nonjuror, but took the oaths and remained in possession of his benefice to the end of his life. He was on friendly terms with the

[1] *The Necessity of Reformation*, pt. ii. p. 107.
[2] *Op. cit.* pt. i. p. 41.

Digitized by Google

leading Nonjurors, and his doctrinal position appears to have been the same as theirs. His definition of sacrifice is as follows:

'Sacrifice is, 1. Some material thing, either animate or inanimate, offered to God, 2. For the acknowledging the dominion and other attributes of God, or for procuring Divine blessings, especially remission of sin, 3. Upon a proper altar (which yet is rather necessary for the external decorum than the internal perfection of the sacrifice), 4. By a proper officer, and with agreeable rites, 5. And consumed or otherwise disposed of in such a manner as the Author of the sacrifice has appointed.'[1]

Johnson then proceeds to maintain at great length that the five points which he has specified are necessary to sacrifice; and that the Eucharist has them all, and is therefore a 'proper sacrifice.' He states

'That material bread and wine, as the sacramental Body and Blood of Christ, were by a solemn act of oblation in the Eucharist, offered to Almighty God in the primitive Church, and that they were so offered by Christ Himself in the institution;'[2]

'That the Eucharistical bread and wine, or Body and Blood, are to be offered for the acknowledgment of God's dominion and other attributes, and for procuring Divine blessings, especially remission of sin;'[3]

'That the Communion Table is a proper Altar;'[4]

'That bishops and priests are the only proper officers for the solemn offering and consecrating of the Christian Eucharist;'[5]

'That the sacrifice of the Eucharist is rightly consumed by being solemnly eaten and drunk by the priest, clergy, and people.'[6]

In the course of this long discussion Johnson describes the Eucharist as an 'expiatory' and 'propitiatory,' as well as a 'proper,' sacrifice. For instance, he says:

'The other end of this sacrifice is to procure Divine blessings, and especially pardon of sin. In the first respect it is propitiatory, in the second expiatory, by virtue of its principal, the grand sacrifice.'[7]

The subject of the book, as the name denotes, is the sacrifice in the Eucharist, not the Eucharistic presence; but

[1] Johnson, *The Unbloody Sacrifice*, i. 71 (*Anglo-Catholic Library*).
[2] *Op. cit.* i. 86. [3] *Op. cit.* i. 360. [4] *Op. cit.* i. 402.
[5] *Op. cit.* i. 418. [6] *Op. cit.* i. 441. [7] *Op. cit.* i. 384.

Digitized by Google

the treatment of the doctrine of the sacrifice naturally involves some consideration of the doctrine of the presence also. Johnson says many times that the elements are after consecration the 'Body and Blood' of Christ, or His 'spiritual Body and Blood,' or 'sacramental Body and Blood,' or 'Eucharistical Body and Blood.'[1] But he further explains that Christ does not literally offer Himself in the Eucharist; that He is not personally there present in His human nature;[2] and that the bread and wine are His 'very Body and Blood' 'not in substance, but in power and effect,'[3] or 'in inward life and spirit.'[4] Thus, in one passage, he says:

'That which renders the Eucharist the most excellent and valuable sacrifice that was ever offered, except the personal sacrifice of Christ, is this, that the bread and wine, then offered, are in mystery and inward power, though not in substance, the Body and Blood of Christ. This raises the dignity of the Christian sacrifice above those of the law of Moses, and all that were ever offered by mere men. As it is natural bread and wine, it is the sacrifice of Melchisedec and of the most ancient philosophers; as it is the sacrifice of the sacramental Body and Blood of Christ, it is the most sublime and Divine sacrifice that men or angels can offer.'[5]

Putting together all which Johnson says on the subject, it appears that he held the consecrated elements to be in virtue and power, not actually, the Body and Blood of Christ. That this virtual presence was conferred at consecration, and permanently bestowed on the elements, he thought proved by the practice of the ancient Church in reserving the Sacrament, as well as by the language in which the writers of antiquity refer to it.

'They believed the Eucharist to be made the Body and Blood, not by the faith of the communicant, but by the power of the Holy Ghost, or Divine benediction, imparted to it by means of the invocation (I mean perfectly and finally imparted by this means, not exclusively of the words of institution and the oblation). And this I suppose fully appears from those authorities above cited.... And this further appears from their way of distributing the Communion, which has been before mentioned. The administrator affirms what

[1] Johnson, *op. cit.*, *e.g.* i. 266, 267, 341. [2] *Op. cit.* i. 200, 201.
[3] *Op. cit.* i. 251. [4] *Op. cit.* ii. 73. [5] *Op. cit.* ii. 86.

Digitized by Google

he gives to be the Body and Blood without any certain knowledge whether the receiver had faith or not; the receiver answers "Amen," and by this gives his assent and consent to the affirmation of the administrator, before he had actually received what was held forth to him. And, indeed, if the Eucharist were not the Body and Blood before distribution, it could not be made so by any post-fact of the communicants; for faith can give existence to nothing, cannot alter the nature of things. But I apprehend that this may be further proved from the practice of the primitive Church, in reserving some part of the Eucharistical bread and wine; for this proves not only that they thought it the Body and Blood, without any respect to the faith of the receiver, but that its consecration was permanent, and remained after the holy action was at an end. What was not received by any at the Holy Table could not there be made the Body and Blood by the faith of the communicant; and yet if they did not believe it to be the Body and Blood, for what purpose should they reserve it?'[1]

In very vehement language he denies an insinuation that it was his practice to elevate the elements after consecration:

'I never elevated the elements after consecration; nay I believe it horrible superstition in those that do it, if any such there be; and I do further solemnly declare it to be my sentiment, that to elevate and adore the Sacrament, according to the practice of the Church of Rome, is downright idolatry.'[2]

During the years from 1716 to 1725 a lengthy correspondence took place between the Nonjurors and the Bishops of the Greek Church. Isolated from the Church of England, recognizing great barriers dividing them from the foreign Protestants, repudiating much in the teaching and practice of the Church of Rome, it was not unnatural that they should desire to enter Communion with the Churches of the East. A list of 'proposals' made by the Nonjurors, dated August 18, 1716, contained a statement of points of agreement and disagreement between them and the Easterns. Among the latter it was said,

'Though they [*i.e.* the Nonjurors] believe a divine mystery in the Holy Eucharist, through the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the

[1] Johnson, *op. cit.* i. 341, 342.

[2] *Op. cit.* ii. 25.

Digitized by Google

elements, whereby the faithful do verily and indeed receive the Body and Blood of Christ, they believe it yet to be after a manner which flesh and blood cannot conceive. And seeing no sufficient ground from Scripture or Tradition to determine the manner of it, are for leaving it indefinite and undetermined, so that every one may freely, according to Christ's own institution and meaning, receive the same in faith, and may also worship Christ in spirit, as verily and indeed present, without being obliged to worship the sacred symbols of his presence.'[1]

On the Greek Bishops objecting to this statement about the Eucharist, the Nonjurors, in a document drawn up in 1722, strongly repudiated Transubstantiation, and went on to say,

'The elements are changed into a Divine thing, *i.e.* raised to a Divine efficacy by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Which change we most willingly confess, viz. that there is a mystic virtue and supernatural force transfused upon the Eucharistic elements by the priest's pronouncing the words of Institution and his prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost.'[2]

[1] Williams, *The Orthodox and the Nonjurors*, pp. 9–10.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 98.

(*To be concluded.*)

Digitized by Google

ART. IV.—WELSH METHODISM: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH.

1. *Life and Times of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror.* By the Rev. DAVID JONES, Vicar of Penmaenmawr. (London: S.P.C.K., 1902.)
2. *Life and Labours of the Rev. T. Charles, A.B., late of Bala.* By the Rev. EDWARD MORGAN, M.A., Vicar of Syston. (London, 1828.)
3. *Wales and the Welsh Church.* By HENRY T. EDWARDS, M.A., Dean of Bangor. (London: Rivingtons, 1889.)
4. *An Essay on the Church in the Principality of Wales.* By JUDGE JOHNES of Garthmyl. (London: Hatchard and Son, 1832.)
5. *Methodism in Wales*: *Quarterly Review*, October 1849.
6. *Epitome of Anglican Church History.* By E. WEBLEY-PARRY. (Carmarthen: William Spurrell, 1879.)

THE religious character and traditions of the Welsh people have altered so little within the last hundred years that the connexion between the events of 1811, when the Methodists in a body left the pale of the National Church, and the present ecclesiastical position in the Principality is far closer than many people would naturally imagine. Though the internal history of the Welsh Church during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries undoubtedly affords melancholy reading, such an excuse ought not to deter the interested inquirer from tracing carefully the course of the religious revival; for, apart from the intrinsic importance of this movement, the story of the rise of Welsh Methodism and of the lives of its four chief authors—Griffith Jones, Howel Harris, Daniel Rowland, and Thomas Charles—will supply the key-note to not a few of the difficulties of the Church question as it exists in Wales to-day.

Before entering directly on our subject, let us first draw a rapid picture of Wales in the early years of George I. The total population of the country was under 500,000 souls,

Digitized by Google

about one-third of its present numbers; it boasted no cities greater than second-rate country towns, such as Wrexham, Bangor, Carmarthen or Brecon; its inhabitants were purely agricultural in character and scattered over immense areas; its parish churches were, with few exceptions, small and often inconveniently situated; by far the greater part of the land consisted of unenclosed bog, heath and sheep-walk. Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire and East Carmarthenshire, to-day great centres of industry with a teeming and increasing population, were at that time thinly peopled districts similar to the present Cardiganshire or Montgomeryshire; Cardiff, Merthyr Tydfil, Newport, Swansea and Llanelly, were little better than large villages or small market towns; whilst such important places as Dowlais, Barry, Tredegar and Mountain Ash did not exist. In politics the squirearchy and clergy were High Church and Jacobite—nowhere did Dr. Sacheverell meet with a warmer welcome than in Wales—and though disinclined to rush to arms against the existing order of things, like the Scotch Legitimists, were looked upon with disfavour and suspicion by the home Government; the people of Wales, knowing and caring little for passing events in London, generally professed the same views as their landlords and parsons. For literature Wales possessed the Elizabethan translations of the Scriptures made by Bishop Davies, Bishop Morgan, William Salesbury, and Archdeacon Prys, together with the homely, practical verses of Rees Pritchard, vicar of Llandovery, familiarly termed 'the Vicar' throughout his native land. Though Romanism had been stamped out west of the Severn more firmly than in any other part of Great Britain, many beliefs and practices derived from the old unreformed faith still survived, the peasants paying more attention to many quaint and picturesque religious customs than to the exhortations heard in the churches. As to real Nonconformity, there was little in existence, and that little in no flourishing condition, especially in North Wales, where only six Dissenting communities were to be found. The Welsh people were therefore, as a whole, at least nominally attached to their Church, to which alone they looked for guidance, reform and teaching, there being no other power in

Digitized by Google

all Wales at that time to supply the void in the life and aspirations of her population.

It must not, however, be inferred from the above statement as to the weakness of Nonconformity that the churches were filled with attentive congregations, for both the gentry and peasantry of the early eighteenth century were, generally speaking, careless of all religious duties and much addicted to such sports as cock-fighting, wrestling, and a rough species of football; indeed, the parish church itself often served as a focus to draw the neighbouring squires, farmers and labourers on a Sunday from their distant and scattered homes, not to hear prayers and sermons, but to meet in the churchyard and indulge in these characteristic national sports, particularly that of cock-fighting. The evenings were usually occupied by noisy musical meetings, frequently leading to drunkenness and immorality.

'In those days the land was dark indeed! Hardly any of the lower ranks could read at all, the morals of the country were very corrupt; and in this respect there was no difference between gentle and simple, layman and clergyman. Gluttony, drunkenness and licentiousness prevailed throughout the whole country. Nor were the operations of the Church at all calculated to repress these evils. From the pulpit the name of the Redeemer was hardly ever heard; nor was much mention made of the natural sinfulness of man, nor of the influence of the Spirit. On Sunday mornings the poor were more constant in their attendance at church than the gentry; but the Sunday evenings were spent by all in idle amusements. Every Sabbath there was what was called a "chwareu-gamp," a sort of sport in which all the young men of the neighbourhood had a trial of strength, and the people assembled from the surrounding country to see their feats. On Saturday nights, particularly in the summer, the young men and maids held what they called "singing-eves" (nos-weithiau canu); that is, they met together and diverted themselves by singing in turns to the harp till the dawn of the Sabbath. In this town [Bala] they used to employ the Sundays in dancing and singing to the harp, and in playing tennis against the town hall. In every corner of the town some sport or other went on till the light of the Sabbath-day had faded away. In the summer "interludes" (a kind of rustic drama) were performed, gentlemen and peasants sharing the diversion together.'[1]

[1] *The Trysorva*, of 1799.

Digitized by Google

Such was Wales in the early part of the eighteenth century: illiterate, irreligious, given over to degrading or frivolous sports, to superstition, to immorality, to hard drinking. The land was ripe for a religious and social awakening; and it is no small comfort, in the face of the subsequent story of neglect and misgovernment, to dwell upon the fact that the revival, both of education and religion, came to Wales through the exertions of a clergyman of her Established Church, who had for his chief supporters and sympathizers two members of the Welsh aristocracy, a class too often ignorantly and unfairly abused. It is to Griffith Jones, rector of Llanddowror, that this great reformation of ideas and morals is due—a noble and enduring work, in which he was greatly assisted, in its early days, by Sir John Philipps, of Picton Castle, a Welsh baronet and head of one of the oldest families in Pembrokeshire, and later by the purse and energy of Mrs. Bridget Bevan, of Laugharne, by birth a Vaughan of Derllys and widow of a wealthy lawyer. Ordained by the celebrated Dr. Bull, bishop of St. Davids, in 1708, and presented to the humble little rectory of Llanddowror, near Laugharne, in South Carmarthenshire, by his kind friend and patron, Sir John Philipps, Griffith Jones lost little time in putting his great scheme of religious education into execution, beginning with his own parish, and thence extending his system of popular instruction into all parts of Wales.

'. . . Mr. Jones devised a scheme whereby he hoped to stir up and encourage a desire for learning both in young and old. This was by means of circulating charity schools—a system hitherto unknown—in which instruction was given in the Welsh language. As it was impossible to establish permanent schools in all the districts requiring them, he thought he could meet the necessities of the case by placing schools in different parts for a certain limited time, where the poor might be taught, free of expense, to read their own language, and where they might be instructed in the first truths of the Christian religion. . . . They were intended to prepare the poor and ignorant people and their children to receive further instruction from their clergyman. The schoolmasters were directed to have Morning and Evening Prayer, to teach their scholars to read the word of God in their native language, to instruct them in the words and meaning of the Church Catechism, and to teach them their duty to

Digitized by Google

God and man. They were also to teach them to sing a psalm and answer the responses reverently in divine service, and were desired to bring their scholars to the parish church. Each master was supplied with a copy of these rules. The men qualified for the work of teaching were to be communicants of the Church of England, and the clergyman of the parish in which they were placed was requested to take charge of both masters and scholars, in order to see that the latter were duly instructed, and that if any masters were negligent or disorderly they might be dismissed. By these arrangements their founder hoped that the undertaking might "defy calumny and slander, while the schools were conducted agreeably to the teaching of the Church."'[1]

The results obtained by this system were speedy and successful beyond the wildest hopes of its founder.

'This educational system, founded and maintained by the unaided energy of a simple Welsh clergyman, numbered at one time two hundred schools, which contained an aggregate of 8,687 contemporary scholars. It is recorded, on unquestionable authority, that within a period of twenty-four years no less than 150,212 of his countrymen (constituting more than a fourth of the then population of Wales) were taught to read the Scriptures in their native Cymric language in these schools, established and maintained by the unaided exertions of this native Cymric clergyman . . . . Few men, in any age or country, in so humble a position have exercised a nobler or a wider influence.'[2]

In 1761 Griffith Jones died in the house of his devoted friend and helper, Mrs. Bevan, who contrived to carry on herself the deceased founder's work, a self-imposed task that she gallantly undertook for sixteen years. At her death in 1777 this noble woman, who surely may be ranked as one of the saints of the British Church, left the sum of 10,000*l.*, a very large amount of money in Wales at that period, for the completion of the system begun by Griffith Jones, and continued with a fair measure of success by herself. Had this money (which was to have been judiciously vested in trustees of the donor's own choosing), been immediately forthcoming, much might still have been accomplished to the

[1] E. Webley-Parry, *Epitome of Anglican Church History.*
[2] Dean Edwards, *Wales and the Welsh Church.*

Digitized by Google

advantage of the Church; but by a singularly unlucky chance Mrs. Bevan's will was disputed by a wealthy relative, so that it was not until after some thirty years of litigation had elapsed that this legacy was finally secured. Though the original sum had been trebled in the interval, the system which it had been expressly bequeathed to support had meanwhile vanished for want of funds; whilst in the intervening years the Methodists, under the guidance of Thomas Charles of Bala, supplied the void in the religious and educational life of the country by establishing new circulating schools, both for adults and children, on the old model; so that by the time of the great schism in 1811 the seceding Methodists had come to be regarded as the true instructors of the Welsh people, thereby reaping not only the fruits of their own zeal and industry in later times, but also those of Griffith Jones's earlier and strictly orthodox labours. By a curious coincidence, 'Madam Bevan's Charity' (as this fund is still called in the Principality) was legally assigned to the Welsh Church in the very year which saw the exodus of the Methodist party from its fold, a circumstance which rendered this magnificent bequest practically useless.

Setting aside the labours of Mrs. Bevan after Griffith Jones's death, let us once more take a rapid glance at the condition of Wales in 1761, comparing it with the account already given of some forty years before. Whereas in 1720 the whole of the lower classes were irreligious and illiterate, we find in 1761, by the clear light of contemporary statistics, that over one-third of the total population had been taught to read and write in the interval, and that a reverent God-fearing spirit was rapidly possessing the country, to the exclusion of widespread folly and vice. A native press had meanwhile sprung into existence to meet the consequent demand for books in the vernacular which had followed the spread of the circulating schools' system. Wales had, in fact, been awakened, and the revival was already half complete at the death of its illustrious author, who had guided his countrymen into the paths of godliness, of learning, almost of civilization, under the auspices of the Welsh National Church. It will at once be asked how this movement, already

Digitized by Google

so successful in its results, came to be checked; and how the flowing tide of religious education came to be turned aside from the main current of the Church into the channels of Dissent. The late Dean Edwards of Bangor, whose spirited and impartial essays on Welsh Church history, both past and present, deserve to be more widely known, sums up both situation and answer with terrible brevity:

'In dark days Griffith Jones taught 150,212 souls to read the Welsh Bible. With intelligence came spiritual thirst. A ministry frozen at the fountain-head could not satisfy it.'

This wonderful work of a clergyman of the Established Church, which was converting all Wales, and which was heartily approved by the English Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, was looked upon coldly, if not unfavourably, by the Welsh bishops under whom Griffith Jones served. It is a matter of past history that the Georgian prelates were in too many instances unworthy of their high position and careless of the welfare of their sees; but it might have been expected that such labours and results as those described above would have received some reward or mark of recognition. But no promotion of any kind seems ever to have been offered to the Rector of Llanddowror during his long career of over forty years; even the very benefice he held, which gave him his position in the Church and his small means of livelihood, had been presented to him by Sir John Philipps before ever he had become famous and his name a household word wherever the Welsh language was spoken. So marked was this neglect on the part of those whose obvious duty would naturally have been to assist, praise, and reward his work, that even the gentle and unselfish parson could not refrain, though only on one occasion, and then in the mildest of terms, from expressing his surprise and disappointment at the utter lack of interest taken in his scheme by the spiritual Fathers of the Welsh Church. On behalf of the bishops it may be urged that they did not actually oppose the introduction of the circulating schools, though efforts from interested sources were made to raise their hands against it; but this scanty show of toleration was probably due in

Digitized by Google

the first place to Griffith Jones's own tact and undoubted orthodoxy, and, in the second, to his intimacy with such powerful and wealthy persons as Sir John Philipps and Mrs. Bevan. Nevertheless, in the matter of religious publications in the vernacular some of the bishops assisted and subscribed, so that it is scarcely fair in the light of these facts to say that the system of circulating schools was deliberately hindered by the higher clergy of the time, though to-day such an impression widely prevails. The attitude of the Georgian bishops towards the rector of Llanddowror and his work may be summed up as one of cold disapproval, with occasional but grudging assistance—an attitude which may be termed favourable only when compared with that of their successors in the latter half of the century towards the efforts of Rowland and Charles.

We now come to Howel Harris of Trevecca and Daniel Rowland of Llangeitho, two names which, being contemporaneous, are often bracketed together, though it will soon be perceived that these men had little in common of either character or ideas. The former of this pair was born at Trevecca, in the parish of Talgarth, Breconshire, in 1714. Of easy circumstances and of fairly good social position, Harris was originally destined for the Church, but in 1735, under the influence of Whitefield, he began to establish small religious societies of Methodist Churchmen in South Wales. At one of these meetings Harris made the acquaintance of Daniel Rowland, curate-in-charge of Llangeitho, and the two together visited various parts both of England and Wales on their religious mission. Whilst still under the canonical age Harris had been impatient to take orders, and expressed great indignation at Bishop Clagett's refusal to ordain him until properly qualified—a not unnatural enforcement of discipline, which the hot-headed aspirant never forgave.

'The impatience of Harris at first, and his subsequent perseverance in a course of zeal which sat in judgment upon regular authority, seem to have prevented his becoming a clergyman. Yet, if his attachment to the Chnrch was not consistent, it was genuine in its kind. His societies were founded on the model of those of Dr. Woodward; his school at Trevecca was held for a time in the parish

Digitized by Google

church, and the whole tone of his life and mind is enthusiastic rather than sectarian.'[1]

Before very long these two fiery preachers, one a beneficed clergyman and the other a layman, quarrelled and separated, Harris retiring to Trevecca, which he enlarged and turned into an institution best described as a Methodist monastery, whither he invited all pious persons anxious to pass the remainder of their lives in devotion and seclusion. These 'monks,' who in 1754 numbered one hundred strong, assembled thrice daily at stated intervals for prayer, attended the parish church of Talgarth on Sundays (a transept of the building being specially reserved for the recluses of Trevecca), and ate their meals in common. So closely did the rules of life at Trevecca resemble those of a Continental monastery that Harris and his followers daily held a service corresponding to Lauds or Prime at some hour between midnight and daybreak, a custom that is alluded to in the following verse by a contemporary Welsh bard:

> 'With him, within Trevecca's walls,
> Prayer—long before the dawn—is found;
> Whilst yet the reign of slumber falls
> In listless dreams on all around.'

But, though wilful and erratic to the last degree, Harris was by no means deaf to the call of public duty, and in 1759, under the general alarm of a French invasion, the hermit of Trevecca, on being warmly pressed by the Lord-Lieutenant of Brecknockshire to serve his country by a course of military training, readily came forth from his retreat and accepted a commission in the newly assembled Militia at Brecon, twenty-four of his 'monks' following their leader's example and entering the ranks as recruits. For three years this extraordinary man remained in arms, preaching in hours of leisure, by special permission of the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, to the Militiamen then in training at Brecon, and finally retiring into private, or rather monastic, life at the declaration of peace with the rank of captain. It is not

[1] *Quarterly Review*, 1849: 'Methodism in Wales.'

Digitized by Google

difficult to prove from this picturesque incident that Harris, in spite of his sad reputation for unorthodoxy and disobedience among the bishops, was fully amenable to reason, and that it only required tact and persuasion to turn his sterling qualities to use. If the leading magistrate of Brecon was able to change this wilful recluse into a good citizen and soldier, the chief clergy should never have allowed Harris's undoubted talents and virtues to have been lost to the service of the Church. Howel Harris died at Trevecca in 1773, his last wish being that he should be buried beneath the altar of his parish church of Talgarth, where he and his followers had for nearly twenty years past been in the habit of attending the services and receiving a monthly Sacrament, and where he himself had first been awakened to a true view of Christian duty by the preaching of Griffith Jones.

Howel Harris, though in close connexion with such persons as Whitefield and Selina Lady Huntingdon, can scarcely be described otherwise than as a brilliant, if eccentric, lay member of the Church, of which he was all his life a regular and consistent communicant; but such is not the case with his former friend and colleague, Daniel Rowland. Born in 1713, this remarkable man, who may in a special sense be termed the Father of modern Welsh Methodism, evidently aspired to become the successor of Griffith Jones; for which position he was in many ways well fitted, being a beneficed clergyman of undoubted piety and ability, though deficient in the patience and personal modesty which were among the Rector of Llanddowror's great charms. Curate-in-charge of the remote parish of Llangeitho, which was served throughout the whole of the eighteenth century by members of his family, Daniel Rowland, as he himself tells us, was first moved to a full sense of the responsibilities of his holy office through the preaching of Griffith Jones. Together with Howel Harris, Rowland now wandered through Wales, and even beyond its borders, when he could spare the time from his own parish duties, preaching and educating; but in course of time his fame and popularity as an orator of exceptional ability became so widely spread that thousands of people from all parts of Wales began to flock to Llangeitho,

Digitized by Google

drawn thither by his marvellous powers and fascinating personality.

'Attractive as the preacher might be, his reading was equally impressive. It is a singular testimony to the inherent power of our glorious Liturgy that Rowland found its language the most effective instrument in touching the hearts and, we must add, in stirring the fanaticism of his hearers. It was not his overbearing eloquence, nor the passionate appeal to conscience, which no man ever made more forcibly, but the solemn sound of the Church of England's prayers, "By Thine Agony and Bloody Sweat, by Thy Cross and Passion, Good Lord, deliver us," which first awoke the slumbering poetry of that ancient people when he addressed and fired their imagination with the same fervour in religion which their forefathers had shown in battle. It was while these words were read at Llangeitho that tears and convulsive sobs, followed by cries of "*Gogoniant!*" ("Glory!") and "*Bendigedig!*" ("Blessed!"), first broke and ran through the multitude like a contagious fever. . . .

'A similar excitement attended the preaching of Wesley and Whitefield; but the latter, accustomed as he was to kindred scenes, was surprised by the emphatic form which the epidemic assumed in the Principality. Mr. Milman has happily remarked that the climate of Africa worked into the language and creed of its inhabitants: so in South Wales it seemed as if the old *afflatus* of the bards had passed from minstrelsy into religion.'[1]

The obscure little village of Llangeitho, which is to-day regarded with special affection as the Mecca of Welsh Methodism, lying in a beautiful but sparsely populated and remote district of Mid-Cardiganshire, became, therefore, a rallying-point for the religious life with which all Wales was now throbbing, so that thousands from time to time made their way thither on horseback, on foot, even by boat across the treacherous waters of Cardigan Bay. How easily might not all this extraordinary religious enthusiasm, centred in an earnest ordained clergyman, have been utilized to the glory of the Mother Church of Wales! How useless to attempt to dam this current of deep national feeling, laudable in itself; and how impolitic, seeing that at present it was running in orthodox channels! Yet, amazing to relate, Dr. Squire, then bishop of St. Davids, was sufficiently ill-

[1] *Quarterly Review*: 'Methodism in Wales.'

Digitized by Google

advised to attempt this task, giving as his chief reason for interference Rowland's not infrequent practice of preaching outside his own parish, often in unconsecrated buildings.

'The Bishop is said to have remonstrated frequently, but to no purpose. Like Wesley, Rowland appears to have regarded the whole world as his parish. Although Bishop Squire has been much blamed by posterity—and his action herein has been judged more by its consequences than *per se*—his action was perfectly justifiable in the interests of order and discipline in his diocese. In the erroneous estimation of some Welsh historians, this inhibition amounted, to use common phrase, to "turning Rowland out of the Church." There are no grounds whatever for such an inference. The inhibition did not apply to the parish of Llangeitho, of which Rowland was a licensed curate. It only applied to those parishes into which he intruded uninvited. Nor is there evidence to indicate that Rowland considered himself in any sense turned out of the Church. Nay, he claimed to be a member of the Church up to the day of his death, which happened October 16, 1790, at the age of seventy-seven years.'[1]

The whole story of Bishop Squire's interference is very obscure, and the quotation given above is only a one-sided but well-intentioned version of the incident which seeks to excuse the Bishop's action; the other account, that usually accepted by the Welsh Dissenters of to-day, is that Dr. Squire, regarding Rowland's methods with alarm and his increasing fame with jealousy, definitely and deliberately 'turned him out of the Church.' Though the truth probably lies halfway between these two extreme theories, it may be assumed safely that the Bishop made a fatal mistake in thus opposing, instead of seeking to guide, Rowland; had but this English prelate in Wales

> 'Been to his virtues ever kind,
> Been to his faults a little blind,'

the great preacher's services would doubtless have been preserved to the Establishment to the end of his life, and a fruitful cause of scandal and vituperation, even at the present day, would never have been called into existence.

Bishop Squire's final inhibition is believed to have been

[1] *Yr Haul*, August 1902.

Digitized by Google

issued about the year 1780, ten years before Rowland's death, and its immediate result was to drive the popular curate-in-charge of Llangeitho from his parish church to a conventicle hard by built for his use by his devoted followers —'Rowlandists' as they were then termed. In this new chapel Rowland, now regarded with additional affection and respect as an undoubted martyr to episcopal tyranny, continued to preach and to administer the Sacraments to crowded congregations, whilst the neighbouring parish church remained empty save for the new incumbent, his clerk, and Daniel Rowland's own sister, who bitterly resented her brother's conduct: a curious state of affairs, of which Sir Samuel Meyrick, the learned historian of Cardiganshire, who visited Llangeitho not many years after Rowland's death, has left an interesting account.

Daniel Rowland, 'the Whitefield of Wales,' died in 1790 an ordained priest standing outside the pale of the Church, and honestly believing that he held this equivocal position through no fault of his own. To his great credit, however, never did Rowland speak bitterly against his Mother Church, far less open a malicious campaign against her or her system of government; whilst his deep-seated belief in her divine mission and his hopeful desire for her successful regeneration are amply testified by the colloquy (generally deemed authentic and never disproved) between the dying preacher and his son Nathaniel:

'"I have been persecuted (said Mr. R.) until I got tired, and you will be persecuted still more, yet stand by the Church by all means. You will not, perhaps, be repaid for doing so, yet still stand by it—yea, even unto death. There will be a great revival in the Church of England; this is an encouragement to you to stand by it." The son said, "Are you a prophet, father?" To this he answered: "No, I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but God has made this known to me on my knees. I shall not live to see it." Then the son asked: "Shall I live to see it?" He then put his hands for a time over his eyes, and afterwards said, "Yes, you may live to see it."'[1]

[1] *Life of Daniel Rowland*, Appendix M. Quoted by the *Quarterly Review*, October 1849; also, in varying form, by *Yr Haul*, August 1902. The 'persecution' alluded to by Rowland in this exhortation to his son

Digitized by Google

Passing by the lives and labours of William Williams of Pantycelyn, the poet of the Methodist movement, 'who, like Fra Angelico, never attempted to compose till he felt his soul near heaven,' and Peter Williams of Carmarthen, the editor of several editions of the Welsh Bible, both duly ordained clergymen, we come finally to Thomas Charles of Bala. This man, the last of the four great names associated with the rise and growth of Welsh Methodism, was born near Llanddowror in 1755, and in his boyhood was in the habit of attending the humble parish church made famous by Griffith Jones's memory. As a youth Charles was greatly attracted and influenced by the preaching of Daniel Rowland, so that he had already begun to attend the local Methodist meetings at Carmarthen before his matriculation at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1775. Ordained on Trinity Sunday, 1778, he was appointed to the curacy of Skipton, in Somersetshire, where the fervid but uncultivated style of the young Welshman's sermons and exhortations soon gave offence to an English congregation. Returning to his native land, Charles filled more than one curacy in North Wales, but finally found himself settled in the little town of Bala without money, without a charge of souls, and also without the prospect of any further employment in the Church. His position at Bala and its consequences are admirably summed up by the late Judge Johnes in the quotation given below:

'In North Wales the Methodist clergy were looked upon with great jealousy; and in the year 1783 Charles became so unpopular with a portion of his parishioners that he chose to resign his curacy; he found it impossible to gain any employment afterwards in the Church in North Wales. This involuntary idleness was a source of great anguish to a conscience like his, morbidly sensitive. Though an admirer, and in some respects a follower, of Rowland, he had scruples against preaching in the Methodist chapels; at the same time he was distracted by the idea of remaining idle; and this at

refers not to his treatment by Dr. Squire, but to the annoyance caused him by the action of certain Methodists, who wished him to be a party to the ordination of lay preachers (as had already been done by Wesley in England), and thus to complete the rupture with the Mother Church, a line of policy which Rowland stoutly opposed to the last.

Digitized by Google

length drove him to forsake the Church altogether and become a preacher in the Methodist connexion. . . . He soon infused new life into their cause by the well-regulated system of co-operation which he established among the preachers of the body. He was himself indefatigable, travelling during the most inclement seasons over wild and dreary mountains, and often preaching two or three times in the course of the day. In the midst of these toils he began to form circulating schools on the model of those of Griffith Jones. This he accomplished partly through the assistance of English friends, and partly by his stipend as a minister, which he devoted entirely to this purpose, relying for his own support on the industry of his wife; he taught most of the first masters of these schools himself.' [1]

But though Charles may be said to have severed his connexion with the Church as early as 1784, it must be borne in mind that he had not acted wilfully, but rather had drifted unwillingly into taking this step, the immediate causes of which were the refusal of a parochial cure within the Church itself and his own straitened means. Whatever sentiments of private wrong or neglect Charles may have harboured, no small sense of loyalty to his Mother Church is shown in his reluctance in 1811, as the head of what may be termed the Church party amongst the Methodists, to yield to the loudly expressed wishes of the majority to provide for a Donatist succession by laying unauthorised hands upon new teachers. Up to that date, it will be remembered, the Methodists proper, though living wholly in a religious atmosphere of their own, had kept within the pale of the Church, receiving the Communion from regularly ordained clergymen, and making use of the parish priests for the baptism of their infants. But in course of time the action of the bishops, who grew stricter in the cause of orthodoxy as the Methodist element waxed stronger, put the new body in a dilemma: either it must break definitely with the Church, which now forbade her priests to administer the Sacraments to Methodists, or else renounce every cherished conviction and practice in obedience to prelates who neither spoke Welsh nor understood the needs and desires of the Welsh people.

[1] Judge Johnes, *An Essay on the Church in the Principality of Wales.*

Digitized by Google

Under these circumstances, such strong pressure was brought to bear upon Thomas Charles to consent to a rupture that finally he gave way and the Great Schism was completed. There is reason to believe that Charles soon had cause to repent this decisive step—if, indeed, he did not in the first instance regret giving it his sanction—and that his death at the premature age of fifty-eight, which took place three years after the event, was as much due to the doubts and anxieties of his mind concerning the Great Schism as to the effects of fatigue and exposure in a life devoted to preaching, educating and organizing amongst the bleak hills and under the inclement skies of North Wales.

'There was one subject which had for years been mooted by some members of the connexion, and which had occasionally been pressed on the attention of Mr. Charles. The Methodists had hitherto been considered a part of the Established Church. None but episcopally ordained ministers administered the Lord's Supper among them; and their children were baptized by the minister of the parish in which they lived. But not a few among them were desirous of introducing a different order of things—that is, of having some of the most approved of the lay preachers ordained after the manner of the Dissenters, or of the English Methodists. Mr. Charles and, we believe, all the clergy connected with them resisted this proposal for a long time very strongly, and, had it not been for some unhappy circumstances, would probably have wholly prevented its final adoption. The most powerful plea which the advocates of this opinion had to urge was the inadequacy of the small number of clergy among them to supply the demands of the connexion. The policy pursued by the bishops tended to increase this difficulty. There were many pious clergy, besides those in actual connexion with the Methodists, who occasionally laboured among them and assisted them. And those clergy were on the increase. But the bishops became stricter and insisted on uniform regularity. This gave great advantage to those who were for introducing a new order of things, and threw Mr. Charles and many others into great embarrassments.'[1]

These words of the Vicar of Syston, a contemporary, who was familiar with all phases of the history of the Great Schism, give a straightforward and unprejudiced account of

[1] Rev. E. Morgan, *Life of Thomas Charles of Bala.*

Digitized by Google

the position of the Methodists at this critical period; and the opinion of this valuable witness, that ordinary tact and forbearance on the part of the spiritual rulers of Wales might have prevented this secession, from the evil effects of which the Welsh Church is still suffering visibly, will doubtless be shared by all impartial people. But the condition of the Welsh Church at the beginning of the nineteenth century was deplorable: every ecclesiastical abuse reigned supreme. Nor could reasonable treatment be expected from bishops of the type of Watson of Llandaff, who only visited his diocese, the most populous of the four Welsh sees, on a few occasions during an episcopate of over thirty years. What sympathy or guidance could be looked for from such prelates towards 'brain-sick Methodists,' of whose desires, ideals, natural characteristics, language even, their spiritual fathers were totally ignorant and unheeding?

From the account just given of the lives of these four men it will not be difficult to gauge the attitude of the bishops and leaders of the Established Church towards the Methodist movement, or to estimate their share in bringing about the final catastrophe of 1811. We have already seen that attitude vary in the course of the period described from one of cold approval and modified support in the case of Griffith Jones, to one of uncompromising hostility in the closing years of the eighteenth and first decade of the nineteenth centuries. These gradual changes in Welsh ecclesiastical policy are easily explained. In the earlier half of the eighteenth century some traditions of the old Elizabethan policy towards the Church in Wales still lingered; there were a few at least of the higher clergy who were Welshmen both in language and sympathy. Laymen of importance, such as Sir John Philipps and Mrs. Bevan, threw themselves into the new religious movement with ardour, and their assistance to a certain extent counterbalanced the apathy of the bishops. In addition to other reasons there was, moreover, the character of Griffith Jones himself, whose singular modesty made a quarrel with so saintly a man well-nigh impossible. But by the time of George III.'s accession to the throne the native element in the ruling body of the

Digitized by Google

Welsh Church had entirely disappeared; the system of non-residence and pluralities had increased on all sides; the views held by the bishops had been gradually instilled into the minds of the Welsh gentry, who under this new English influence began to lose touch with the trend of national feeling and aspirations; while the burden of the religious revival working within the Church fell upon the shoulders of new men, who, though perhaps Griffith Jones's equals in capacity, and even in piety, were often lacking in discipline. Under the Rector of Llanddowror's guidance the circulating schools had been set up quietly and peaceably throughout the whole country, the consent of the incumbent (rarely withheld) being made a necessity for the introduction of the scheme into any parish. But the behaviour of the new apostles of the revival, such as Harris, Rowland, Peter Williams, Thomas Charles, and others, was too often productive of disturbances and even of serious rioting. Upon such scenes of wild enthusiasm, organized in the name of religion by their clergy, the dignified English scholars and theologians who filled the Welsh sees looked with alarm and unconcealed disgust; while the whole system of itinerant preaching, so fascinating to the lower classes of Wales, and so capable of good results if properly directed, was equally dreaded and disliked.

In criticising these Georgian bishops for their failure to understand and to guide this genuine national outburst of religious zeal, it must be remembered that they were completely out of touch with the life and needs of the people of Wales. As English divines, merely regarding the Welsh sees as stepping-stones in the episcopal career, they naturally failed to recognize the emotional character of the Celt, and were prepared to treat the dioceses west of Severn as though English in feeling and population. Nor had they any trusted Welsh clergy of light or leading fit to give advice, every post of wealth or importance being now held by Englishmen, usually absentees, and in any case ignorant or careless of the spiritual requirements of Wales. Moreover, the inability of the bishops to speak the language of the country, though a matter of the highest concern, was

Digitized by Google

comparatively unimportant in the light of this total lack of knowledge and sympathy, the continued use of the Welsh language in the churches being due rather to the indifference of the higher clergy.

Though it is still erroneously, and often spitefully, declared that the use of the Welsh tongue was superseded by the English at this period, this is not the case, the usual services throughout Wales being performed in the mother tongue, though to small and ever-decreasing congregations; indeed, an occasional service in English in a Welsh country church is a comparatively modern innovation that has sprung into being within the last fifty years, and is itself a sign of the new life in the Church. To sum up: of the two charges of wilful persecution and of attempting to stamp out the Welsh language, implicitly made to-day by many Dissenters in Wales, the former is simply ridiculous, and the latter in the light of historical evidence is untenable, though one or two isolated instances are known. The real causes of the Great Schism were ignorance of the vernacular, all too frequent neglect of duty, and universal want of tact in dealing with the Welsh character. This last, which in all probability was the most powerful of all three causes, amounted almost to moral blindness. One instance alone may be given here. Peter Williams, the gifted commentator, and editor of several editions of the Welsh Bible, on one occasion travelled a great distance, probably on foot, to consult with his bishop on some matter which to the Welshman's excitable mind appeared of the first importance. The uncouth scholar and his long story were alike distasteful to the spiritual peer, who, coldly dismissing his visitor, allowed him to depart from Abergwilly Palace 'without the offer of meat or drink' after his long and fruitless journey, an unpardonable insult in hospitable Wales.[1] Can we conceive of a modern Welsh bishop acting thus in dealing with an earnest if somewhat erratic brother-priest? Yet this single little incident gives us the clue to the ultimate rupture between the dominating English element in the Welsh Church and the Methodists.

To this hopeless want of tact and insight on the part of

[1] It ought to be mentioned that there is another version of this story.

Digitized by Google

the bishops we must, of course, add the terrible internal condition of the Church itself. We know how unsatisfactory was the state of the Church of England during the eighteenth century, and we may with certainty assume that, owing to local causes of language, temperament, and national feeling already described, the condition of her Welsh sister was infinitely worse. As to the scandals then prevalent in Wales, one instance, taken from many authentic examples quoted by Judge Johnes in his brilliant if bitter essay on Church misgovernment in Wales, must suffice. An English-speaking cleric held the deanery, the chancellorship, and nine livings in the diocese of St. Asaph, his curates-in-charge being paid for their services out of Queen Anne's Bounty. In fact, every cure of value throughout Wales being held so late as the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign by Englishmen, ignorant of Welsh and almost invariably absentees, the greatest reward in his Mother Church that a hard-working pious Welsh clergyman of the type of Griffith Jones or Thomas Charles could ever expect to obtain was the charge under a non-resident rector or vicar of one, two, three, or even four parishes at a starvation wage. Can we, then, be surprised to learn that only a singularly low, unread, downtrodden type of Welsh priest could be eventually found to enter and to continue in his National Church with such a prospect before him? Can we deny in the face of these facts that the secession of the Methodists under Charles of Bala carried with it a certain dignity of protest against the universal corruption in the Mother Church, truly beloved to the last by these unwilling founders of modern Welsh Dissent?

Though gladly turning from this distant story of misunderstanding, misgovernment and secession, we must ever bear in mind that the history of this time is still living, and that its evil traditions still to a great extent account for the bitterness, often savage in its intensity, of the descendants of those who were driven to abandon their National Church some ninety years ago. To those who are anxious to understand the true position of the Church in Wales to-day we insist that the historical origin and growth of Welsh Methodism must be carefully studied beforehand. The con-

Digitized by Google

nexion between the Great Schism of 1811 and the present time remains almost unbroken ; for, in spite of the numerous reforms, all excellent in their way, that took place within the Church during the last century, it was not until 1870—when Queen Victoria's reign was more than half completed—that the real keynote of regeneration was struck. This date is remarkable for the first Welsh appointment to a Welsh see, in the person of the late Dr. Hughes of St. Asaph, an appointment which heralded a new era in the history of the Church. How deeply needed was this belated return to the old ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth, of supplying the Principality with able Welsh-speaking, Welsh-bred and Welsh-sympathizing bishops, may be judged from the following quotation, penned by the late Dean Edwards of Bangor as recently as 1888 :

'Of the twenty-eight leading dignitaries in the four Welsh dioceses [by which, presumably, are meant the four bishops, four deans, and the canons and archdeacons of Wales], there are thirteen who cannot be said to have any command of the Welsh language. Of the thirteen, ten are absolutely ignorant of it, and three, being only able to read or recite it with very great difficulty and a most imperfect accent, are quite unable to converse in it. Out of the remaining fifteen, not more than four have any power as Welsh preachers, and not more than three have ever attempted to contribute to the religious or secular literature of Wales. The result of this state of things is that forces which have been described as most potent in influencing the Welsh people of to-day are not wielded by the Church.'

From this final extract it will readily be perceived how deeply this lamentable Georgian system had become rooted in Wales, and how necessary it is that only Welshmen of real eloquence and ability, such as are likely to appeal to and influence the native mind, should be nominated henceforth to the sees of the Principality. Fortunately, from the year 1870—that happy date in the annals of the Welsh Church—the appointments to posts of dignity and leading have been uniformly satisfactory, and have undoubtedly helped to recover some of the ground lost by neglect and a mistaken policy in the past.

Digitized by Google

ART. V.—A PURITAN UTOPIA.

1. *Nova Solyma. The Ideal City, or Jerusalem Regained.* An anonymous Romance written in the time of Charles I., now first drawn from obscurity and attributed to the illustrious John Milton. With Introduction, Translation, Literary Essays, and a Bibliography. By the Rev. WALTER BEGLEY. (London: John Murray, 1903.)
2. *Novae Solymae Libri Sex.* (Londini: Typis Joannis Legati, 1648.)

MR. BEGLEY has nobody but himself to blame if opinion so far has been in the main unfavourable to his contention. If ever an editor went out of his way to irritate his readers, the writer of the title page as quoted has done so. Even this is incorrect. *Nova Solyma* is not published '*with* translation.' Except for a small number of extracts there is nothing else. Whatever the merits of Mr. Begley as a conscientious translator, his style is not such as to suggest 'the sublime Milton.' Before leaving the title-page we will notice one other point in which it is misleading. Not only is the work given only in a version, but the version is not complete. Of the fact that certain original translations of the Psalms are not retranslated, or that merely an analysis of the lecture on Cosmology is given, we do not complain. But there are actual omissions of which the reader is not informed at all. These omissions in themselves are not important. Not even Milton could make Puritan theology or a large part of it interesting to this generation, as the last part of *Paradise Lost* proves, and the passages omitted are Puritan theology at its dullest. But we do complain that in a work designed for the public (to whom a host of arguments are addressed in the notes), who cannot be expected to be at the pains, even if they had the inclination or the opportunity, to consult the original, these 'cuts' should be made without the smallest hint to the reader.

We pass now to the translation, as such. Here, again, Mr. Begley sets his readers against him. His notion of style

Digitized by Google

is slipshod in the extreme, and instead of a 'liberal translation' he does what Matthew Arnold attributed to an unfortunate translator of Homer. 'It presents the thought in a way which is something more than unconstrained—over familiar; something more than easy—free and easy.'[1]

We give a few illustrations. In translating a simple phrase declaring that after the guests had had enough they proceeded &c., Mr. Begley must needs convert it into 'after a satisfying meal'[2]—which has just the touch of vulgarity absent from the original. 'Ob modestiam et ingenuitatem' is rendered 'Others noticed *his unaffected manners so genuine and free from swagger.*'

Such evidences of Mr. Begley's notion of literary manner will assure the reader that his impression, if there be one, in favour of Miltonic authorship, is not likely to have been deepened by the idiosyncrasies of the editor. At the same time it is to be observed that, if Mr. Begley's style as a translator is defective, he rarely is incorrect in rendering the matter, and that there are no substantial inaccuracies. His notion of the duties of a 'liberal translator' will be seen by his version of the following lines:

O Sacrum Solymae jugum!
Urbs o nobilium regia civium,
Te faelix pietas et bona caelitum
Cantu gaudia recreant perenni.

Sanctorum pater optimus
Praesenti facie lucidus incolit,
Et proles miseris addita gentibus
Exornat gemino nitore templum.

O caeli jubar aureum!
Mortales superas corpore regio
Et divos volucres numine patrio:
Nil aequum tibi surgit aut secundum.

Vultus profer amabiles:
Et te da proprio lumine conspici:
Ut surgens roseo sydere Phosphorus,
Aut flammae vigor aureus diurnae.

[1] Matthew Arnold, *On Translating Homer*, p. 42.
[2] *Nova Solyma*, i. 102.

Digitized by Google

Tu nostri generis memor,
Et terras oculis desuper intuens,
Fraternis humilem tollis amoribus,
Et dulci rapis impetu furentem.

Ergo nos patria domo
Vivemus superum secla potentium.
Prae portis potius janitor excubem,
Quam regnare velim beatus exul.

O sacred top of Solyma,
How lovely is the place
Where stands the city of our king,
Where faithful saints rejoice and sing
Of mercy, love, and grace!

For there our greater Temple stands
With greater glory blest,
And there redeemed from alien lands
Brought back at last by God's own hands
His Israel finds her rest.

Here too dost Thou, our Light and Life,
Illumine each dark heart;
The veil is gone from Israel's face,
The true Light shines on Israel's race,
Lord grant Thine ancient people grace
To see Thee as Thou art!

Thou art Thy people's glory now,
And equal hast Thou none;
Be thou our Dayspring and our Peace,
Be Thou our Light till life doth cease,
Till our last course be run.

Oh! let us know Thee as Thou art,
Our King and Blessed One,
Thou art the Holiest in the height;
The winged angels in God's sight
Are servants—Thou His Son.

Digitized by Google

From Heaven above Thine eyes behold
  Each well-remembered saint ;
The meek may now Thy mercies prove,
And find in Thee a Brother's love,
And ardent rise to joys above,
  Rapt by Thy sweet constraint.

In Thy great Temple, O my God,
  How much I'd rather be
A doorkeeper to stand and wait,
Or lie and watch before Thy gate
  Till I Thy glory see,
Than exiled reign in royal state
  For every pleasure free.

An exile long, to me at last
  It is by God's grace given
To clasp my kindred by the hand,
Again on Zion's hill to stand,
And praise God in my Fatherland,
  O antepast of Heaven ! (i. 175-6).

This rendering has merits, but as compared with the Latin the English is surely a little 'expansive.' The passage is worth quoting on another ground. For it expresses the central notion of the book—the polity of Israel rescued from exile and redeemed to Christianity. It is a fair specimen of the writer's dexterity in versification. We now quote another passage, in which, to our thinking, the translator is far better seen. It is an Anacreontic derided by the writer in a style certainly not unlike Milton.

'Once, indeed, when Eugenius was pacing to and fro alone in the garden, he was heard to utter to the winds the following strain, from which I think any sensible person can judge of the vain follies of love :

O sistitote furem !
O sistitote quaeso !
Cor abstulit misellum,
Et nunc abire coepit,
Virique faeminaeque,
O sistitote quaeso !
O sistitote furem !

Est alba vestis illi,
Et taeniae rubentes :
Auro que zona fulgens
Sed frons nitore puro
Vestemque liliumque
Nivemque vincit ipsam :
Est luminumque fulgor

Digitized by Google

Par syderi gemello :
Est aureusque crinis
Par Cynthii capillis ;
Pedes sed heu venustos
Natura non adaequat,
Quin alteri necesse est
Ut conferatur alter.
Vos o cavete vobis,
Virique faeminaeque,
Nec blandulos notate
Ocellulos ocellis ;
Eburneamque frontem,
Et aureos capillos,
Pedesque pervenustos :
Ne tam decora virgo
Unicuique vestrum
Cor auferat misellum,
Et sic abire pergat.[1]

Oh ! stop her, stop the thief, I pray,
For she has stolen my heart away.
Ah ! see ! she flees—she will not stay ;
Oh, stop her, men and maidens, pray !
She has ribbons red and robe of white,
And golden girdle gleaming bright ;
You cannot miss her, for her brow
Is whiter than the driven snow ;
No milk-white robe or lily fair
Can with that beauteous brow compare,
Nor can the flash of her twin eyes
Be equalled save in yonder skies ;
Her hair is radiant, golden brown,
Such as Apollo's self might own ;
She tripped away on lightsome feet,
In Nature's realm no pair so neat ;
And never can their match be found
But in themselves the world around.
O ! men and maidens, all beware,
Lest when you see this maiden fair,
That brow with ivory that vies,
Those golden locks, those lovelit eyes,
Should seize you with a strange surprise,
Should cast upon you such a spell
That you should lose—ah ! sad to tell—
Your own poor hearts—and her as well.

But Mr. Begley shines most as a translator in blank verse. The rendering of the Armada Epic is really fine and does ample justice to an original which, if not Miltonic, is assuredly noble.

It may perhaps be surmised that a translator with such

[1] *Nova Solyma*, 269.

Digitized by Google

extremely loose notions of accuracy is not likely to exhibit the soundest of judgments on a literary problem. This is certainly the case. Mr. Begley seems to have no power to distinguish between a good argument and a bad. His method is apparently to heap together as many reasons as his imagination suggests to him, regardless of the question of serious cogency. He presents his case in the most irritating manner. He repeats himself without the smallest hesitation. His notion of humour would disgrace a schoolboy. There is no literary finish or delicacy about his style. He is ridiculously egotistical, and at times incurably vulgar. He seems often to think that strong assertion frequently reiterated will produce conviction. In a word, one is set against his contention before one has perused ten pages of the introduction.

The first sentence speaks of 'this new Romance by Milton.' We can see no reason for the capital. The romance is not, strictly speaking, new. The last two words assume the whole contention to be proved. On page 3 we come across a passage in the classical style of allusion, confined, we had hoped, to the sporting papers. 'They have become rather dusty and old-fashioned through the neglect of ages; *perhaps somewhat moth-eaten by Tempus Edax, who will allow nothing to be fresh unless it is "up to date."*' The italicised passage is sufficiently strange from one who comes before the world as a serious investigator, announcing as a competent critic an important literary discovery. We give one or two specimens of Mr. Begley's style in its full-blown splendour.

'It is well known that our great poet in the matter of the master-passion could boast of exceptional self-control, and *that from youth to manhood the enticements of Venus failed to lead him astray*; in other words, he sowed no wild oats in Cambridge or London or even later on in the more fertile and luxuriant fields of dangerous Italy. . . . But Cupid's darts smote him twice in his youth' (p. 27).

'This, if I may be permitted to say it, I consider another high trump card to help me to win my game' (p. 29).

Digitized by Google

On p. 253 in a note *à propos* of the magic of oratory mentioned in the text, we find the following illuminating remark:

'We all know Gambetta's almost magic influence. But take an instance of to-day. On October 10, 1901, Dr. Clifford (of the Baptist Union) spoke with vigour and eloquence at Edinburgh against Anglican sacerdotalism. We are told by the *Daily Chronicle*, October 11, that "he stirred the great audience like the blast of a trumpet."'

On p. 30 of vol. ii. his desire to be 'up to date' leads to the introduction of 'syndicates,' where the original has no hint of such a thing. On p. 104 we have a note speaking of 'Varsity Men' and rising into the novel apostrophe 'Well rowed, Cambridge!'

Having achieved these depths, Mr. Begley need not be followed further—he certainly possesses 'the art of sinking' beyond most of those who were accused of it in the past, and cannot expect us to pay any regard to his sense of literary fitness and likelihood. For many of his arguments are on a par with his witticisms and are hard to consider seriously. Some of his so-called reasons do not, even if valid, raise any presumption in favour of Milton's authorship. They merely show that, if on other grounds the Miltonic authorship be considered probable, there is nothing in the passage or treatment in question to rebut the presumption. Many are merely based on a comparison with some other romance, such as Barclay's *Argenis*, Bacon's *New Atlantis*, or Montemayor's *Diana*. It is probable that Milton was acquainted with Columella; the passage in question shows some slight resemblance to that author; therefore Milton must have written it.

Nevertheless, we believe Mr. Begley to be right. It is impossible, indeed, in a review of the whole subject, to speak with any positive certainty. And we are far from desiring to imitate the confidence of the editor. There is, in the first place, no external evidence—so far as can be known. Some day, it is possible, there may be discovered some contemporary document or letter bearing on the subject. But it must be admitted that it is strange, on the theory of the

Digitized by Google

Miltonic authorship, that it should be impossible to find even a trace of direct evidence on the subject. It is, perhaps, stranger on this hypothesis that the author, by the time it appeared a highly distinguished man, should have been able so entirely to conceal his identity that not only of Miltonic authorship, but of the book's existence, no word should be said. If Hartlib were, as Mr. Begley thinks, 'the only begetter' of *Nova Solyma*, he was surely not bound to conceal the existence of a book which in many ways must have delighted him, as well as the identity of its author. But all this is not conclusive. And we proceed to mention some points in which the argument for the Miltonic authorship appears to us to be something more than plausible. That we have no desire to overstate it, the previous pages afford sufficient evidence.

We need not stop to prove that the author was an Englishman; he was also a Puritan of a cultivated type, and an accomplished Latin scholar.

The *ἦθος* is certainly that of the broader Puritanism. There is no mention of any ecclesiastical system, no Church, no religious service, except family prayers. The theory of Sunday is decidedly anti-Laudian. There are one or two allusions which show the writer's desire to protest against 'mediæval superstitions,' in regard to image-worship. The tone of the 'Armada Epic' is strongly Protestant, and the account of theology given by Jacob is strictly on Puritan lines. He debates the 'scheme of redemption' in the approved method. The story of the torments and death of Alcimus, and, above all, the religious melancholy and succeeding ecstasy of Joseph are conceived in the regular Puritan mode. The entire absence of ceremonial religion, the consideration of the problem of evil and the origin of sin in free-will, the individualism expressed or implied, the allusions to fanatical excesses, the silence on all questions of Church order and organization, all point to a writer who was as little in sympathy with prelacy as he was with the narrower forms of Puritanism. That against these he desired to protest seems clear from his argument on the Sabbatarian question, and also from his apology for the introduction of classical deities into his poems.

Digitized by Google

The introduction of pageants and allusions to music with the final 'Oratorio,' are further evidence of a spirit quite different from that associated with the harder type of Puritanism. The ideal of education, the main gist of the book, is, again, of the same truly liberal order.

That the English Puritan was also an accomplished Latinist is clear. The ease of the prose style, and the amazing dexterity in versification which he displays, are obvious to the most superficial reader. The variety of metres in which he writes is amazing. Nor does the author's mastery over the most intricate forms ever fail him; indeed no less ingenuity is displayed in the invention of new forms than in the employment of them. We give one or two further specimens; but for anything like a judgment it is needful to consult the original. The first, in Glyconics, is 'The Inscription hanging from the Right Hand of the Colossus guarding the River of Death' in the story of the kingdom of Philomela.

'Faelicissimus omnium
Rectam qui tenero puer
Ingressus pede semitam,
Cursu perpetuo premit
Metam mortis ad ultimam.
Faelix, qui refugo gradu,
Orci praecipitem viam
Pertaesus, superos petit.
Quisquis tramite devio
Captus se redimi cupit,
Me non horreat iudicem,
Vultu terribilem truci,
Sed pronus facilem pia
Exoret prece transitum;
Cassis lumine praescio
Hoc solum superest iter.'

From the 'Bridal Song' at the close we give some elegiacs. The maidens and shepherds invite the Bride to leave her Divine Husband and return home.

'Mollis olor niveis et sponsa simillima pennis,
Qui super innocuae stagna sedetis aquae,

Digitized by Google

Vos simul aequales thalamo deducitis annos ;
Et sacer in teneris mentibus ardet amor.
Ah nostrae, quoties huc venerit illa, sorori
Dicite vos superum vivere regna pares.'

The Bride replies :

'Virginei coetus aequaevaque turba puellae,
Vosque leves citharae, vosque valete chori ;
Non ego me posthac comitem venatibus addam,
Aut timidis tendam retia rara feris.
O stultae ! me immensus amor torretque tenetque,
Oblectans animam nocte dieque meam.'

Lastly we quote the trochaics of the final serenade under the Bride's window :

'O beata surge, tandem linque lectum conjugis,
Aucta donis, et decoris enovata gratiis ;
Ecce nymphas, ecce cunctas antecellis virgines ;
Bracteam nitore vincit vestis hic argenteam ;
Haec catena gemmularum fulget instar syderum ;
Ne reconde tot decores, totque dotes aureas,
I revise tecta matris et sorores pristinas ;
Ecce vinea racemos in paterna colligunt.
Ipsa carpe vitis uvas vinolentae lividas,
Has et illas et petitas ore laeto devora.
Nunc eamus et legamus capita florum mollia,
Nexa sertis et corollis induamus tempora.
Nunc eamus et legamus conchulas sub rupibus,
Colla pulchris vinciamus, et manus monilibus,
Nunc eamus et premamus fessulae cubilia ;
Et sopore blanda sero somniemus somnia.'

It is impossible to speak decisively on a question of style, especially a style so exotic as the composition of original verse in a foreign language. But we do not think that a comparison of the style, alike in prose and verse, of *Nova Solyma* is likely to lead to a rejection of the Miltonic hypothesis if on other grounds this should be the most probable solution, and we can quote in favour of our opinion a classical scholar whom we consulted. The use of certain newly-coined words, the employment of 'Belgia' for Belgium (found elsewhere in Milton, and neither correct nor common),

Digitized by Google

the contempt displayed for 'grammaticasters' in the lapses from orthodox prosody: all these considerations, coupled with the distinct condemnation of anagrams and mere verbal gymnastics, if they do not actually lead to the conjecture that the accomplished Puritan Englishman was John Milton, assuredly tend to confirm the view.

As a matter of fact the romance, as a whole, affords the strongest evidence of its Miltonic authorship; and while it is easy to rebut some considerations and to ignore others, the perusal of the work from end to end, more especially in the original, tends to create an impression of which it is difficult to resist the force. If it is hard to judge by the external style, so at least as to convince others, it is certainly no easier to derive an argument from the tone and temper of the work, or at any rate to set it in such a light as to be effectively convincing. But the ideals of *Nova Solyma*, its dignity and 'high seriousness,' its freedom from certain characteristics which might have been expected in such a work, even the dulness, indubitable and overpowering, of certain portions of it, its persistently didactic tone, with the very strong stress laid on filial duty and the marked incapacity for either irony or wit, the individualistic tone, seem to the writer of this article to point strongly, if not conclusively, to Milton as the author. This impression has been heightened, not diminished, by a simultaneous perusal, with a view of comparison, of much of Milton's writing, both in prose and verse, in Latin and in English; though it must be admitted that the Latin is not the most convincing part of the comparison, for the style of the *Defensio Secunda* has a rather less natural flavour than that of *Nova Solyma*. When to this are added certain passages in the prose writings of which *Nova Solyma* gives at least a plausible interpretation, and certain parallels between the imagery of the poems and *Paradise Lost*, the suspicion becomes very strong indeed.

The ideal of Education is little more than an amplification of the sketch outlined in the famous *Tractate*. Its most remarkable characteristic, the unification of school and university, is found in both. There is the same stress laid on physical and military training, the same hostility to purely

Digitized by Google

verbal discussion, the same regard to the importance of the political sciences.

We strongly object, by the way, to Mr. Begley's identification of the scheme with that feeding of the middle classes with culture and water which goes by the name of University Extension. There is not the smallest ground for this identification. It is the occurrence of such catchpenny comparisons at frequent intervals that would drive the reader to disagree with Mr. Begley if the reasons to the contrary were not too cogent. *Nova Solyma* contemplates, not the purveying of peripatetic lectures to audiences of *dilettanti* females, but a regular system of control and inspection of the provincial schools by the heads of the metropolitan. The headmaster is in fact headmaster of a great public school, vice-chancellor of a university, and secretary of the Board of Education rolled into one. In both the *Tractate* and *Nova Solyma* we have the same plan of a great school and college. Stress is laid on the discovery of a boy's natural bent, both in the common-place book and in *Nova Solyma*. Compare, again, the two following passages from *Nova Solyma* and the *Tractate* respectively:

'They educate us as if we were all to become in the future philosophers or hermits, as if we had nothing in common with the interests of the family or the State, when, as a matter of fact, we are joined thereto by the closest of ties' (ii. 243).

'I call, therefore, a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.'

Or these on political science:

'The next remove must be the study of Politics; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the Commonwealth be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately been, but stedfast pillars of the State' (*Tractate*).

'Those students who had taken their degree in Arts were removed for a further three years' course in Philosophy and Civil Prudence, so as to be qualified to sustain their rank and position in the noblest way' (*Nova Solyma*).

Digitized by Google

In regard to military exercise the two writers (if they be two), are marvellously in accord, both with one another and with the modern public school system, which in many respects, in so far as it lays stress on the training of the body and the will, is quite curiously akin to the Eton of the New Jerusalem.

The visitors observed 'all kinds of military weapons as well as peaceful requisites for boys' games.' This made them ask whether Mars too was added to the Muses.

'Well,' said the tutor, 'we think Mars or military science should not be separated from Pallas or wise Civil Prudence. By military drill and other bodily exercise we prevent work being dull . . . Our object is to make them feel ready in all the exigencies of a campaign. One could scarcely believe how these mimic contests endue them with real courage, and drive away any war fright.'

The ideal is more elaborately exemplified in the following passage:

'The boys went through all kinds of exercises and games—running, leaping, games of ball and the quoit, swimming in the baths, riding, drill, and evolutions in heavy marching order as well as light skirmishing exercise. Just then they were at their studies, and when these were over they were not only freely encouraged to do gymnasium work, but even obliged to go through it as a task, if any try to shirk.'

The writer contemplates that very modern phenomenon—the games-master:

'Masters were present at these athletic contests, some to give hints or a little coaching, others to watch their behaviour and check anything improper; for nowhere is a boy's natural disposition more clearly discovered than when in excited play. They warn the lads against any trickery or mean cunning in their sports, as being a low and despicable thing for a boy to attempt. They impress upon them also that they should not be grasping after the money value of their athletic prizes, but consider it more as a spur to their exertions, and a token of victory, reminding them of that law of Nature—that a man is to live by toil and merit and mutual help, and not by games and play.'

If this latter maxim were successfully indicated nowadays we should perhaps hear less of our educational deficiencies.

Digitized by Google

The author's ideal is in fact just that of the knightly life which the late warden of Glenalmond in his charming work *Pastor Agnorum* declares to be the true *differentia* of the public school. Exactly the same is the view of the *Tractate*. Of course this is not decisive, for in this respect *Oceana* is something similar; but there is no probability that *Oceana* and *Nova Solyma* can be by the same person. Both, however, share with the *Tractate* a somewhat aristocratic view of education. It is the liberal education of the upper classes about which both the *Tractate* and *Nova Solyma* are mainly concerned. The provision of scholarships for deserving boys of the lower classes is hardly rightly described by Mr. Begley as 'Kidd's principle of equal opportunities,' although its insertion is interesting. The tone in which the lower class of schools is spoken of betrays the man of classical culture and serves to mark the difference between the ideals of Puritanism and Sir Thomas More. We quote from the translation:

'There are classical schools as well, and public workshops where the children of the poorer classes are taught the meaner occupations, or, if they show ability, are instructed in the mechanical arts and crafts. Others follow the trades by which they earn their livelihood in a private more independent manner. The education of all these goes no further than reading, writing, arithmetic with geometry, and other such studies as are a help to the mechanical arts, for the higher culture is considered out of place in their station of life, and even prejudicial, from its tendency to make the working-classes dissatisfied with their humble duties, if once they have tasted the dignified "sweetness and light" of the intellectual life. But as regards morality, military drill, and religious exercises, these are inculcated on all without exception.'

The following passage is in full accord with the anti-clericalism which was or became so strong a feature of Milton's character; although it is at least as much in harmony with the ideas of Samuel Hartlib in *Makaria*:

'Our religious training is mainly directed to the feelings of a spiritual character. We do not weary our boys with deep disputations; we do not confuse them with mysteries, nor do we hinder them by casuistic scruples and discouragements.'

Digitized by Google

'Those who intend to take up theology as a profession receive no stricter religious education than their fellow-pupils, although they have to attend special divinity classes in their course. But the power and essence of religion, as far as it is conducive to a good and happy life, are hardly anywhere so generally insisted upon with every student as with us, for we hold religion to be the foundation and corner-stone of society, and the great connecting link that holds it together in all its different sections.'

'We do not simply give divinity lectures and expositions, but at every opportunity we advise, exhort, and admonish, by personal and friendly intercourse, so as to reach the heart.'

'We believe that not even spiritual pastors and preachers have so good an opportunity of using that continuous and varied personal influence which is the peculiar privilege of parents and tutors.'

We quote this partly for its curiously modern tone, partly as illustrating the *Anschauung* of the writer. This is illustrated again in the lecture of Apollos:

'As to the oracles of God which we call the Bible. Let us not be ever trying to soar to their heights, or probe into their depths; they are both beyond our ken. Let us rather dwell upon the obvious and well-worn truths it contains, for that will do us more real good' (ii. 201).

The notion of the earlier part of this passage should be compared with the famous place in *Paradise Lost* anent the philosophizing of the fiends:

> 'Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,
> In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
> Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
> Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
> *And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.*
> Of good and evil much they argued then,
> Of happiness and final misery,
> Passion and apathy, and glory and shame;
> *Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy.*'
>
> (ii. 557–565.)

Mr. Begley does well also to compare it with:

> 'Till warn'd, or by experience taught, she learn,
> That not to know at large of things remote
> From use, obscure and subtle, but to know

Digitized by Google

That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom ; what is more, is fume,
Or emptiness, or vain impertinence,
And renders us in things that most concern
Unpractis'd, unprepar'd and still to seek' (viii. 190–197).

We may compare it also with the definite undenominationalism of *Makaria*:

'Are they Protestants or Papists?'

'Their religion consists not in taking notice of several opinions and sects, but is made up of infallible tenets, which may be proved by invincible arguments, and such as will abide the grand test of extreme dispute ; by which means none have power to stir up schisms and heresies, neither are any of their opinions ridiculous to those of contrary minds.'

This naive belief in uniformity by reaching the *caput mortuum* of all religions is not at all the same as Milton's view, but it is interesting as evidence that a view so closely allied to the favourite shibboleth of present day political Dissent is to be paralleled in the seventeenth century.

The scholar then passes on to approve 'the foreign way of pronouncing words, so avoiding both ridicule and loss of dignity in our converse, and in order to obtain this excellence many reside abroad for a time.' This is in accordance both with Milton's own life and the principles of the *Tractate*. He then proceeds to a condemnation of pedantry, the craze for emendations, the habit of composing anagrams and centos: all of which Milton is known to have held in contempt, and thereby to have afforded matter for animadversion to his great opponent, Salmasius. The discussion of poetry which follows, alike in its emphasis on the need of verse on sacred themes and in its general treatment, is certainly in agreement with *Paradise Lost*, but can hardly be taken as clear evidence of the Miltonic authorship. But of the Armada Epic the same cannot be said. Next to the Educational system of the book, it is, in our opinion, the strongest weapon in Mr. Begley's armoury. Of many minor resemblances we cannot give instances, but we may point out that in paralleling metaphors and similes from *Paradise Lost* the editor is at his

Digitized by Google

best, and some of the parallels are certainly remarkable. We can only mention two.

'Tum calice aurato praefert crudele venenum
Permistum furiis atque ambitione tumenti;
Nectareum falso dicunt agnomine potum.'

This potion given to Philip at night excites him to the invasion of England. We quote the author's own comment:

'In like manner the nourishing nectar of the gods which is the potion sent to overcome Philip, is described as consisting of pride and cruelty, for bad angels are nourished on sin as good angels are on holiness, and Satan often instils sinful desires under the form of an angel of light.'

'So the gist of these verses I have just read is that these lost spirits, enemies of mankind, are sworn foes to the people of God, and incite tyrants to injure them, and often do so under the guise of affected piety, with the result that these tyrants think they are pleasing God, whilst they are really persecuting to the uttermost His most true and faithful servants. And, in addition, when a king's mind is poisoned it generally follows that he can induce many of his subjects to rush headlong with him on his mad career.'

Mr. Begley rightly uses this explanation to rebut Bentley's emendation of *Paradise Lost*, vi. 332:

From the gash
A stream of *nectarous* humour issuing flowed
Sanguine, such as celestial spirits may bleed.

Bentley desired to read 'ichorous,' but the passage quoted with its explanation is a plausible argument in favour of the text as it stands. It is, however, to be noted that the Armada Epic speaks of evil spirits nourished on the nectar of the Pagan gods, and does not state that it served them instead of blood.

We may also parallel the simile—

'Qualis in effoetam vicino vertice quercum,
Flamma polo jaculata cadit, depressaque pascit
Brachia ramorum, sylvamque amplectitur omnem.'

with *Paradise Lost*, i. 612:

'As when Heaven's fire
Hath scathed the forest oaks, or mountain pines,
With singéd top their stately growth, though bare
Stands on the blasted heath.'

Digitized by Google

The machinery of the poem, its distinctly epic and noble character—for the author has the grand style—and the use made of angels, there being nine representing the nine orders, all point to the Miltonic hypothesis.

We quote one more passage, that descriptive of Terror:

Ille per altum
Ocyor aspectu, mentisque simillimus ictui,
Evolat et caeco Terrorem accersit ab antro,
Antrum immane, minax lapsuris undique saxis,
Finibus Arctois positum sub nocte perenni;
Haud loca nota viris; habitant in littore phocae
Ursique informes, et corpora dira ferarum,
Infaustaeque stryges; totoque in limine circum
Stant lemures, umbraeque et spectra nocentia visu,
Tum mala Prodigia, et dubiae Discrimina vitae,
Captivique Metus, atque ingens incubat Horror.
Inde ruit: magnaque tremens vi concitus astat,
Corpus inane volans, cinctum omnibus undique monstris,
Jussaque tanta capit divini ex ore ministri.
Terrorum rex dire! cavam nunc desere sedem;
Quaeque parant fessi flammantia tela Britanni,
Tu rege rapta manu. Tali sermone ciebat
Laetantem nimium tantos miscere tumultus!
Ille fremens, quantum displosa tonitrua reddunt,
Et quantum freta qua sese gemina aequora rumpunt,
Horrendum attollit risum; tremit Arctica tellus,
Diffissaeque jugis rupes, aeternaque ponti
Fracta sono glacies, moto caelum axe tremiscit.

There are many points in which this fragment may be paralleled in writings of Milton. But there is no space to enter into more detail. It is, in our opinion, not easy for an impartial reader of these fragments, together with the preceding discourse on the poetic art, not to feel the very high degree of probability that they were from the same mind which, when more mature, produced *Paradise Lost*.

The 'Bridal Song of Heavenly Love' does not, on the face of it, bear such strong testimony. But its whole construction is fully in accordance with Milton's temperament: we have the religious aim, the theological scheme, and the dramatic structure—to be paralleled with his remarks on the Song of

Digitized by Google

Solomon; besides some minor details of resemblance mentioned by Mr. Begley in the notes. Mr. Begley does well too to point out that the exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity in Jacob's account of his conversion to Christianity is taken almost *verbatim* from a treatise on the subject by Milton's old headmaster Gill. The discussion of the Sabbatarian question is even more remarkable. While rejecting the views inculcated in the *Book of Sports* in favour of the more Puritan conception of Sunday, the writer refuses to admit the identification of Sunday and Sabbath which was so common at that day. The views and arguments are almost exactly those of Thomas Young, Milton's revered tutor. But the remarkable point is that in *Nova Solyma* they are put into the mouth of Apollos, the tutor of Joseph. The introduction of a large number of verse renderings of parts of the Bible, translated afresh from the original, is another Miltonic trait. The denunciation of duelling in Book V. is in accordance with Milton's known views, as shown in his *Common-place Book*. Lastly, the remarks of Joseph, who is clearly to be identified with the author of *Nova Solyma* in regard to his patriotic ambitions, are entirely in agreement with what must have been in Milton's mind in the years before he took a public position. Mr. Begley thinks that if Milton wrote the book, he must have done so during the quiet years he spent at Horton, after his return from Italy; and for that hypothesis the passage is apposite enough. No doubt, however, the author used in this work many fugitive pieces of verse he had by him written at various times. Many, indeed, are introduced without any reference to the situation in the story. It is an appropriate account of the career and aims of Milton, whether or no he wrote it himself.

'It is my custom,' Joseph went on to say, 'thus by poesy to exercise the higher emotions which God has implanted in us all, for it is my opinion that herein lies the greatest service of that art to man. Some persons make the mistake of devoting themselves to poetry alone, or to little else; while others, chiefly of the uncultured class, from want of taste for it, fall into the equal error of either boorish indifference or envious railing.'

'The true life that we should embrace is one of solid reality and

Digitized by Google

severe earnestness; not a course of life that promises the greatest gain or the most luxurious ease, nor yet one leading to fame or successful ambition, but rather that way should be chosen which, from a careful consideration of all things, seems most likely to tend to the glory of God and the service of our fellow citizens. Such a life, when chosen, is of ever increasing interest. . . .'

'As for me,' continued Joseph, 'I am daily turning over these great matters in my mind, and am looking forward to the time when I shall be called from my father's household to some useful position where I can serve my country.'

A passage from Milton's *Reason of Church Government*, quoted by Mr. Begley, has, in our opinion, so important a bearing on the question that it is necessary to quote it. As it exhibits at its best the too little read prose of the author, it will be found of interest, even by those who regard the argument as delusive. He speaks of a projected task:

'Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope and hardest attempt; whether that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model; . . . the Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges. Or if occasion shall lead to imitate those magnific odes and hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable.'

'These abilities, wheresoever they may be found, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility, and to allay the perturbations of the mind and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's Almightiness, and what He works and what He suffers to be wrought with high Providence in His church; to sing . . . the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ. Lastly,

Digitized by Google

whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thought from within, all these things with a solid and tractable smoothness to point out and describe.'

We think it hardly too much to say with Mr. Begley that 'here we find *Nova Solyma* described and compressed as in a nutshell.' There is not a single element of the description wanting to the romance, though opinions may differ as to the value of the accomplishment.

There is one more consideration not touched upon by Mr. Begley. The scope of the romance is limited. It is not like *Oceana*, a treatise on political science. There is no constitution-mongering. We are left to infer that the commonwealth of *Nova Solyma* is kingless; of the mode of government nothing is said, unless the election of Jacob to be *princeps senatus* is to be considered as of any value. It is clear that the writer is concerned not so much with an ideal of government as with a duly ordered social life and a wise and liberal education. This is in full accordance with Milton's practice and theory. It is true that in a *Ready Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* he went a little further in this direction, but this was for an immediate practical purpose. The vagueness and negative character of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, the extreme individualism of his temperament as exhibited in *Areopagitica* and his later writings on Church Government, are all opposed to the habit of mind of a Sieyès or even a Harrington. He says himself that the imaginative creation of entirely new states, like those of New Atlantis and Utopia, was purely fantastic and futile. Now in *Nova Solyma* there is nothing revolutionary, either in politics or economics; the book, indeed, is in this respect far more akin to the narrow horizon of Puritan and Whig sentiment than are the famous ideal cities of Sir Thomas More and Campanella. References to politics are few and far between, save for a probable reference to Strafford under the title of Cæsar and a casual condemnation of tyranny and the attempt to forward spiritual things by coercive methods. Moreover,

Digitized by Google

while the writer fully shares the Puritan and Whig views as to the desirability of the economic subjection of the working-classes, this does not, of course, confine the authorship to Milton, but it is at least in accordance with his ideas. He never showed any such interest in the lower classes as the *Utopia* exhibits, and his ideals, like those of *Oceana*, are either aristocratic or at least those of the upper middle class, to which he belonged. Puritanism, it is to be remembered, was not a democratic nor a socialistic movement in the strict sense at all, nor did it lead in its hours of victory to democratic government, and even in the view of professed republicans who disliked the despotism of Cromwell it was an oligarchy of virtue and knowledge which was the ideal. Nor is there, we believe, any evidence that Puritanism raised or attempted to raise the condition of the working-classes.

There is one and only one point more worthy of mention before we leave the question of authorship. For Milton, as for the author of *Nova Solyma*, sin is the transgression of the entirely arbitrary commands of the Divine Lawgiver. Although in some respects Milton was not an upholder of the more rigid teaching of Calvin, he fully shared the belief of his day as to the illimitable sovereignty of God. One of the reasons why many people find the conceptions of *Paradise Lost* unsatisfying is the irresponsible tyranny therein attributed to the Creator. Indeed, it is the unconscious feeling of this that produces that picture of Satan, of which it is the fashion to say that he became the hero of the poem in spite of the author. We are not so sure of this. But it is clear that Milton's Satan, regarded as the revolutionary opponent, not of God as Love but as arbitrary and non-moral caprice, deserves, as indeed he obtains, not the judgment but the sympathy of men. The whole of *Paradise Lost*, like the whole of Calvinistic theology, is a glorification of God's Power at the expense of His Love, or rather it isolates the conception of His Power, and draws inferences as to Divine action from the spectacle of an earthly Emperor *legibus solutus*, which is to modern thought as repulsive as it is unreasonable. It is certain that the notion of sin entertained by Milton in *Paradise Lost* and elsewhere was simply that of

Digitized by Google

disobedience, not to what was right but to the 'positive law simply and strictly so-called,' which has the sanction of damnation to support it. Now this view, which was certainly that of Milton (we forbear to quote the passage of the *De Doctrina Christiana*; Mr. Begley translates it on ii. 56), is exactly the view of *Nova Solyma.*

After comparing the prohibition of Eden to a peppercorn-rent, he goes on:

'The force and authority of law consists in the will and order of the legislator [in regia voluntate et institutione imperantis], and has to be accepted with implicit faith and the most perfect obedience. And so it behoved our first parents to accept with faith this prohibitory order, although no reason *or fixed law of justice gave it sanction; and indeed, if there had been no command given by God concerning the tree, their abstaining from it might have been a superstitious and wicked act.*'

Thus, it is seen, morality is simply the idealised 'Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem.' Like its scheme of redemption, the seventeenth century notion of right and wrong was purely positive and forensic. Man is the slave of a Divine tyrant; and no reason is to govern His action. In this way obedience is taught more perfectly.

'The precept was concerning a matter to which our first parents were by nature indifferent or evenly balanced till the Divine command turned the scale. *Therefore it is that special mention is made of the promulgation of this law, and of this alone, all the rest being silently inscribed on the tablets of the mind.*'

It is at least clear that the writer of *Nova Solyma* envisaged the Fall and the nature of the command and of the temptation—in the desire to 'be as gods,' *not* fleshly appetite—in the same way as the author of *Paradise Lost. Nova Solyma* exhibits the same interest in cosmology, a similar contemptuous attitude towards the views then new as merely 'conjectural,' and the same attitude towards art, as can be detected in the great epic.

It seems to us then more probable than not, in the absence of all external evidence either way, that this romance is by John Milton. The discovery of a single piece of good

Digitized by Google

external testimony might, of course, shatter the whole argument, essentially a cumulative one, like a pack of cards. But until that be the case, in spite of all qualifications derived from Mr. Begley's singular lapses of taste and strange love of weakening his case by over-statement and wearying his readers by repetition, the residuum of solid worth in his contention seems sufficiently strong to make it the wiser plan to follow the guidance of the editor. If he be not very judicious at all times, he is, on the other hand, excessively erudite, and has the literature of romance at his fingers' ends.

But whether or no the work be by Milton, it is an advantage to have it published. It will serve to set right the popular view of Puritanism which is purely negative. Partly owing to the brevity of its triumph, partly to the strong stress it laid on the repressive virtues, and to the Puritans being emphatically 'good haters,' there is nearly as much misconception of the true nature of Puritanism, or at any rate of the higher minds who are denominated Puritans, as there is in the popular notion of monasticism, and probably even of the Jesuit order. In all these cases, the mistake has been made of trying to form a notion of a religious ideal merely by considering its antipathies. Monasticism was hostile to marriage, despised family life, shunned the world, disdained the flesh, was inimical to the national state. Hence its positive services to civilization are depreciated by the average man, and denied by the popular historian. The Society of Jesus destroyed the individual, upset governments, opposed all unity that was not Papal, derided the notion of progress in theology, forwarded persecution of its adversaries. Here, again, the positive work of the Jesuits in education, in missions, in reformation, in making the Roman Church 'efficient' is ignored or set aside. Perhaps the majority of the readers of this Review have avoided both of these errors. But they will hardly deny that they are still reigning in the daily press and the common consciousness, and form largely the material on which the melodramatic rhetoric of Dr. Clifford is able to work with such apparent success.

Now there is an almost equal error made by nearly all Churchmen who have not been brought under the influence

Digitized by Google

of the Puritan tradition. It is the error, not of the zealous Churchman as such but, of the common tradition of cultivated men. It has been deepened and heightened by Macaulay, who in regard to Puritanism, no less than in regard to Laud, exhibited to the full the power denounced by Matthew Arnold as the perpetual semblance of 'hitting the right nail on the head without ever doing it.' True, there is some excuse. A mind like Macaulay's, always occupied with the keen observation of the superficial aspect of things, and incapable of philosophic insight, might easily be led into treating the negative and disagreeable aspects of Puritanism as the all-important, because they are the most obvious. As Mr. Gardiner said of him, in regard to Bacon's political life, he wrote of it 'without understanding either the nature of the man or the ideas of the age in which he lived,' and he represents and by representing strengthens the attitude of *l'homme moyen sensuel* in regard to all the deeper sides of life, religious, political, and intellectual alike. This attitude naturally, whether in regard to monasticism, to Romanism or to Puritanism, fixes on the outwardly striking antagonisms of each system. It does not so much misstate as overstate. It ignores one element, and that the deepest, in Puritanism, and lays stress on another which, however characteristic, is not the whole. Puritanism, like nearly all ascetic ideals, had in it a strong Manichæan bias. We know it chiefly by its enmities. It was active for destruction. It destroyed the monarchy, the aristocracy, and finally the representative system; it abolished the drama, it proscribed the Liturgy, it persecuted the bishops, it knocked down statues, overturned altars, and shattered windows. It first abolished tyranny, and then destroyed liberty, and finally completed its career of devastation by giving the *coup de grâce* to itself. Few movements have been to all appearances more uniform in their destructive tendencies than was English political Puritanism.

But it is no more right to judge Puritanism by its antipathies than it is Christianity. We should get but a meagre notion of the latter if we described it as nothing but the successful adversary of Paganism. It is this over-emphasis on the negative side that leads to the sympathetic extrava-

Digitized by Google

gances of Tolstoi or Fox, and to the blasphemous scorn of Nietzsche and Swinburne. Nor is the fault altogether with the latter. Too many Christians in all ages write and speak as though the *raison d'être* of God was merely the defeat of the devil, and holiness consisted only in some form of renunciation.

But the vital force of all religion is never on its negative side. Mr. Froude once declared that the real *differentia* of all religious movements was on their negative side: men suffered persecution because they *dis*believed in Paganism, in Transubstantiation, in the Trinity, in Episcopacy, in Presbytery, not because they believed any particular tenet. No view could be shallower. It was the strength of the *positive* factor in their faith that enabled men to endure martyrdom, not its negative element; for pure disbelief without belief is always compatible, both logically and practically, with conformity, and many such cases can be met with daily. A man must have faith of some sort to be a revolutionary or a martyr.

Now it is the constructive side of Puritanism that *Nova Solyma* expresses, and expresses with very considerable success. The scope of the work is such that its antagonisms are only indicated by omissions. Political liberty, *as such*, never was and never will be an ideal of Puritanism, and the fact is writ large in the controversial literature of the seventeenth century. It may be found, if anyone cares to look for it, in the politics of to-day; for it is apparent that nothing is further from the ideal of Puritanism than the idea of the right of the majority to make its own arrangements, or of justice to different points of view. Puritanism at its best was constructive. Starting from the conception, made familiar to us all by Mr. James, of 'the twice-born soul,' it desired to see a new 'city of God' upon earth, in which, with whatever latitude for political and natural differences, the life of the Christian should be properly trained and guarded by a State directed by religious principles and acting solely from the highest aims. Puritanism did not then, any more than it does really now, contemplate the modern ideal of a 'free Church in a free State,' or regard the

Digitized by Google

State from the secular standpoint of Locke or Hoadly or Warburton. It is a commonplace that the ideal of the modern representative of Puritanism is not a secular State, with all kinds of religions promulgated, but a State in which (while numerous Churches, on account of the hardness of men's hearts, continue to exist) the young shall be carefully trained in a single, uniform system, satisfactory to none but those who look forward to a great undenominational Church or federation of Churches in the future. The ideal, in fact, would have admirably suited Samuel Hartlib, the author of *Makaria.* For the sake of peace different sects might for a time continue; but with careful school-training all barriers of thought will disappear in a generation or two, and the legal and traditionary fences will tumble down for want of mending.

Now this ideal of a Christian State in accordance with Puritan principles is the whole purpose of *Nova Solyma.* It was not until the middle ages had passed away that such an aim could be entertained. From the fifth to the fifteenth century men's minds, in regard to the ideal State, were, consciously or not, under the dominating influence of the *De Civitate Dei.* That was the favourite reading of Charles the Great. That was, if not the unique source, at least the ideal in accordance with which the Holy Roman Empire staggered through centuries of impotence. The struggles of men for a perfect polity centred round this conception, and were but different developments of the same notion. The *De Monarchia* of Dante, the *De Potestate Ecclesiastica* of Agostino del Trionfo, the *De Recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* of Pierre Dubois, are all but variations on the same theme, differing and even antagonistic as are the points of view of the authors. The unity of the world under one religion and with one polity was the last word of mediæval politics; and although its ideals were mainly such because they were not realized, it must be admitted that from the time when the new forces of thought and discovery shattered the old ideals and political arrangements of Europe, there has been no such grandeur of conception possible, for Christendom has now become a mere geographical expression. 'The principles of Western

Digitized by Google

civilization' are chiefly conspicuous by their absence. The world seems drifting rudderless towards an unseen goal, the sport of materialistic currents and racial antagonisms. And what will be the unifying and constructive ideals of the future, who can say?

But the issue of all this could not be foreseen at once. It was only clear to the men of the 'Renaissance' and the 'Reform,' that the old order had broken up. It was only natural that they should set forth their dreams of a new. The critical spirit, so strong in the Renaissance, found its outcome in the wonderful irony of the *Utopia*; and the revolutionary enthusiasm of Campanella goes far beyond the merely surface reform of *Nova Solyma*. Milton, or whoever was its author, had no taste for schemes of universal equality, and no desire at all to elevate seriously the working-classes. It is, then, to the ordering of the lives of the well-to-do that he mainly turns. In this, as in other matters, the book displays the curious want of imagination of Puritanism, and even of latter-day Nonconformity, which has never been able to lift its mind above the limitations of the particular classes to which most of its members belong. Simplicity in life, in dress, in food, are inculcated. Pomp and pageantry, except for public purposes, are repressed. Idleness is discouraged, for the life of Joseph is clearly meant to be the model. There is no mention of any form of clericalism, and the marriage ceremony is performed by one who, if intended for a cleric, is not so called. Duelling is prohibited, and there is no sympathy for the ordinary aristocratic amusements. Drama, though not prohibited, is very narrowly restrained. The importance of religion is of course the basis of all; it is entirely individualistic and Puritan, and the spiritual crisis of Joseph is evidently to be regarded as *comme il faut*. Yet the life, though simple, is not monotonous; and beyond the wearisome character of all attempts at descriptions of an ideal State, there is no suggestion of undue ascetic tendencies, or of the harsher and more disagreeable features associated with Puritanism. It was once remarked to the writer that Milton was not, properly speaking, a Puritan, because of his culture; the same would be true of the author of *Nova Solyma*. But, as we

Digitized by Google

said above, this conception of the Puritan ἦθος is one-sided, and alike in *Nova Solyma* and *Oceana* the ideal of life is of a large and liberal order. We must never forget that Oliver Cromwell was among the earliest breeders of race-horses. The life of a denizen of *Nova Solyma* would not, so far as we can understand, greatly differ from the life of a modern country gentleman, officer, merchant, or even politician, who had a strong sense of duty, considerable religious earnestness, and a good public school and university education as the foundation of a literary taste and outdoor hardiness. Such a man would not in our own time give up all his days to hunting or his nights to bridge; and it is ten to one that he would not be a High Churchman; nor would he approve of duelling, nor allow his children to get drunk nor to waste their time.

The constructive principles of Puritanism on its larger side have had a great deal more to do with the development of the ideals of the least 'Puritanical' among us than would be imagined from the usage of ordinary language. If this fact be emphasized by the appearance of *Nova Solyma*, we may be grateful to the editor apart from all question of the authorship. It is the seventeenth century *Civitas Dei*, as indeed its name implies, and if the canvas is smaller, and the brush-work less attractive than that of the great African Father, we must remember that the rise of nationalities, the discovery of the New World, and the complete decay of the mediæval system of the hegemony of Europe by Pope and Emperor, shattered the framework of society and dissolved the traditions of centuries; and that even now, after four centuries of continuous struggles and fructifying thought, we are still apparently as far as ever from any general agreement (even to differ) on the constructive and regulative ideals of men and nations in society. *Nova Solyma* was an early effort; not (as we saw) so unsuccessful as it seemed, and vastly more interesting and attractive than *Oceana* or even the *New Atlantis*.

It remains to say a few words of the romance. We suppose it is all right. There is the usual thing that the taste of the day demanded. We have pirates, shipwrecks, banditti, disguises, diseases; men in love, in liquor, in distress; amorous females dressed as boys or in the guise of widows; sisters so

Digitized by Google

like as to be mistaken; old friends rediscovering one another, and so on.

There is no attempt at character-drawing, and in not one of the *dramatis personæ* do we feel the slightest interest. Mr. Begley thinks the writer improved on Barclay's *Argenis*. We cannot agree with him. So far as the story is concerned *Argenis* strikes us as far superior. It is, indeed, quite different. For it is a historical novel or *roman à clef*, while *Nova Solyma* is the description of an ideal State. Yet it may safely be asserted that no one will read it as a romance; neither plot nor personalities have any reality. It is as the expression of Puritan ideals of what the new world that was clearly in the making was to be, that it has its permanent value and interest. The triumph of political Puritanism was shortlived and disastrous, for it was probably the most unpopular government England ever had, save the reign of Mary; in both cases the cause was the same, the inspiring spirit was that of a narrow clericalism. But though Puritanism as a politico-religious party was not long in the ascendant, many of its governing ideas found their way into the more serious minded of all classes and have had a profound influence upon the national character. These or some of them will be found in *Nova Solyma*, whence we can learn that the Puritan was no Little Englander, no mere ascetic, no opponent of war or hunting or reading as such; but that his ideal was a State governed on principles of righteousness, training its members—body, mind, and spirit—in all the faculties and sentiments which may minister to the efficiency and energy appropriate to the conduct of a Christian member of an orderly and self-controlling society. Religion since the Reformation, said Sir F. A. Hort, has been 'departmental' and given up the aim of controlling the whole of human life in the way that mediæval Catholicism attempted. This is unfortunately to a certain extent true, but it was not so always, or in aim, and such books as *Nova Solyma* are the proof of a broader ideal.

Digitized by Google

ART. VI.—JOAN OF ARC.

1. *Histoire de France.* Edited by ERNEST LAVISSE. Tome IV. (II.), Charles VII., Louis XI., et les premières années de Charles VIII. (1422–1492). Par Ch. PETIT-DUTAILLIS. (Paris: Hachette, 1902.)
2. *L'Abjuration de Jeanne d'Arc au Cimetière de Saint-Ouen et l'authenticité de sa formule.* Par le Chanoine ULYSSE CHEVALIER. (Paris: Picard, 1902.)
3. *Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orleans.* Being the story of her Life, her Achievements, and her Death, as attested on oath and set forth in the original documents. Edited by T. DOUGLAS MURRAY. (London: W. Heinemann, 1902.)

WE have placed these three volumes at the head of what we purpose to say because they are characteristic, each in its different way, of the interest which the career of Joan of Arc excites in different readers and writers at the present day. The first is a volume from the great history of France, which is being written by eminent scholars under the general supervision of M. Ernest Lavisse, to which we have already once alluded.[1] In this, as one of the greatest figures in the historical development of the nation, Joan of course appears, and is dealt with critically and at length. The second is a minute study of one portion of the Maid's career—a part of grave importance, in view of the process of beatification, which was in its earlier stages when the treatise was written. The third is an English 'œuvre de vulgarisation,' a well-executed and summary translation of the most important parts of the mass of documents relating to the trial and the 'rehabilitation' of Joan, as published by Quicherat between 1841 and 1849. The three books illustrate sufficiently the growth of interest, on different lines, in the unique career of the wonderful peasant girl, and they serve to show that the process carried on at Rome, and watched with the keenest interest by Catholics in France, will be no more than the completion,

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. liii. No. 106 (January 1902).

Digitized by Google

from an ecclesiastical standing-point, of the growing admiration and enthusiasm of historical students. The ecclesiastical process, indeed, has been the occasion of concentrating attention, not in France alone, upon the wonderful story of the child, 'unlearned and ignorant,' but of marvellous genius, who led the armies of France to victory, who changed, indeed, it might seem, the whole history of the nation, and implanted or revived a spirit of patriotism among the peoples of the whole land, so slenderly knit together ethnologically or historically—a spirit so little evident, if not non-existent, before her day, but one which since then has never failed.

The nation and the Church alike turn for the story of their heroine, not in its broad outlines, but in its intimate personal details, to the authentic documents of the extraordinary examination, twenty-five years after her death, which led to the 'rehabilitation' of the Maid.

'Le procès de réhabilitation de la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc, qui fut fait par la volonté du Pape Calixte III. fournit aux défenseurs de la cause de très précieux et très solides arguments. Car les dépositions que l'on y trouve consignées sont celles de témoins oculaires.'[1]

It is this, with the earlier examinations, that forms the staple of Mr. Douglas Murray's presentation of the case to English readers. He says of his book:

'The following document concerning the story of the life and death of Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orleans, is probably the only known instance in which a complete biographical record, of historical importance, has been elicited by evidence taken on oath. These depositions cover the childhood of the Maid, the series of her military exploits at the head of the armies of France, her capture, imprisonment, and death at the stake in the market-place of Rouen.'

It is on these, with some additional evidence only recently accessible in the chronicle of Morosini,[2] that we must rely for our knowledge of the authentic history of the wonderful child—she was only eighteen—who saved France. On these we will base a short sketch of her extraordinary career.

But first we must say something of the special occasion

[1] *La Croix*, 17 mars 1903.
[2] Vol. iii. (edited by Dorez and Lefèvre-Pontalis), 1901.

Digitized by Google

for interest in the story of the Maid to-day. It is, of course, the claim to rank her among the saints. The process of beatification is described at length in the great work of Benedict XIV, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione.*[1] The person beatified is one who, by Papal authority acting on the decision of the Sacred Congregation after a prolonged investigation, of which every step is minutely regulated by precedent, may be publicly venerated with exposition of relics.[2] Miracles, not necessarily more than three, are required; these, in the case of Joan, will presumably be of modern growth—we do not remember to have read of any attributed to her in her own age. As for relics, they cannot be had; for, after the burning, the ashes of her body were thrown into the Seine.

The process of beatification in the present case seems to have been formally begun on January 27, 1894, when the 'decree concerning the cause for the beatification and canonization of the venerable servant of God, Jeanne d'Arc'[3] was issued. For eight years it made slow progress. But on the occasion of the pontifical jubilee of Leo XIII. the French bishops, speaking for the French Church, proud of her 'titre de Fille première-née de l'Eglise,' presented an address[4] of dutiful congratulation to the Pope. After the expression of all proper sentiments, the bishops proceeded to turn the opportunity to account by suggesting that amid the unhappy religious troubles of their country it might be possible to hope for peace through a new rapprochement between Rome and the Government, and that the name of Joan the Maid might form the link of reunion. Thus discreetly they expressed their wish:

'Enfin, Très Saint-Père, ce désir de pacification, cet espoir d'un relèvement prochain et d'un avenir fécond pour notre pays, nous

[1] Benedicti XIV. P. M. olim Prosperi Card. de Lambertinis, *Opus de Serv. Dei* (&c.). Editio secunda Romana sub auspiciis SS.D.nostri Pii Sexti P.O.M. 15 vols. Romæ, 1787–1792.

[2] See Benedict XIV. *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 158–188.

[3] This is given in M. Petit de Julleville's *Life*; see also *Analecta Bollandiana*, xiv. 453.

[4] The address and the Pope's reply were published authoritatively in *La Croix*, 3 février, 1903, from which we reproduce our extracts.

Digitized by Google

pressent de confier à Votre cœur, en la circonstance solennelle de Votre Jubilé Pontifical, le vœu qui est la prière instante de l'Eglise de France, de voir bientôt sur les autels notre Jeanne d'Arc, cette *Fille de Dieu*, comme disaient ses Voix, en qui s'incarna, au xv^e^ siècle, l'âme de la Patrie française et qui a passé dans notre histoire comme une radieuse apparition de l'amour du Christ pour les Francs. Que du moins cette année jubilaire ne s'achève point sans que la cause ait fait le pas décisif si impatiemment attendu !

'Et nous ne craignons pas, Très Saint-Père, que ces instances de l'Episcopat français paraissent à Votre Sainteté, ni téméraires, ni indiscrètes ; car, pour en avoir recueilli si souvent l'aveu sur Vos lèvres, nous savons qu'elles sont l'écho de Votre propre sentiment, à tel point qu'il nous semble, au contraire, entrer dans Vos vues en sollicitant cette insigne faveur.'

The Pope's reply was significant and characteristic. It was a beautiful prayer for peace, a recognition in strong language of the progress of public policy, in different States, contrary to the interests of Christianity. Anxious though he is to remain on the most friendly terms with the Government of the French Republic it is impossible to disguise the impression which is made on him by the policy which it has pursued ; but he would prefer to attribute it rather to evil influences affecting the nation than directly to those in power or in the people at large.

'Qui ne se sentirait, en effet, profondément ému en face des machinations auxquelles sont en butte, aujourd'hui, les lois chrétiennes ? Quel évêque vraiment vigilant peut ignorer qu'une influence funeste, partout répandue, inculque à la multitude les erreurs les plus pernicieuses, arrache à l'enfance toute religion, livre au mépris les institutions de l'Église, s'efforce enfin de ruiner cette Église elle-même, fondée par le Christ ? Et pourtant, dans toutes les branches de l'activité humaine, les nations ont ressenti les heureux effets de la foi divine ; il est évident aussi que le progrès des États naît du respect de la religion, et que les plus florissantes Républiques ont été ruinées par l'impiété.'

Great hope for France, however, springs from the cordial union of the Episcopate, which is evident in their address to him. They preserve, with simple and inviolable faithfulness, the loyalty of the first, the missionary, bishops of Gaul, who

Digitized by Google

won for her the name of 'Catholic.' The hope of the Church, the Pope declares, lies in the continuance of this 'fidelity, and in its display in education of the young.' But there is another hope: the Unseen will minister to the strugglers on earth. He thus anticipated the formal conclusion of the process which will rank Joan of Arc among the saints. It is not lawful without the authority of the Holy See (according to the judgment of Pope Benedict XIV.) to invoke anyone as saint; but Leo XIII., before the beatification of the Maid of Orleans, thus addressed the French bishops:

'Nous mettons aussi Notre espoir dans les prières que vous adressez à la vénérable Jeanne d'Arc, et Nous avons la confiance que cette vierge si bonne vous sera d'un puissant secours. Saisissant l'occasion de ces solennités jubilaires, vous Nous priez instamment de mettre Jeanne, toujours invaincue, au nombre des bienheureuses: ce serait pour Notre amour paternel une véritable satisfaction que d'accorder à la France catholique, comme une nouvelle marque de bienveillance, cette grâce tant désirée. Mais vous n'ignorez pas, que dans l'affaire si grave que vous Nous proposez, on doit religieusement observer les lois qui règlent la procédure de la Sacrée Congrégation des Rites. C'est pourquoi Nous ne pouvons maintenant que demander à Dieu de faire aboutir cette cause au gré de vos désirs.'

So the matter still stands. The conclusion of the process, so far as we are aware, has not yet been reached. No formal decree of beatification has been published. It is left for Pius X. to complete the work of his predecessor.

There is no reason to doubt that the desire for the beatification of Joan of Arc was brought about by a genuine veneration for her heroic virtues and her saintly witness. Cardinal Langénieux, archbishop of Rheims, speaking to a representative of *La Croix*, said no more than the truth when, after speaking of the solemnity of the lengthy process, he expressed the effect which the study of the documents had had upon his mind.

'Certes (ajoutait le cardinal) je suis frappé, pour mon compte personnel, de la splendeur des vertus pratiquées par notre chère héroïne. Sa piété profonde, sa candeur éblouissante, le don qu'elle a eu, à un si haut point, d'imposer à tous un religieux respect de sa personne, sont un signe de l'esprit de Dieu qui était en elle.'

Digitized by Google

At the same time the occasion is a politic one for utilising French national and military sentiment, in harmony with the policy of the Vatican. In saying so much, however, we are far from suggesting that Joan of Arc is not worthy of the very highest honours that can be paid to her memory. We are fully as enthusiastic on her behalf as *La Croix* would have us be, though the evidence that paper relies upon is hardly conclusive.[1] The beatification of Joan of Arc is a Catholic as well as a national event.

What, then, was the story of the heroine whose memory still stirs the hearts of all who know it?

Jeanne d'Arc, the child of Jacques d'Arc and Isabelle Romée, was born between 1410 and 1412, in the village of Domrémy, on the eastern frontier of France. The exact date of her birth is doubtful, and it is doubtful even whether she was born French or a Lorrainer.[2] She was the youngest of five children, and she was brought up as poor peasants' children were, learning no more than the Pater, the Ave, and the Credo, knowing 'ni A ni B,' as she said in her trial.

It was when she was about twelve years old, in the summer of 1424, that she first heard a mysterious voice which summoned her to be the deliverer of France. Step by step a revelation came to her, she thought from St. Michael, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret, in the legends of whom she might well find courage and inspiration. The archangel told her 'the piteous state of the realm of France.' In May 1428, about Ascension-tide, the voices

[1] *La Croix*, 24 février, 1903: 'L'on sait que S. Em. le cardinal Ferrata a succédé au cardinal Parocchi comme cardinal ponent de la cause de Jeanne d'Arc. Il peut être intéressant de rappeler à cette occasion que le cardinal Parocchi avait succédé lui-même au cardinal Howard. Cette présence d'un Anglais comme cardinal ponent avait été dès lors une preuve éclatante que l'Angleterre était sympathique à la glorification de Jeanne d'Arc. En même temps, ce choix du cardinal Howard montre que, dès le début, les postulateurs ont poussé jusqu'à l'extrême délicatesse le souci d'avoir des juges non seulement désintéressés, mais le paraissant avec évidence.'

[2] On both these subjects there has been hot controversy. On the former, the conclusion of M. C. Petit-Dutaillis, that the date is uncertain, is to be preferred; on the latter, see the references given by M. Chevalier, p. 6.

Digitized by Google

became more urgent;[1] in January 1429 she went to Vaucouleurs, the nearest military station, and told the governor, Robert de Baudricourt, that she was sent to save France. 'Je suis une pauvre fille, qui ne sait ni monter à cheval ni faire la guerre,' she had said; but the voice had answered, 'C'est Dieu qui l'ordonne.'

Baudricourt doubted, as a soldier would, what might be the meaning of the singular declaration; he told the parish priest to exorcise her. The measure was ineffective. She persisted, in spite of rude pleasantries and awkward compliments to her ruddy cheeks and brown hair. She must go and find the 'Dauphin,' she said, and bring him to his crowning at Rheims. 'Dusse-je aller trouver le Dauphin sur mes genoux, j'irai.' And she went.

To Chinon she came in February. Only too familiar with ineffectual wizards and visionaries, Charles was in no haste to see her. He seemed at the lowest ebb of his fortunes. Orleans was ready to fall; the citizens had begged Philip the Good of Burgundy to save them from the English, but Bedford had no intention of pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for anyone else. The 'Dauphin' listened to advisers who urged him to fly to Dauphiné, or Castile, or even Scotland. At last he saw the Maid, and was astonished, but hardly yet convinced. Jeanne was interrogated by bishops, lawyers of the Parliament, clerks of the University of Paris.[2] The decision was in her favour. Says M. Chevalier, 'L'ardeur de sa foi, la chaleur de ses convictions lui avaient conquis le cœur et l'esprit des examinateurs.' They found in her nothing but 'goodness, humility, devotion, honesty, simplicity.' In speech she could hold her own with the best of them.

[1] Most of the modern writers, including the latest, M. Chevalier, have thought that she paid a first visit to Vaucouleurs at this time, but M. Petit-Dutaillis accepts Mr. Lowell's proof that this was not so.

[2] Le P. Ayroles, author of the most voluminous modern treatises on the history of the Maid, regards the 'schismatic University' as throughout the enemy of his heroine, and at last guilty of her blood. See an extremely entertaining review in the *Athenæum*, November 8, 1902, as to the worth of which one can only adapt the words of Erasmus to More, 'Aut Morus es, aut diabolus,' and for 'Morus' substitute 'Mr. Andrew Lang.'

Digitized by Google

In April the Maid was at Chinon with a military *entourage* of her own. Her enthusiasm was infectious. Hardy knights and men-at-arms flocked to her white standard, on which God blessed the *fleurs-de-lys*, and which bore for motto *Jesus, Maria.* A 'holy war' seemed to have begun.

Before she took the field she wrote a letter to the English, which she sent to the Regent Bedford. 'Give up to the lawful king the keys of all the cities you have seized and stolen in France: I am come from the heavenly King to drive you from the land.' Such was her message. The English replied, as was natural, with mockery, and the investment of Orleans was pressed still closer.

On April 28, 1429, the relieving army, with Joan of Arc on horseback at its head, left Blois, singing the *Veni Creator.* Then, as ever, some doubted; but on the very next day she entered Orleans in triumph. Once there, she inspired new life into the people. It was not strategy that was wanted, it was self-confidence, and that she possessed in the highest degree, because she never thought of herself apart from the divine blessing on her mission. She led sortie after sortie, she allowed the enemy no time to perfect their investment, and on the 8th of May the English were in full retreat.

The relief of Orleans was followed by a national rising. From every province, even from distant Toulouse, came letters acclaiming the Maid as divinely sent; in every district popular courage reawoke, and celebrated its resurrection in rhymes against the invaders. In Dauphiné they sang

> 'Arière, Englois couez, arière! . . .
> Aiés la goutte et la gravelle
> Et le coul taillé rasibus.'

In the army itself all was consecrated to God. No pillage, no debauchery, no blasphemy was allowed. The Maid was pure and holy herself, and she expected others who were engaged in the like work to be as she was. Strange to say, she succeeded almost in the height of her wish. There is a pathetic truthfulness in the evidence given in 1455 by Louis de Contes, who had been her page when he was fourteen or fifteen in the days of the delivery of Orleans.

Digitized by Google

He had often seen her pray and communicate; he remembered that she would weep as she prayed.

'She was a good and modest woman, living as a Catholic, very pious, and, when she could, never failing to be present at the Mass. To hear blasphemies upon the name of our Lord vexed her. Many times when the Duke of Alençon swore or blasphemed before her, I heard her reprove him. As a rule no one in the army dared swear or blaspheme before her, for fear of being reprimanded. She would have no women in her army. One day, near Château Thierry, seeing the mistress of one of her followers riding on horseback, she pursued her with her sword, without striking at her at all; but with gentleness and charity she told her she must no longer be found among the soldiers, otherwise she would suffer for it.'[1]

Her enthusiasm was soon seen to be supported by true military genius. She developed an extraordinary capacity for war.[2] She freed the banks of the Loire from the English, on whom there fell a panic which Bedford described to his nephew, the child-king Henry VI. The battle of Patay, June 18, 1429, was the climax of a series of victories which, an Italian eyewitness wrote to Avignon, were the saving of the country through the hands of a pure and spotless girl.

To Rheims, through a country much of which was in the enemy's hands, she forced her way; the city, under the influence of the Franciscan brother Richard, and in fear of capture by assault, opened its gates, and Charles VII. was crowned King of France on July 17, 1429. It was not six months since the Maid had begun her mission in earnest, and already it was accomplished.

It has been argued that from this time she knew that all was over, and regarded her work as done. There are many facts which prove the contrary. She took a house for herself at Orleans, hoping to live among the citizens who loved her and whom she loved. And still she remained active in the field. Honoured and fêted at court, she sighed for the camp. The people everywhere welcomed her and looked to her.

[1] T. Douglas Murray, *Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 263-4.

[2] Several books deal with her powers as a tactician and strategist. See the list in Chevalier, p. 13, n. 5.

Digitized by Google

She seemed to be leading the French to conquest upon conquest.

But at the height of her success her 'voice' told her that she would be taken prisoner before St. John Baptist's Day. So it came to pass. Compiègne was in danger: she must go to its help. 'J'irai voir mes bons amis de Compiègne,' she said: the words are cut upon the pedestal that supports the fine statue of her in the *place* to-day. There outside the walls, in little more than a chance affray, she was captured by the Burgundians. It was on May 23, 1430.

Her work was done, and a great work it was.

'Par la vaillance et l'ascendant de cette jeune fille, Charles VII. avait recouvré l'Orléannais, le Vendômois et le Dunois, une grande partie de la Champagne et de la Brie, le Châlonnais, le Rémois, le Valois, les comtés de Clermont et de Beauvais. A l'est du royaume, les victoires de Jeanne d'Arc avaient décidé René d'Anjou, héritier du duché de Bar, à rejeter la suzeraineté de Henry VI., et ainsi, entre Orléans et la Meuse, une vaste région soumise à Charles VII. s'interposait entre les domaines anglais et bourguignons. Tel était le résultat de treize mois de campagnes, qui avaient suivi sept années de défaites presque continuelles.'[1]

The bitter story of the months that intervened between her capture and her death is told with astonishing force in the documents which Mr. Douglas Murray has selected and translated. From John of Luxembourg, her captor, she was bought by the Estates of Normandy, through Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais. He claimed jurisdiction over her as ordinary, and she was charged with sorcery and heresy. The University of Paris also claimed to try her; so perhaps did the Inquisition. Charles left her to her fate. At the end of December 1430, after months of imprisonment in city after city, Joan the Maid was taken to Rouen. But she was not placed in an ecclesiastical prison. She was left under guard of the English soldiery. Her trial began on February 20, 1431. At every point the process bristles with illegalities. Evidence that told in favour of the accused was ruthlessly suppressed. Cauchon played a part of which it is difficult to

[1] Petit-Dutaillis, in Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, iv. (5), 61.

Digitized by Google

exaggerate the villainy. He was determined that she should be condemned, and he procured the condemnation.

The report of the trial gives us details which can only be read with amazement. 'Every word spoken in court is duly and faithfully recorded, and this record formed the basis for the petition subsequently presented to the Pope by Jeanne's mother and brother when seeking amendment of Cauchon's judgment.' It is an absolutely true record, and it is perhaps the most complete, as it is certainly the most wonderful, picture of mediæval life that we possess.

Joan had endeavoured to escape, and she had suffered severely in the attempt. When her wounds were healed she accepted the recovery as a sign of God's good pleasure, and went through the long agony of trial, the secret examination, and the public accusation with an extraordinary cheerfulness and hardihood. On every point she met her questioners triumphantly. Throughout she showed the spirit of a pure simple girl, of a saint, of a heroine, and the humour of a French peasant. From her position she never stirred.

'I came to the King of France from God, the Blessed Virgin, and all the saints of Paradise, from the Church triumphant in heaven, and by their command. To that Church alone I will submit all I have done and shall do.'

It was a fatal assertion. Her judges declared that she would not accept the judgment of the Church on earth as represented by themselves. It was certain that she would be condemned to death. Then at last, in the cemetery of Saint Ouen, after a sermon directed against her, her courage broke down. She who had met the most clever doctors in fence—who when asked if St. Michael was naked when she saw him, had answered, 'Do you think that God hath not wherewith to clothe him?'—who had replied when they asked her if she were in the grace of God, 'If I am not, may God place me there; if I am, may He keep me there'—who when asked what she thought of the Pope, and which she believed to be the true Pope, had answered, 'Are there two?'—she who at every point had met and baffled her accusers by sheer simplicity of soul, now failed, faltered, broke down, recanted.

Digitized by Google

'Ante finem sententiae, Johanna, timens ignem, dixit se velle obedire ecclesiae.' So says the Latin record.

What did she say when she recanted? What form of recantation did she sign? It is a question which has been long debated, and is still in debate. M. Chevalier has given to the subject a long study and an exhaustive examination, and we are disposed to accept his conclusions. They are these:

(1) The formula of abjuration inserted in the legal act of condemnation is not that which was read to the Maid and which she signed.

(2) The authentic formula did not constitute in the view of canon law an abjuration in regard to the faith.

(3) In making it, Joan did contradict and abandon her 'voices,' but her act lacked the essential conditions of knowledge and of will.

This decision, for which the evidence is ample, has made it possible to consider the beatification of the Maid of Orleans. If she had consciously denied a revelation of God, a beatification would of course have been impossible. But at least she submitted to the Church; she signed a paper which was accepted as an act of penance. What, then, was the consequence of the abjuration? For the moment at least it was impossible to condemn the penitent to death. She was therefore declared free from excommunication, and the Bishop of Beauvais concluded his 'definitive sentence' with the words:

'But because thou hast sinned rashly against God and Holy Church, We condemn thee, finally, definitely, and for salutary penance, saving Our grace and moderation, to perpetual imprisonment, with the bread of sorrow and the water of affliction, in order that thou mayest bewail thy faults, and that thou mayest commit no more acts which thou shalt have to bewail hereafter.'

This was on May 24. Joan was taken back to prison, dressed in woman's clothes, and refused the sight of any sympathising friends. Three days later the news was spread over Rouen that she had 'relapsed'—that she was again in man's clothes.

Here again there is much written in explanation, and the

Digitized by Google

evidence is not absolutely conclusive. But we have little doubt that the facts are two: first, that Joan found it necessary to resume man's clothes to protect her honour from the rude soldiers who were her guards; and, second, that she had now come to repent of her rejection of the 'voices,' that she was determined to return to her devotion to the inspiration which had led her to her great work. 'God has shown me,' she said, when she was questioned, 'by Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, the great shame of the treason to which I made consent in making abjuration and revocation to save my life: *je me damnais pour sauver ma vie.*'

There can be no doubt that the 'relapse' was regarded as timely by Joan's enemies. The position of the English in France was daily becoming worse and worse: the Duke of Burgundy was a hesitating ally: a solemn execution of the sorceress might do much to turn the tide. When she relapsed she was lost beyond appeal. As he left her prison Cauchon laughed and said to Warwick, 'Farewell, farewell; il en est faict. Faictes bonne chière.' On the 29th an assembly of doctors formally declared her a lapsed heretic, and delivered her to the secular arm. Next morning at half-past six she was told that she was to be burnt; and for the moment a spasm of terror and dismay passed over her—'Alas! how horribly and cruelly they treat me, that my body, which I have never soiled, should to-day be burnt to ashes!' But soon she recovered: 'I thank God to-day I shall be in Paradise.' She made her last confession, and, strangely enough, as it seems, she was allowed to communicate. She received her Lord with great devotion. Before nine o'clock she was led 'to the place of the old market in Rouen, near the Church of Saint Saveur,' and there, with every circumstance of barbarity, she was burnt alive. The horrors of the last hour were redeemed by the tears of the people, and even of some of the English soldiers, and by the heroic constancy of her faith. To the last she said, 'My voices have not deceived me,' and she called on her Saviour's Holy Name. A soldier had made a rough cross for her of two bits of wood, and a faithful Dominican held upright before her the crucifix as she prayed, 'till the moment of death, so that the Cross upon which God

Digitized by Google

was hanging might be in life continually before her eyes.' As she bent her head and died, she uttered for the last time the name of Jesus.

There is no more. The pathos of the story, as we read it in the narrative of those who stood by, is unapproachable. 'Alas! alas!' cried the people, as they went back sadly to their homes, 'it is a saint whom we have done to death!'

The rehabilitation came twenty years later. In 1450 the University of Paris began an investigation as to the justice of the trial. In 1452 Nicholas V. ordered an inquiry; moved, it is pitiful to remember, by the still living mother of the murdered girl. At last, in 1456, twenty-five years after her death, after the fullest investigation, the condemnation was 'quashed, annihilated, annulled,' and the sentence was published 'for the eternal honour of her name.'

Such is the story of the Maid of Orleans. Literature has never done justice to it. No one has risen to the height of the great theme. Schiller spoiled what his romantic spirit might have seen and achieved by turning her heroism into a love-story. Of that passion there is not the smallest evidence of her having felt a spark. She was wholly consecrated to God and to the deliverance of France. How Shakespeare —if it was indeed he—treated the war and the heroine we all know; but it is worth recalling, because it illustrates the feeling of Englishmen all through the Middle Ages. Joan was condemned as a witch and a heretic; England had nothing to do with her trial. It was conducted by French-speaking folk, and those ecclesiastics. Englishmen accepted the result; it had, at least, the merit of explaining their defeats, without injury to their national pride, as due to diabolic agency. Joan of Arc became in the popular mind an agent of Satan, just as Bonaparte, centuries after, was a convenient modern representative of the same power for the scaring of naughty children. Shakespeare took his view from Holinshed, in whose pages she appears as a mere impostor, and his contempt for her is shown by the rugged style in which he sets her speeches.

> Heaven and Our Lady gracious hath it pleas'd
> To shine on my contemptible estate:

Digitized by Google

Lo, whilst I waited on my tender lambs,
And to sun's parching heat display'd my cheeks,
God's mother deigned to appear to me,
And, in a vision full of majesty,
Will'd me to leave my base vocation,
And free my country from calamity:
Her aid she promis'd and assur'd success:
In complete glory she reveal'd herself;
And, whereas I was black and swart before,
With those clear rays which she infus'd on me
That beauty am I bless'd with which you see.[1]

Thus bad begins, but very much worse remains behind. For once Shakespeare, in taking the old play and the old history, took also the standard of their prejudice. His travesty of the Maid must be remembered only as a vivid presentation of national delusion; Voltaire's only as a disgrace to the age and the people that could suffer it. Strange indeed that so pure and lofty a life should ever have been forgotten, tragic that it should have been befouled. But time's rehabilitation is complete. The pure heroic figure, whose saintliness matches her courage, stands out without fear and without reproach, the greatest heroine of France, and perhaps among the greatest, as certainly among the most beautiful, figures that the history of the world has to show.

To read again these old authentic documents is like wandering in a lost world. The children at Domrémy play round the sacred tree of pagan days, hanging their garlands; the soldiers tramp through the streets with rough jests; the priests and religious follow in sacred procession; bishops dispute about strange popes; kings tremble in their palaces at the shock of arms: and out of all comes the simple figure of a pure maid, dressed in harness of war, with banner of saints flying above her head, with crucifix and little axe in her hands, going forth under the blessing of God to free her country from the foreign foe. Every hour she is lifting up her heart to God, while she is doing deeds of valour and wisdom which man might do and did not. Then a cloud covers her, she is smitten of God and rejected, and she is

[1] *King Henry VI.*, Part i. act i. sc. 2.

Digitized by Google

brought to death as an outcast from His peace. But her faith endures; she follows in the way which He has trod. And so, when Time's revenge is taken, her fame is immortal: she is great among the heroes who have made the history of the world.

ART. VII.—SOME NOTES ON THE CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA.

1. *Augustus Short, First Bishop of Adelaide.* By Archdeacon F. T. WHITINGTON. (London: Wells Gardner and Co.)
2. *Report of the Adelaide Church Congress*, 1902. Edited by Archdeacon F. W. SAMWELL. (Adelaide: Church Office.)
3. *Year-Books of Church of England in the Diocese of Adelaide*, 1896–1902. (Adelaide: Church Office.)

THE Archbishop of Sydney took occasion some few years since to pay a patriarchal visit to his brother of Perth. Now the Bishop of West Australia has a diocese which stretches three or four thousand miles, but he thought proper to turn back from a confirmation tour to meet his Primate at Albany. Camels, buggies, freight trains, coaches, brought him through dust and heat in time to welcome the liner from Sydney; and when the Primate began with aplomb, 'Well, Bishop, you see I've come two thousand miles to see you!' he could answer with feeling, 'Yes, Primate, and I've travelled three thousand miles in my own diocese to meet *you*!' This is the first thing which must in some sort be realized before the conditions of Church work in Australia are understandable—the immense distances, and then the exceeding sparseness of the population. The whole population of the continent is under five millions, less than that of London. The seaboard alone is inhabited, the huge centre being largely unexplored, a wilderness of sand. Kalgurli and the West Australian goldfields, like Ballarat, Broomhill, or Mount Morgan thirty

Digitized by Google

years ago, have only sprung into wealth and importance in the present decade. Remember that in the four and a half millions there are intermixed Germans, Poles, Chinese, Afghans, Kanakas, Japanese, Javanese, aboriginals; Roman Catholic Irish and Presbyterian Scotch, Russian Greeks, Teuton Lutherans and Moravians. Recollect that, of the now Federated States, South Australia was founded sixty years ago as an avowed Congregational settlement, in which Churchmanship was a distinct bar to material prosperity. Remember that State aid and State endowment have been practically inoperative for years, some grants having been resumed, while others will fall in on the death of the present occupier. Remember the distance from home, the size of the venture, the elements of the population; and the situation which the Church has faced is certainly unique, the lessons it has learnt should be valuable.

Australia (with Tasmania) has now eighteen dioceses, one Archbishop, and eighteen Bishops working. The Bishops of Melbourne and Brisbane will within a few years assume the style of Archbishop, each of them having at least two suffragans or actually provincial Bishops. There are about seven hundred ordained clergy, and probably five times as many licensed lay readers—mostly unpaid—and five respectable cathedrals. It is something to have achieved in much less than a century so huge an extension of the work which Archdeacon Broughton began when all Australia was only part of the archdeaconry of Calcutta.

There are problems in the Church at home—questions of Church discipline, clergy pensions, synodical representation, clerical poverty, among others—which seem to be better managed in the new world. It is not suggested that the Church in England could be improved by disestablishment, whatever may be thought of disendowment, nor that what Australia, free from traditional trammels, has been able to write on a clean sheet can be copied easily in England. It *is* contended that the lines on which the Church in Australia has built up its discipline and polity would be useful helps to ecclesiastics at home, who know well their difficulties but cannot see the way through them.

Digitized by Google

Possibly the first thing that would strike an English-bred clergyman on taking up work in an Australian parish would be the amount of work he was expected to get through on Sunday. He has been used at home, in a town parish, to preach once, and help in the other services and classes. He finds, if his lot falls in a country district, that he must celebrate possibly twice and preach possibly four times, while travelling anything from thirty to sixty miles in a buggy or on horseback. The same sermon of course would do, but all preachers know that repetition is far more tiring to themselves than the audience. In a town parish he may have to celebrate twice (one Sunday in the month) and preach three times to congregations not exactly the same, but not entirely different, in addition to keeping up all the usual machinery of a parish. Neither must he shirk preparation for his sermons. He must be in touch with the questions of the day. Australians are not deeply read, but they are instructed and as well informed as magazines and newspapers can make them in Imperial problems. The present writer remembers the surprise he felt at seeing the stationmaster of a small up-country hamlet reading the last number of the *Nineteenth Century*, and anxious to discuss its views. Your newly-arrived parson therefore recognizes very speedily that he cannot preach his old written discourses, that he must be fresh and crisp and up to date; and he soon determines that an English clergyman's Sunday is play compared with his own. In summer he does his journey with the heat occasionally at 110° or 115° in the shade. His house has been too hot to sleep in, the church is like an oven, and the conditions generally are enough to bring out grit.[1] However,

[1] The following is the list of services, with distances, taken on Easter Sunday by a priest in charge of a country district ten miles from Adelaide: 5.30 A.M. Drive eight miles for celebration in mission church. 6.45 A.M. Return four miles for second celebration in mission church. 8 A.M. Return four miles for third celebration in parish church. 9.30 A.M. Drive twelve miles to celebration in mission church No. 3. 11 A.M. Celebration and sermon in parish church. 3 P.M. Drive fourteen miles, Evensong in mission church No. 4. 6 P.M. Baptisms in parish church. 6.30 P.M. Evensong and sermon in parish church. Fifty-four miles in all. This of course is an exceptional Sunday's work; but there are plenty of clergy

Digitized by Google

he finds with astonishment that whereas he was nobody in particular in England, he is a personage in the colonies. It is true that he meets with little of the deference paid to well-established vicars at home, but he is a fresh arrival. The chance will come at once almost of making his mark. He will be asked to preach in the cathedral, and invited to all the festivals in the city. The professional sermon-tasters will sample him, if for nothing else that they may be qualified to appraise him. The leaders of society make particular bids for his patronage while he is a bachelor. Indeed the young English clergyman runs many chances of being spoilt during his first two years in Australian capitals.

All this is only surprising until the narrowness of life and the paucity of intellectual surroundings are remembered. Here you have a people who, to quote the ex-Bishop of Ballarat, are 'nimble-witted,' if occasionally shallow, who have no solid education, no leisured or properly cultured classes, no taste at present for real learning; but who are in the movement of the world, who take, for instance, infinitely greater interest in imperial questions than men of their own social standing in England, and in point of fact hear the news nine hours before them; who are proud of their own material progress, with good reason, delicately sensitive to criticism, knowing all the time that they cannot yet produce a first-class article of any kind, unless it be a horse. What wonder if they look to the home-taught University man to give them better than ordinary spiritual food! What wonder if any clergyman who has the interests of Church or Empire at heart insists, in season and out of season, that the ablest of our young clergy ought to give themselves to the moulding of this virile young community!

And when the English clergyman is no longer a 'new chum,' when he has settled down to serving his five country churches each ten miles distant from the next, he remembers with a certain scorn the easy Sundays of England. He finds that a congregation of real Church people can be kept

who do not less than forty miles every Sunday in the year. And there are a sufficiency of instances where ninety miles is covered, and four services taken in the day.

Digitized by Google

together by a lay reader who in his absence reads the service and an approved printed sermon. He reads in the Church papers of the appalling poverty of rural clergy in England, and he asks why should not country parishes, within a few miles of one another, be united into one cure to make a living wage for the priest. He wonders whether for many reasons it would not be an advantage to license more laymen as perpetual sub-deacons. He hears it said that the English clergy are afraid of their Protestant laity, and his answer is that the way to lead the laity is to give them work. The principle on which work of any kind in the new world is carried on is to follow a leader, and if the clergy cannot lead by their personal influence they are left. He remembers the force of tradition in the old world, the atmosphere of gentility into which ordination is assumed to lift the English ordinand. He may miss some of that polish in colonial clergy. But it strikes him as good common-sense that a man should be well paid for honest work—as Australians demand—and he begins to wonder whether the official status of English clergymen may not be dearly bought at the price of enforced penury. Colonial experience brings out nothing more clearly than the harm which endowments have done to the Church in allowing congregations to forget the privilege given them of supporting their priest. Is it business-like, is it faithful rendering of the Catholic truth, to omit St. Paul's injunction that they who preach the Gospel shall live of the Gospel? Where there are few endowments, and those painfully acquired in quite recent times, this is taught and cheerfully recognized. Nowhere in the world probably is there more regular generous systematic giving to church and clergymen than in Australia. An instance could be quoted of a small country town, 300 miles from Adelaide, where, for many years past, the contributions to the Church have averaged more than ten shillings per head of the population (not the Church people only) without one single large donation. Indeed, within two generations, speaking generally, churches and schools and parsonages have been built and paid for.

Here there are few clergy with private means. Endowments rarely amount to more than the interest on 500*l.*, a

Digitized by Google

parsonage, and a few barren acres of glebe. Yet the clergy throughout Australia appear to be paid about a third more than the English average. Stipends are made up from seat-rents (very few churches, unfortunately, are free and open), stipend funds, and offertories. Marriage fees in some dioceses are a great help—the statutory fee in South Australia fixed by the Government being 4*l.* Money has, of course, to be raised in a host of various ways—strawberry fêtes, socials, dances, teas, bazaars; but the feeling that direct giving (the envelope system) is at once the most business-like and Biblical is growing fast. Towards the building of a parsonage 200*l.* is given, when 600*l.* has been locally raised, from the central funds of the diocese. Clergy, whether they like it or not, must perforce spend much energy in raising their necessary funds; their financial position depends very largely on their own efforts. It does not, however, follow that any clergyman can become a mere money-raising machine. Australian laymen are not laggards in judging character. They love, it is true, to add brick to brick, and love to have their ears tickled by crisp oratory; but they well understand the value of unobtrusive work, though they may prefer the more showy sort. Support will be given generously to the preacher or the diligent visitor or the able organiser, but some kind of excellence must be shown. One telling advantage of the voluntary system certainly is that the impossible priest is eliminated. He is simply left alone. He has nothing to give and therefore nothing to get. On the other hand, Australian congregations are particularly generous to ministers whom they regard. Instances many could be given of clergy being given a year's holiday in Europe, a first-class return ticket, and a couple of hundred pounds in their pocket. This, let it be understood, is when the personality and character have been appreciated. And in another respect the Australian clergy consider themselves blessed. They read in English Church papers wearisome complaints of institution or dilapidation fees, and rejoice that they pay 10*s.* when they are licensed, 10*s.* when inducted to a sole cure, are every one of them without fee surrogates, and can leave the maintenance of the rectory to the wardens.

Digitized by Google

The system of clerical assurance is eminently worthy of imitation. There is no Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, there are no village cures with light work and adequate emolument to which men who have passed their prime can be retired. There is, however, in this new land a quite striking willingness to dispense with any man—civil servant or politician or clergyman—when his best days are behind him. A clergy annuity fund attempts in most dioceses to meet the need. Twenty years ago in Adelaide a fund was started. Every clergyman holding the Bishop's licence pays an annual subscription of two guineas. Every church of standing gives an annual offertory. Some private donations were given at first, and for some years there were no payments to be made. In no other diocese in Australia is the subscription so low, and it ought indeed to be raised at once if the fund is to remain in a sound actuarial condition. None the less, it was able in 1902 to divide 450*l.* a year between five annuitants in proportion to their term of service. One of them even received for some years an annuity of 200*l.* In the same diocese the Clergy Widow and Orphan Fund is in a still stronger position. It offers remarkable insuring opportunities. A capital fund of 15,000*l.* has been raised since 1864, partly by private benefactions and subscriptions, partly by donations from the central funds of the diocese. It is not compulsory. The premium is settled according to the age of the joining member. When he marries it is doubled. When he leaves the diocese (unless he has held a licence for fifteen years) half his premiums are returned, and he must cease to be a member. Every church gives an annual offertory. The premium of a married man joining at the age of thirty-two is 5*l.* 5*s.* The total income last year was 1110*l.*; the number of widows annuitant ten, each of them in receipt of 55*l.* annually for life. These, it will be seen at once, are infinitely better terms for the premium paid than any insurance society could give. It could not, of course, be done without the help of the offertories and donations. Very possibly in the near future the premiums will have to be raised or the annuities reduced. But again it is a clear instance of common-sense facing of difficulties. We can imagine that many home

Digitized by Google

bishops would welcome any similar means of inducing their clergy to insure or resign.

If the severity of his Sunday work impresses and invigorates the newly-arrived home-bred priest, very much more will his independence and isolation startle him. Up-country he will not see another clergyman for perhaps three months at a time. His archdeacon is a parish priest, possibly living three hundred miles away, who makes a visitation once in five years and invites his clergy to an annual conference. His bishop travels round once in two years, perhaps, for confirmation. There are no men of culture in his district. The sheep and cattle stations are managed for absentee owners who live in England or Sydney. He looks in vain for guidance from any clerical superior. He must make out from the look of his church the kind of service usual. He must find the names and characters of his parishioners by personal inquiry—from themselves. His first appearance and pronouncements will probably be long remembered—it behoves him to make a good first impression. Possibly it will be found that no one knows anything about the trust deeds, whose provisions are often a complete dead letter.

Fifty years ago, for instance, pew rents and sacramental offerings were usually apportioned to the rector, while land was specially given for a Church school. The new rector is lucky if he does not find that no school has ever been built, and that his wardens simply vote him at Easter Vestry that which they think fit. But when he begins work his hands are absolutely free. He can do what he likes, so long as he carries his people with him. He will not be hampered by episcopal advice, restrained by Public Worship Regulation Acts, or delayed by need for faculties. The Litany and Quicunque may be omitted from one year's end to another without objection raised. Not a few there are who choose at their will proper lessons for Sunday reading. Let him be a successful or taking preacher—let him boldly show small respect for traditional doctrine—and he may empty for a time some of the dissenting chapels. For rare is the up-country township which besides its Anglican church has not —to serve a population of 500 souls—three or four other

Digitized by Google

'worship sheds,' Roman, Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, Salvation Army.[1]

And so he must learn to make prompt decisions on the spur of the moment, to devise special services, and assume authority. He must learn to saddle his own horse and feed it, wash his own buggy and grease it. In the extreme heat, when the thermometer mounts up to 115° in the shade, he is glad to wear white drill suits and nothing clerical but a collar. It is all picturesque and romantic and new. But when the novelty has worn off, the sense of isolation is depressing. He begins to wish he had a rector to lean upon. Acquaintances are good fellows, but eminently laymen. The atmosphere is least of all ecclesiastical. Temptations to loose living in the matter of cards and drinking and horse-racing are far greater than an ordinary Englishman can even imagine. On his rounds he must most frequently stay at the hotel (where usually he is charged nothing), and for the sake of his work he must manifest no aloofness. Recognizing this, Bishop Westcott discouraged the sending of men up-country in the colonies except in pairs, and the Longreach Brotherhood has been the result. For in isolation the very recital of daily offices becomes irksome when you can rarely say them in church or with another priest. Much more does theological reading end in the fortnightly perusal of a third-rate Church paper. The missioner on the Murray River has a parish 600 miles long from end to end. He works his way up in a small steamer, taking six weeks each way. Besides services at forty or fifty centres, marriages, classes, and visiting, he dispenses clothing and medicine to the ill-fated dwellers in the Murray village settlements. His crew is one engineer, who is also cook, valet, navigator, and fireman. Their fuel is found ready chopped into logs on the bank at certain spots, but they must put it aboard themselves; often kill their own dinner, and always cook it. One of them must always be at the rudder, so that many addresses are

[1] A hamlet centre of a farming district, 250 miles from Adelaide, supports thirty places of worship—six Anglican, eight ministers and priests (one Anglican) resident, and six more overlapping from other districts. Population, 1,500.

Digitized by Google

prepared, as the chapters of the Bible were divided, *inter navigandum*. And though there is much human interest and much wild roughness in this kind of life, the apartness and isolation are a real danger.

This is where the great use of Synods first appears. Augustus Short, first Bishop of Adelaide, reintroduced the catholic primitive practice into the new world—not without opposition, not without suggestion from governors that danger lurked in the revival. He persisted, and his pioneer efforts were copied in New Zealand and all Australasia. The annual meeting of every priest and deacon in the diocese under the presidency of the Bishop is, apart from its deliberative value, a most salutary change to the far-scattered country clergy. Lay synodsmen from every parish are summoned also. Exemption from attendance is rarely sought except in case of sickness. For the Church people of the capital recognize their duty of making the week in town pleasant for the visitors. Synod gives them a united service with an episcopal charge in cathedral, opportunity of meeting brother priests from every part of the State, of learning to know all the most active laymen, of bringing forward criticism of diocesan management or suggestions for united action. At one Synod the basis of representation may be altered. In Adelaide two years ago, after much debating, arguing, amending, the system was carried which is known as the 'communicant basis.' Parishes which can certify 149 communicants (the word to mean one who has communicated three times during the year last past) have three synodsmen; ten communicants entitle to one, forty-nine to two synodsmen.

Or, as at Sydney last year—where party lines are unfortunately very clear cut—he may vote on a distinct proposal to censure an archbishop for sending the elements from his cathedral altar to a dean dying in the Close. In Adelaide, thirty years ago, he might have opposed a motion which demanded of the bishop that he should revoke the licences of two priests who used altar lights and weekly eucharists. One of them is now an archdeacon, the other canon missioner. Rarely will he fail to get some amusement

Digitized by Google

and instruction out of Synod, and always it will bring home to him—as nothing is more needed—that in vast, sparsely populated, Australia there is a body, the Church, and that it is working. This is some set-off to the loneliness of his country cure. It usually comforts a man to be at least one Sunday away from his parishes, and the greater freshness thus given to work seemed to Bishop Montgomery in Tasmania important enough to warrant him summoning a Synod to last over Sunday in Hobart. In the same spirit the Adelaide Synod passed a resolution—which may be commended to the vicars of East London—that every clergyman is entitled to three consecutive Sundays' holiday in the year, during which the wardens are to pay, if necessary, for the services being taken. This is pasted in the fly-leaf of every well-arranged vestry-book in the diocese. Here is another occasion when the licensed layman is so valuable.

In ecclesiastical economy diocesan Synods merge into provincial. At present there is (until Melbourne and Brisbane become archbishoprics) only one established Province, comprising the dioceses of Sydney, Goulburn, Newcastle, Riverina, and Grafton and Armidale. This part of the framework of the Church in Australia has not yet exercised much influence, being overshadowed by the importance of General Synod.

General Synod consists of all the Bishops, with elected priests and laymen from every diocese in Australia and Tasmania. It meets once in five years. Its deliberations are carried on in one room—bishop, priest, or layman taking his turn of speaking to the motion. The Bishops, however, sit on a dais, and vote by themselves. Clergy and laity vote together unless a vote by orders is called for. The number of representatives is decided on the ratio of clergy holding the bishop's licence, and twice as many laymen as clergy are sent. Thus Adelaide, with ninety licensed clergy, sends six clerical and twelve lay representatives; Sydney, with 180 clergy, sends in the same proportion. The train fare of representatives is paid from diocesan funds, so that election to represent partakes of the nature of a prize.

To one who has been working for some years in the

Digitized by Google

'back blocks,' who has almost forgotten the prestige attaching to the Church in England by reason of the levelling toleration allowed to all forms of belief, the meeting of General Synod is an eloquent sight. The Bishops are in their doctor's robes, the laymen are many of them members of Parliament, the speaking is by no means of a low order. Two hundred Churchmen, who have first attended a corporate communion in St. Andrew's Cathedral, discuss questions of great moment for the young Church. It is true that they have no legislative power. Their resolutions are not more than 'recommendations' which Diocesan Synods may make law or decline. Yet it is more than a debating society. It represents, roughly, the Church voice of the continent. It sent out the mission to New Guinea in the name of the Communion in Australia. It discussed in 1900 that very pregnant question of the best name for the Church in these lands—the title 'Church of England in Australia and Tasmania' being confessedly cumbrous and insufficient. It determined that for the future the Primate of Australia might be elected by the bishops from the occupants of the sees of Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane. Australia had groaned for long years under the law which enabled the Sydney Synod, in electing their Bishop, to impose a Primate by the same act on the whole country. Its proceedings are reported at full length in the press throughout the States, by specially retained correspondents. For when the Bishop of Manchester was at Melbourne his was by far the weightiest voice in Australia, and it is probably true to-day that General Synod contains more debating power and eloquence than the Federal Parliament. By force of circumstances the Church in Australia has succeeded in using its laymen more effectually than the Church at home. The contrast between this assembly and the Lower House of Convocation for the Province of Canterbury is striking enough. At the meeting of that House in February last, when the Kenyon-Slaney clause was being discussed, some fifty reverend gentlemen were representing how many millions of Church people? There were three men and two women listening to the debate, which was polished and tame and unexciting. It

Digitized by Google

was as crucial a point as is likely to be discussed for a generation, and the deliberations were scarcely noticed by the daily press. Is the true organ for reflecting the opinions of Church people in England to be found in a reformed Convocation, or in a General Synod which shall step into its place? It seems strange that Australian methods have not, at least with some modifications, been tried.

It may be asked—Whence does the Synod in a diocese derive its authority? How can it be anything more than an annual meeting of Churchmen for discussion and worship? To begin with, it elects the Bishop, or decides to delegate the election. It could depose him if necessary. The Bishop, as President of Synod, helps to draw up the fundamental provisions which enact how he can be deposed. It decides who shall be custodians of the Synod seal, without which no sale or lease of Church property can be effected. It appoints the representatives to General Synod, the committees for managing annuity and orphan funds, for carrying on Church schools and cemeteries, for distributing grants-in-aid, and grants to parsonages, and grants to endowment. Finance looms large in the Colonial diocese—it must be so when progress is continually dependent on power to build a new church or send a new man. Budding lawyers therefore find a large field in exploiting Church funds. Their Churchmanship may be less impressive than their 'push,' but they must be Synodsmen before they can get on to the committees. Practically it is Synod which decides whether a mission church shall have its grant, a retiring priest his annuity, and whether a poor congregation shall be excused its assessment. Every parish, therefore, is anxious to be represented in the Church Parliament. But this is only allowed to those churches which, besides having four annual offertories (Clergy Annuities, Clergy Widow and Orphan, Home Missions, and Foreign Missions) for extra-parochial objects, have also paid an assessment (*7d.* in the £ on all receipts) to the Church office. This regulation may not be common to all dioceses. There are some, alas! even yet where no Foreign Mission collection is inevitably made. But it is a strong lever for raising the sense of responsibility. The cause of missions is kept more vividly

Digitized by Google

alive when every year a report is rendered of the amount of money raised to the assembled heads of 200 parishes, and a discussion ensues as to the best way of apportioning it.

It is Synod which appoints the assessors who will try any priest accused of heresy or immorality. What a boon would the following condition, annexed to induction in the diocese of Adelaide, be to many an English Bishop! Every incumbent signs it:

'I do hereby engage to give up to the Trustees, on demand of the Bishop or Trustees, possession of all the real and personal estate and effects which I may hold or be entitled to by virtue of my office, at the time if and when sentenced, according to the fundamental provisions of the diocese, to deprivation or suspension: and in order to give effect to such sentence I declare that I hold possession of the temporalities above mentioned, real and personal estate and effects, as tenant-at-will of the ordinary for the time being, in case such emergency should arise; and that I will in all other respects conform to and abide by the said provisions.'

The drawing up of constitution and enactments has taken much time in earlier years. The business of Synod is very legal and financial. Its procedure is that of the House of Assembly, which is modelled on the House of Commons. And there are not wanting those who maintain that such technical matters are best entirely left to lawyers and financiers. It happens that English instinct decides otherwise, and feels that even the 'spiritual person' is better for being compelled to give a vote and listen to debates about matters on which he has not specialized. Undoubtedly it is also found, as is not unheard-of in the Roman Curia, that clergy, not conspicuous for devotion to their parishes or scholarship, are considerable personages in a Church Parliament. A certain skill in debate and a facility for grasping the rules of procedure weigh heavily. And, in fact, Synod sometimes strikes one as a special field for developing those business qualities which are apt to be considered incompatible with refined feeling or priestly tenderness. But, with whatever blemishes, the primitive Catholic practice has been fully restored in democratic completeness, and every Churchman

Digitized by Google

and Churchwoman has a voice in the management of Church affairs.

Australia is a paradise for the religious quack. Sects almost unheard-of in old lands are prominent here. All are on nominal equality with the Church. Within the last five years most of the subsections of Methodism have coalesced. It says much for Australian common-sense that bodies which had been fighting on points of doctrine and discipline for one hundred years suddenly discovered that the only thing which kept them apart was finance. Now they are one with themselves, and one with Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Unitarians, in opposition to the Church and to Rome. Enterprising where the Church has been slow, active where we have been inert, they have again and again captured districts merely by being first in the field or by captivating the fancy of a young people which loves large buildings, even if not paid for. There are few things sadder to an English clergyman than to note how easily the ordinary immigrant, who was attending Church at home, is seduced by the sectary in new countries. Is it because the backbone of the Faith has not been taught? or does it point to the necessity of simplifying our Church services or to the need of greater enterprise, and employment of lay workers? There is probably something in the climate which makes for throwing off restraint, for certainly the native-born Roman is much less amenable to discipline than his Irish brother; the carefully instructed Lutheran easily becomes an Anglican, the strict Presbyterian welcomes the ritual and the order of the Church. But Seventh-Day Adventists, American Evangelistic Churches of Christ, Faith Healers, and Christian Scientists abound. The prevailing attitude of mind—healthy in some respects—is to take nothing for granted because it has been handed down. Probably not more than half the whole population has ever been baptized. The utility of a custom must be made patent before it is accepted. 'Sic volo, sic jubeo' is nowhere so nugatory as here, but in few places, probably, are men so thorough when convinced. A Church which only seats 330 has over 200 communicants on Easter Day. A commercial man who has

Digitized by Google

heard a sermon on Holy Baptism brings five children next day to be baptized. A young priest goes to a new parish, and has one hundred in his confirmation classes within three months. These are all real instances. Can English readers understand how one longs for reinforcements to the staff to reap in this harvest? They must be strong men, bold enough to burn their ships behind them, and for material support they need have no shadow of fear.

For the absence of respect for tradition Australian politicians are largely to be blamed. The teaching of history has been shamefully neglected in the past, as of course has the history of the Christian Church and the Bible. It has sometimes seemed as though, for the ordinary State-taught Australian, history began in the early part of last century. A combination of lower middle-class dissenting blood, a shallow utilitarian education closed at fourteen, a sun-bathed but semi-toned landscape, innocent of any landmarks of the past, have produced a new thing of its kind, an intellect keen, alert, shallow, said to be wanting in sense of humour, hungrily seeking excitement. Add to this, general wealth far surpassing per head of population any country in the world—wealth even among the labouring classes easily won, among the squatters doubling itself with unimagined rapidity. The hours of work shorter, the wages higher, the holidays more frequent than elsewhere. Every second man in the towns owns his house, and a garden in which if he chose he could grow fruit and vegetables to supply the household. Every fourth man owns a buggy and ponies. In the times of worst drought, when settlers up-country are starving on bread made of bran, theatres, race-meetings, football matches, are as fully attended as ever. The offertory in the churches hardly varies, and whereas in England of 10*l.* collected on Sunday 6*l.* would probably be copper, in Australia possibly 3*s.* might. And this may in some sort indicate the difference in generosity and wealth and attendance, for the English Church would probably hold 1200 people and the Australian 300.

It is part of the creed preached by the Australian press to decry any connexion between Church and State, and to

Digitized by Google

laugh at the Bishops having a seat in the Upper House. The popular vogue is to abuse the English aristocracy as a race of spendthrift ne'er-do-wells, and to welcome any attack made by Nonconformists or Radicals on the Church; for similar reasons to sympathize with Home Rule in Ireland—though here the Roman influence has much to answer for—to jeer at the discipline of the English Army and applaud licence—mistaken for liberty—in every possible way. All this, not because Australia knows anything about the English aristocracy or the working of the Church in England, but because until quite recently it felt itself unknown and was indignant. It knew itself potentially very rich and important, without being so recognized. This attitude, begotten in the first place by the hatred of convicts for the land which had exiled them, often doubtless for insufficient reason, was accentuated by the *odium theologicum* which had prompted many to seek ecclesiastical freedom. And while much of this feeling is being considerably modified by gradually improving education, greater facilities for travel, the visits of cricketing teams, and the burst of loyalty which sent away the contingents to South Africa, it must not be supposed that the instinct of the country has been radically changed or can ever be English in the old sense.

Yet out of all emerges the growing conviction that Anglican doctrines, discipline, and clergy are on the whole the sanest. Cardinal Moran might make the same claim for Ultramontanism. But statistics would be against him, as published in the last census reports. Certainly it is true that in Adelaide and Melbourne the largest sums of money given for the building of the Cathedral have come from Presbyterians and others, not Churchmen, on the avowed ground that the Church alone can suitably manage a central official temple. Without a dissentient voice being heard, the memorial tablets to the fallen in the war were unveiled in the English Cathedral. At church parades of the military, when not a quarter of the men are nominally in the Church, less than a tenth ever choose to attend the Roman or Wesleyan services. In a sense therefore the Church is 'established.' Not in the technical sense, as perhaps it may be wise that it never shall.

Digitized by Google

But it is completely free to work out its destiny with equal chances, and by the free comparison of results it is not unable to maintain its position. Just as in early English history the Church produced the State, so in Australia General Synod anticipated by twenty years and marked the lines on which Federal Parliament could be summoned.

It is sufficiently well known that the general Church tone in Australia is what is called 'low'; certainly not in any way advanced. The Catholic Revival might never have reached this continent—where there is not a single attempt at incense, where the recital of daily offices publicly is a custom much more honoured in the breach than in the observance, where a daily Eucharist is unheard-of, where, none the less—as is said to be the case also in up-country districts of Africa—nominal Churchmen are more apt to be regular communicants than in England. This is partly the result of competition between equal sects. In a district of 20,000 people in the suburbs of Adelaide there are three Anglican churches and nineteen chapels of various denominations, half of them larger than and as well filled as the churches. The Churchman is inevitably driven to consider what are the characteristic teachings of his communion, and to accept them. In Victoria and New South Wales the bitterness of Orange and Green lodges is added to the rancour which separates moderate Churchmen from ultra-Protestants. Curiously enough, where there has been least State assistance, and where the Church is poorest in money and richest in cultured men—in South Australia—the current teaching and ritual are most Catholic, and there is a minimum of friction between Romans and Catholics or between Evangelicals and Catholics.

In one respect an Australian parish is a positive pleasure to work. The readiness of the lay women and men to organize treats, socials, teas, is phenomenal. The priest need have no worry at all about these most harassing functions. The ladies are nearly all accustomed to do most, if not all, of their housework; they commonly keep not more than one servant, and they cook, arrange, decorate, beg provisions with infinite zeal. It is not easy to make congregations quite homo-

Digitized by Google

geneous, but when this is achieved anything in the world can be done. For it is not correct to speak of parishes, though the districts are marked off geographically. In the towns each man attracts his own hearers. The advent of a new minister—after probably some stormy meetings of Vestry and Patronage Committee—is usually the signal for a complete change of Church workers. One recalcitrant choirman or Sunday-school teacher draws all the rest after him. There is not therefore any ready willingness to unite several districts under a rector with a staff of assistants. Though this is the only way properly to work growing suburbs and to solidify Church feeling, it goes under before the desire to own a local priest and frequently instruct him. It is the preacher who fills the House of God. Yet it must not be supposed that regard is not paid to the service. Music of a sort is taught to every second child, and practised by the majority. St. Peter's, Adelaide, or St. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne, is not far behind the best Oxford chapels in point of musical excellence. And many suburban services are fully equal to that of the ordinary English country town. Yet with much general addiction to harmonized confessions, choral celebrations, and coloured stoles, to the observance of Advent, Lent, and the great festivals the prayer-desk constantly faces the people. Saints' days are often entirely disregarded, and the priest the nominee of the trustees and ruled from the pew.

Long years must pass before the Catechism is faithfully taught. The teaching of the ordinary Sunday-school teacher is colossally inadequate, and if it was allowed it would be impossible for the over-burdened clergy to work properly in the State schools. Church schools have a terrible battle to fight for existence, unless, after the fashion of grammar schools, they have been endowed. In the meantime it is impossible to overstate the disastrous lack of religious knowledge among children. Again and again a Chief Justice is heard to bewail ignorance, in twelve-year-old boys, of the very name of God. A magistrate reports from up-country that cases of girls becoming mothers at fifteen are horribly common, the mothers themselves no whit cleaner, while Sunday-schools are of no use, and divorce is becoming more

Digitized by Google

common every year. The proportion of lunatics to population is unapproached in Christendom. The factitious methods of preventing reproduction, practised by all classes, are the most serious economic evil of all. Leading men begin now to put down these blemishes to want of early religious training, yet the Church has done culpably little to establish schools. The Romans, with customary wisdom, have many, and oppose the teaching of religion by the State or its officers. Till quite recently the Nonconformists have also opposed, but for other reasons. They know themselves unable to teach, and wish to prevent the Church increasing her influence. The movement of thought is in the direction of allowing all children in public schools to be taught during school hours by the minister their parents shall choose. This is the system of New South Wales, and it answers well. But the Church, if she had kept to a distinct plan, and all the divines had pulled together, could have mastered the situation and dictated the policy. She needs a commanding, determined mind to inspire and lead her. She needs the dogged patience of Rome to plan and to wait. She needs the enthusiasm of the so-called 'free churches' to inspire more aggressive missionary enterprise. Alone of religious bodies, she has no general secretary of missions to consolidate and organize effort. In finance she can neither extort money by threats of Purgatory, nor extract it by Wesleyan trade fellowship. She lacks authority and she lacks sympathy. Worst of all, she is not the Church of the people. Her very name is against her—her learning, her social position, her antiquity, the uncomprehended beauty of her liturgy, are all against her. Few are her Houses of God which have been built with a view to accommodating those who ought to worship with her. Little care has been taken to provide for those who cannot pay pew rents, and will not spare much in support of religion. Small chance, therefore, has been given of rendering in due reverence and proper solemnity the most congregational liturgy existing.

Yet the dioceses are as ably manned as at home. Not with as brilliant preaching power or scholarship, but with quite equal devotion, and a practical absence of utter inability. The native-born clergy are perhaps more distinguished for

Digitized by Google

readiness to speak than willingness to learn, while imported University men take some time to adapt themselves to the conditions. The foreign service movement does something to stiffen the ranks, not without arousing jealousy at times. And the English-taught parson will be needed for some years yet; for the rich man who thinks of influencing his son in the direction of Holy Orders is indeed a *rara avis* in the land of black swans. The career of the pressman, the engineer, the mining expert, the farmer, the politician, offers far greater attractions to the man of moderate means. And yet, professions being almost as crowded as at home, an Australian priest with any power is sure of being offered a sole cure in less than three years. If 300*l.* has been spent on his education, he can, in a monetary sense, get as much return for it as the Oxford graduate upon whom 1,000*l.* has been spent. He may be more useful.

Finally, one would wish to remind leaders of thought at home that Australia is in a quasi-missionary stage, and needs all the best of English self-sacrifice to make her and keep her Christian. The work is pioneering even in the large towns, and there is an amazing abundance of it. No man need languish for lack of opportunity to prove his mettle. Nowhere could readier response to single-minded effort be found. There are singular trials, physical and spiritual, to be borne. Famous English preachers might do much to increase their experience and heighten the prestige of the Church by consenting to visit this land. Though all expenses would be paid, it is almost impossible to secure a visit from them. While the stars of all the sects tour brilliantly through the States, the English clergyman must tell his people that the Church has far greater orators than these at home—only they will not come. And so, shut off from preferment, from ideal country parsonages in the home counties, and cultured society, he finds charm in varied experience, in the study of ecclesiastical evolution, in the conscious moulding of a young and plastic public opinion. But the Church is to him the Hope of the Ages, and he longs to see its extreme borders in nearer, more sympathetic touch. He believes that the old world can learn something from the new.

Digitized by Google

ART. VIII.—THE IMPERIALISM OF DANTE.

1. *Recent Translations of Dante. Divina Commedia*, Italian and English: *Inferno*, by CARLYLE; *Purgatorio*, by OKEY; *Paradiso*, by WICKSTEED. Temple Classics. (London: Dent and Co., 1899–1901.)
2. *Dante.* By J. E. G. GARDNER. Temple Primers. (London: Dent and Co., 1900.)
3. *The Divine Comedy.* By C. E. NORTON. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1891.)

'THE central man of all the world,' says John Ruskin in *The Stones of Venice*, 'as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral, and intellectual faculties all at their highest, is Dante.' While in his ideal dreams of a regenerated world, in his deep searchings into the hidden meanings of life, he is pre-eminently the poet seer, fulfilling accurately Wordsworth's definition of a poet as one who is 'endowed with more lively sensibility, more enthusiasm and tenderness, who has a greater knowledge of human nature and a more comprehensive soul than are supposed to be common among mankind,' yet he was not a poet only. In fact, as a recent writer has pointed out,[1] Dante as a poet is sometimes forgotten in his other claims to our attention. Dean Church calls him 'an all-surveying, all-embracing mind.' 'Most excellent scholar in every kind of learning,' says Villari. He had drunk deeply of all the knowledge of his day—its theology, its philosophy, and its science too—for though he had not known later discoveries, as an observer of visible phenomena he is marvellously accurate.

But perhaps to twentieth-century readers of the great Florentine, nothing is more interesting than Dante's views of government. This is a part of his life which seems inconsistent with his poetical character, and Boccaccio blames him for mixing himself up in politics at all, just as Professor Hales blames Milton that he who had 'fitted himself for the dreams and delights of a poet. . . abdicated his throne, and

[1] *Quarterly Review*, June 1899.

Digitized by Google

entered into the loveless regions of controversy.' But Milton did not mix up his politics with his poetry. Dante did. They were part of his very life. Other statesmen have been authors, from the days of Thucydides and Xenophon and Cæsar to the time of Queen Victoria, when we have seen prime ministers who have translated Homer and edited Butler and written novels, but in these latter cases the literary work was only a recreation. And if rulers like Marcus Aurelius, and that Admirable Crichton of our own land, King Alfred—saint, warrior, scholar, all in one—could give time to writing, in the one case the philosophic views were not worked out in practical form, and in the other the writings did not refer to politics at all. And although poets (like Wordsworth and Coleridge and Southey in their early revolutionary days, and Shelley when he wrote the *Revolt of Islam* and *The Masque of Anarchy*) have expressed their hopes for better government in their verse, they were not themselves practical politicians. Spenser certainly held office, and described the events of his time under the veil of allegory, but he took no great part himself as Dante did; and the earnest reality of Dante's character, that 'intensity' which Carlyle calls 'the prevailing character of his genius,' prevented him from presenting his political beliefs under the form of 'conceits' as the Elizabethan did. In the *Divina Commedia* he is describing the spiritual side of life as he believed it actually existed in the unseen world. 'Behold the man who has been in Hell,' said the people of Verona. And Dante indeed felt as if he had been there. The deep pits of Malebolge, the steep sides of the soul-purifying mount were as real to him as the Venetian arsenals,[1] or the rocky ascents of Bismantora and Sanleo.[2] So he could be poet and politician at the same time. There is no wonder, therefore, that the political theories which had so vital an interest to so great a mind should be of abiding interest still, and that fresh translations of the great work should appear year by year, and fresh studies of the great poet's teachings. And those teachings are not out of date altogether for the men of the new century. For Dante's ideals of government have a curious

[1] *Inf.* xxi. 7. [2] *Purg.* iv. 25.

Digitized by Google

similarity to those which fired the imagination of great thinkers before the French Revolution, and though the Imperialism by which he would work them out differs widely from the British notions of to-day, yet it is still *Imperialism*—a central rule allowing diverse local autonomies—by which the poet would regenerate the world. And though the needs of his age are not the needs of the twentieth century, yet the same hindrances prove a bar to good government now as then.

The time when Dante wrote was the junction of two eras. John Ruskin calls 1300 'a kind of central year.' Ancient liberty, municipal and tribal, had passed away, and the new principle of nationality had not been born. Religion had lost the first impulses of primitive Christianity, and the awakening of the Reformation was yet to be. Learning had tied itself down to petty definitions, and the freer and wider culture brought from Greece at the Renaissance was unknown. Dante everywhere complains of the degeneracy of his times, and in the *Paradiso* he represents the wisdom of the Schoolmen, the self-denial of the Monks, the devotion of the Friars, in their first and purest forms. Carlyle calls him the 'voice of ten silent centuries,' because he represents Feudalism and Catholicism at their highest and best.

Not so long ago it was the fashion to idealize mediævalism. The glamour of romance made the ages of chivalry to appear the ages of noblest deeds, and the days of ascetic devotion, the days of truest Christianity. At the same time the rudeness and ignorance of the mediæval knight, the superstition and folly of the mediæval monk made the term 'dark ages' not inappropriate to the centuries which some still called 'ages of faith.' As a matter of fact *both* views are right. Professor Bryce remarks,[1] speaking of the later middle ages: 'At no time in the world's history has theory—pretending all the while to control practice—been so utterly divorced from it. Ferocious and sensual, that age worshipped humility and asceticism; there has never been a purer ideal of love, nor a grosser profligacy of life.'

The knightly ideal, of a champion 'redressing human

[1] *Holy Roman Empire.*

Digitized by Google

wrongs,' and devoting himself to the service of woman and the weak, did not prevent wholesale massacres, and certainly did not extend to the poorer classes. The days were those of

> 'the simple plan
> That they shall take who have the power,
> And they shall keep who can.'

Freedom had been a Teutonic ideal, when all the 'Gefolge' had been the peers of the Dux; but it did not extend to the inhabitants of the land where the conquering tribes settled; there the serf and villein had no rights. The religious ideal was one of self-sacrifice; but by Dante's day the saintly hermit —retiring from an evil world to pray for mankind—had become the self-indulgent monk,[1] the earnest preaching friar had degenerated into the ambitious demagogue.[2] While as to the bulk of lay Christians, at no period in the world's history has the profession of religion had so little influence on practice. The profession was the early Christian one, the duty of devotion to the service of God and His poor; but in practice it had degenerated into a kind of balancing of accounts with Heaven—a making up for sins by large gifts—so that those who never prayed themselves would build stately monasteries and chantries, and the baron who ravaged his own neighbourhood would lead expeditions to the Holy Land.

How little of the true religion of primitive Christianity lingered in these ages may be seen by two signs: the entire absence (in spite of large charitable doles, and occasional examples of self-denying love like St. Elizabeth of Hungary) of any sense of sympathetic philanthropy—any realization of the Christian brotherhood of man; and the almost complete cessation (with the exception of Raymond Lully, the Franciscan Mission to China, and perhaps the Mission of St. Francis himself to the Sultan alluded to by Dante in *Par.* xi. 100–103) of any attempt to Christianize the heathen world. The spirit which had animated the Church from the days of the Apostles to those of our own Wilfrid of Crediton is conspicuously absent during those very ages when the salvation of the unbaptized heathen was deemed an impossibility.

[1] *Par.* xxii. 73–90. [2] *Ibid.* xii. 106–120.

Digitized by Google

The middle ages fought the Saracen—there was no effort to convert him.

But in fact no proof is needed to show how complete was the divorce between religion and daily life. Poetry was the 'gay science,' separated from the serious and moral side of life; scepticism had tinged some of the strongest minds of the day (like Dante's own tutor, Brunetto Latini). The reform which Dante inaugurated was just as great as that effected by Addison, the union of religion and culture, the principles of religion worked out in practical life.

In Italy especially every vice seemed rampant. Too near to the evil life of the Head of the Church to respect religious rule, too far from the Emperor to derive any benefit from his theoretical sway, it was given up to struggle. Where the Signor became absolute, as in Milan, there was the tyranny of one; where the oligarchy ruled, as in Venice, the tyranny of an aristocracy; where factions contended, as in Florence, the tyranny of many. And the constant wars of the republics between themselves had all the evil of civil wars, and lacked the sense of union often produced by resistance to a foreign invader.

To look upon these mediæval republics as in any sense a foreshadowing of modern ideas of liberty and democracy would be erroneous. Their earliest form was borrowed probably from the Greek settlers in Naples and Sicily, and even when Italy fell under the power of the barbarians, they kept up some form of Roman rule in their own municipalities. The cause for their establishment was in every case the same—a desire of the merchant class to free themselves from feudal lords, and to fortify their cities as a defence for their trade from predatory neighbours. They were all of them municipal oligarchies, where the power was as much in the hands of a burgher class as it was lately in the Transvaal. But, nevertheless, as Sismondi points out, government was a science, and not the mere rule of the strongest.

The year 1300, the imaginary date of Dante's vision, is chosen by the historians Villari and Compagni for a review of their country's state. Mr. Symonds calls the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the 'Age of the Free Burghs,' and the

Digitized by Google

fourteenth and fifteenth the 'Age of the Despots.' Of course, those really 'dark ages' of the Renaissance which needed the great upheaval of the Reformation to purify them were not yet. But the Visconti and the Estes were the forerunners of the Sforzas and Borgias, and Eccelin Romano was the first of the tyrants. The influence of the Church was already on the wane: Boniface and Clement foreshadowed Sixtus and Alexander. This was the world of chaos into which the great Italian poet was born. Burning with patriotic love for 'that fair fold wherein a lamb he lay,' he not only worked himself for the good of his generation, but he painted an ideal picture of order and development. And the ideal, sometimes in a poetical, and sometimes in a practical form, runs through all his writings, and is found not only in the *De Monarchia* and the political letters, but in the *Commedia* itself.

What, then, were Dante's ideals, and what were the means by which he hoped that they might be realized? His times were times of strife and disunion; he pictured a state of order and peace where the intellectual faculties should have full play.[1] His times were times when religion had little practical power; his ideal was that of men led by faithful guides first to the state of primæval innocence, and finally to the Vision of God. It is a 'far cry' from the Christian imperialist of the fourteenth century to the sceptical republican of the eighteenth; from the scholarly Florentine who would restore to their original purity all the best ideals of his age, to the speculative philosopher who would regenerate society by turning the world upside down. Yet in the hopes of both there is a curious similarity, even if there be a marked difference in the means by which those hopes are to be realized. If Dante's *De Monarchia* be read side by side with William Godwin's *Political Justice*, the likeness of the ideals aimed at may be seen by the most superficial observer. Both think the development of the intellect is necessary. Dante[2] makes it the chief factor in obtaining 'earthly beatitude.' Godwin[3] writes that 'happiness is the true form of

[1] *De Monarchia*, bk. i. 3, 4–6. [2] *D. M.* ii. 34.
[3] *P. J.* introd. pt. i.

Digitized by Google

moral political disquisition, and its highest form is the intellectual.' And both consider the state most favourable to the right development of Man to be one of liberty, justice, and peace. 'The best state of man is that in which he is most free,' says Dante.[1] 'Individual independence is the highest state, and without it man can be neither wise, useful, nor happy,' says Godwin.[2] Dante places just rulers in Jupiter above the doctors and warriors, for justice is in consonance with the chief good,[3] and Godwin makes it the central virtue of all, almost as all-embracing a grace as Christian charity. 'It requires,' he says, 'that I should put myself in the place of an impartial spectator, and divest myself of retrospect for my own predilections.' And equally important is the view which both teachers take of the place of peace in an ideal world. In war nothing could attain to its true goal, is the poet's principle;[4] and the philosopher devotes two entire sections of his Fifth Book (16–17) to an examination of its evils.

The two are alike, therefore, in describing the needs of society, alike in desiring a return to the Age of Innocence—the Golden Age of which heathen poets had sung. But the Christian poet saw deeper than the infidel philosopher into the nature of man. While Godwin ascribed all man's imperfections to his education and surroundings, Dante recognized the sin inherent in fallen humanity, and knew that it was only after the ascent of the 'soul-purifying mount' that he would be enabled to be 'King and Bishop over himself.' Man's nature, according to Dante, was meant to be like his Maker, 'created first [he] was blameless, pure, and good,'[5] but sin had 'disfranchised him and made unlike to the chief good,'[6] and so he,

> 'Like all seed
> Out of its proper element, thrives but ill.'

So in the *De Monarchia* (i. 8) Dante says: 'It is the intention of God that everything should represent the Divine Nature as far as its nature allows.' But sin had made the

[1] *D. M.* i. 12.
[2] *P. J.* introd. pt. iii.
[3] *Par.* xix. 88.
[4] *D. M.* i. 4.
[5] *Par.* vii. 34–5.
[6] *Par.* vii. 79.

Digitized by Google

'whole creation groan,' and where Dante represents sin as reigning unchecked in the *Inferno*, he pictures it under *unnatural* images, sowers of dissension cut into two parts, suicides turned into trees, all distorted, and not following their original creation as it was conceived in the mind of their Maker.[1] Godwin, believing in man's natural goodness, and ignoring his inherited selfishness, expected that the regeneration of mankind would follow from a change of surroundings (in modern phraseology, that environment could overcome the influence of heredity). Dante knew man could *not* rule himself. And the peace which Godwin looked for in the equal distribution of power and property,[2] Dante expected only from the appointment of one Heaven-sent ruler[3] raised by his supreme position above the temptation of conquest. A curious commentary on Godwin's hope for peace from republican rule may be found in a letter of Lord Palmerston to Cobden in 1862. The practical knowledge of men gained by the nineteenth century had led the statesman to the same conclusion as that to which the poet's insight had guided Dante five hundred years before. Lord Palmerston writes: 'Man is a fighting and quarrelling animal; and that this is human nature is proved by the fact that republics, where the masses govern, are far more quarrelsome and addicted to fighting than monarchies, which are governed by comparatively few persons.' In one point, however, the philosopher was in advance of the poet. For in the centuries between the two the spirit of Christianity had so permeated the world that even one who, like Godwin, denied the Christian faith accepted the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man. Equality, of course, was no ideal of the middle ages, and Dante's sympathies are almost entirely confined to those of his own class.[4] Charity generally took the form of patronizing gifts, and though Dante can praise voluntary poverty in St. Francis, he does not seem to desire good government as a means of ameliorating the condition of those who must have suffered most from the state of war in Italy, neither does he mention it as the glory of good govern-

[1] *Par.* xxix. 19, 20. *Inf.* xiii. 37, xxviii. 22. [2] *P. J.* Bk. v. 16.
[3] *D. M.* i. 10. [4] *Cf.* A. J. Butler, *Dante and his Times.*

Digitized by Google

ment to give equal rights to all. Now this was just the chief object of the desired reforms of the eighteenth century. When the same principles which actuated Godwin touched the poetic natures of a later day, it was the poorest and lowliest who were idealized. How the bright dreams of the French Revolution influenced Wordsworth, he has told us himself in the *Prelude*, and his hopes for the future are all mixed up with pity for the oppressed.

> 'For where hope is, there love will be
> For the abject multitude.'[1]

'Lowly sympathy' and 'knowledge of man's noble nature' would necessitate 'the government of equal rights and individual worth.'[2]

So with Godwin's more immediate disciple, Shelley—he who proved his own love for humanity by acts of practical benevolence—all his hopes for a regenerated world included the poor. Freedom for him is

> 'For the labourer bread,
> And a comely table spread.'

She is

> 'Clothes and fire and food
> For the trampled multitude.'[3]

> 'Want, and plague, and fear, from slavery flow.'[4]

These hopes were not Dante's. Equal laws for all were no more his ideal than a Missionary Christianity was. The Christian philosopher felt that man needed more than improved surroundings; his fallen nature needed two guides for the two parts of his nature—the Emperor and the Church.

The Emperor, for the mediæval mind could conceive but of one supreme ruler for the whole world—the 'Guardian of the Globe.' As Freeman expresses it, 'the vision of an Universal Empire of law and right shone with an alluring brightness all through the ages of the reign of force.' And theoretically all Christendom accepted this view. Practically

[1] *Prelude*, Bk. ix.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Masque of Anarchy.*
[4] *Revolt of Islam.*

Digitized by Google

England and Scandinavia, and in a lesser degree Spain, were unaffected by it from their insular and peninsular positions. France—always restless, eager, and ambitious—was inimical to any control, and therefore the idea held most strongly in Germany and Italy. It was Germany that had revived under Charlemagne the old glories of the Western Empire; and under Otto the same race reformed the Papacy and gave to the Empire its Teutonic succession. The early Italian kings had only claimed to be lieutenants of the Eastern Empire, and never aspired to Imperial rule themselves.

The elective character of the Holy Roman Empire might seem to be inconsistent with the claim to rule by Divine right. But Dante never seems to see any incongruity. The one supreme monarch, however chosen and of whatever race (the only theoretical qualification for the Emperor was that he must be a baptized Christian and freeborn), was with Dante a God-sent ruler, reigning by a Divine right stronger than any Nonjuror ever claimed for his hereditary king, and over a far wider area. For Dante, Henry of Luxembourg was the saviour who was to heal all Italy's wounds, and he was just as much a Roman Emperor as Cæsar himself. Neither place nor dynasty made any difference; Charles the Great at Aachen, Constantine and Justinian at Byzantium, all were holders of the same 'Universal Ensign,' which to oppose was to oppose God.[1] Brutus and Cassius were as much traitors as Judas.[2] And yet Dante was by birth and education and conviction a Guelph, a believer in civic freedom, an enemy of the rough and alien soldiery who, in the Emperor's name, opposed the sober, peaceful, cultivated citizens. Now Guelphs by tradition had always looked to the Pope, yet Dante's hopes for the regeneration of the world came from the very power they had so often defied. Boniface VIII., 'the fiercest and most high-minded of Roman Pontiffs,' Macaulay calls him, then filled the chair of St. Peter. Why did not Dante look to him? The answer is plain. It was not his work.

For Dante's ideal included a second guide, to devote himself to spiritual matters *only*. The Pope was Universal Bishop

[1] *Par.* vi. 100. [2] *Inf.* xxxiv. 61, 62.

Digitized by Google

in his estimation, but then he did not think that a bishop's work was to control warring factions; he was not to join the 'sword to the crook.' Believing as he did that the Empire dated from Æneas and Augustus, he had no difficulty in proving that the secular authority was antecedent to the spiritual, and could not be derived from it. In fact, Dante distinctly regrets the wealth which led the Church to claim temporal rule.[1] From such words some have even been led to look upon Dante as almost a Protestant Reformer. But though he places four popes in hell and two in purgatory, yet he never doubts their authority in spiritual matters. Although popes were not to be obeyed if they led to evil, yet to treat even the worst of them with disrespect was a sin second only to the greatest crime the world has ever seen.[2] Dante's ideal world needed something more than an outward state of order. Change of 'environment' was not enough. Man needed a change of *heart*. Dante did not believe in man's 'capability of unlimited improvement,' like Godwin, or 'look on the shield of man's nature from its golden side,' like Wordsworth. Therefore he needed a guide to develop the spiritual side of man's nature, and to purify him from those evil instincts which the Perfectionists ignored. And this guide he expected to find in the Pope; and he never ceased to look for the day when two suns shining at Rome would enlighten the world.

At *Rome*! What is the magic that both on its ecclesiastical and its civil side casts a glamour over the old mistress of the world? That little city, with its unhealthy surroundings, with no trade, no manufactures, no colonizing people, why has its very name an influence such as no other spot on the earth's surface has ever had? Other cities have played far greater parts in the formation of the surrounding country than Rome ever did. Paris is not only the centre of France, she *is* France. London has been the centre of English national life from King Alfred downwards. But Rome after the removal of Constantine never took the leading place in Italy; Venice, Milan, and Florence were far more powerful.

[1] *Inf.* xix. 112–114. *Par.* xxvii. 42–3.

[2] *Purg.* xx. 85–93.

Digitized by Google

Yet the greatness of her name remained all through the centuries. Deserted by emperor, deserted by pope, diminished in population as well as in power, she kept her place still from the mythical days of her early kings until a regenerated Italy would be content with nothing but *Roma Capitale.*

Probably it is the continuity of her greatness which gives to Rome this unique hold on the imagination. Rome, the mistress of the ancient world, the Rome of the consuls and the Cæsars, passed imperceptibly into mediæval Rome, the Rome of Charlemagne and Otto, of Gregory and Hildebrand. Patrician, Consul, Tribune, were the names chosen by her reformers; even the Huns and Vandals would only reign as lieutenants of the true Emperor of the seven hills; Charlemagne and Otto inaugurated their rule as successors of the Cæsars at their own seat of empire. That Dante recognized this continuity in civil rule is proved by the history which he puts into the mouth of Justinian,[1] but he traces it also in spiritual sway.[2] This same Rome is the city of which all true Italians are citizens[3]; it is the type of the Celestial City, 'that true Rome, wherein Christ dwells a Roman.'[4]

No doubt the Pope looked upon himself (and with reason) as in some sort the successor of the temporal authority of the Cæsars. For when there was no other authority in Rome, it was Innocent and Leo who repelled the barbarians, and the great Charles himself came not as a rival but as the invited champion of the Church. But Dante did not admit such supremacy. The claim of Boniface VIII. to be supreme 'over kings and princes' was as hateful to him as the supineness of Celestine, the simony of Nicholas, the gluttony of Martin, and the avarice of Adrian. Only in spiritual matters does he believe in the necessity of one Supreme Head, and that Head must be Bishop of *Rome*, just as the German King must be *Roman* Emperor. The old days of equal patriarchates had been forgotten from the schism with the East. And though the bishopric of Constantinople still existed in Dante's time, and though he knew that the Albigenses (whose beautiful *langue d'oc* he so much admired) in a previous generation,

[1] *Par.* vi. [2] *Inf.* ii. 22–30. [3] *Ibid.* xv. 77–78.
[4] *Purg.* xxxii. 101.

Digitized by Google

and the Waldenses of his own day, denied the Pope's supremacy, yet the poet faithfully accepted the ideal of his age—the one supreme Head of the Church at Rome.

But, as with the secular ideal, in Dante's hands it became purified and restored to its original lustre. For him the work of the spiritual guide was to lead to the vision of God. The ideal was *not* realized. Darker days came upon Dante's beloved Italy after his death—days of more cruel tyranny and darker unbelief. The art and the culture he loved increased, but they drifted farther and farther away from religion, and the Papacy sank to the lowest ebb of sensuality and cruelty.

It remains to consider what were the special hindrances to the realization of Dante's ideal. And he has not left it to the imagination of commentators to find out this for themselves. For in the opening allegory of the *Inferno* (which is really an introduction to the whole poem) he shows plainly that he felt it was man's own evil passions which prevented his attaining to the state of peace and happiness for which he was created.

The opening allegory of the Vision is well known to every student of Dante. Emerging from a dark and tangled wood (representing probably the disordered state of the world of his day, as well as the confusion of his own mind), he approaches a sunlit hill—generally interpreted to mean a state of good government and happiness. He is hindered in his ascent by three beasts—a spotted leopard, which he rather admires than fears; a 'hunger-mad' lion; and, worst of all, a wolf, which follows him as he retreats, until he is saved by Virgil. Now these 'beasts' are evidently the passions of the lower nature let loose; factiousness and luxury typified by the leopard; pride and cruelty by the lion; and avarice by the insatiable wolf. Some have interpreted the beasts as allegorizing those Powers which yielded to the special sins: the leopard Florence, the lion France, the wolf Rome. However this may be, it is certain that the feeling with which Dante regarded the leopard is quite different from that inspired by the other beasts; he admires its beauty. Perhaps this is because he could say of his own Florence, 'With all

Digitized by Google

thy faults, I love thee still'; or perhaps he meant that self-seeking and luxury, dangerous as they are to good government, have at the first sight something attractive about them. And the lion also only bars the way; the wolf follows Dante to attack him. The outside enemy, France, was less to be dreaded than the neighbour, Rome; and pride and cruelty were not so harmful to good government as avarice. The 'love of money,' whether it appeared in the form of prodigality or avarice ('getting or spending,' as Wordsworth calls them), would continue to hinder good government until the 'Greyhound' drives the wolf away. Whether by this the poet intends a play upon the name of his friend, Can Grande della Scala, the Imperial vicar, or whether he is thinking of the Emperor Henry himself, the meaning is the same: that only one universal Heaven-sent ruler could restrain lawlessness, and repel invasion, and check the selfish search for wealth found on all sides, and especially with the Pope.

The allegory need not be applied to Dante's day only. His three beasts have hindered good government everywhere and in all time. To take the first, whether it be interpreted of luxury and licentiousness, or of factiousness and party spirit, it is evidently selfishness in some form which has produced all misgovernment. And, curiously enough, while the very word 'republic' seems to imply liberty and equal rights, all history shows that nowhere has greater oppression been found than under the rule of the *many*, and that such rule tends inevitably to the despotism of *one*.

It certainly was so with the Italian republics of the Middle Ages. Their ancient ideal of the justice of Roman law, their theory of municipal unity and freedom had been confronted with a different conception of liberty, that of the Teutonic invader. And in the struggles for supremacy the cities had inevitably to appeal to strong outside help. Podestàs, captains of the people, were sometimes chosen to keep order and preserve the balance of parties. Or they might be leaders of mercenary bands like the Sforzas, or Imperial vicars like the della Scala. But, any way, their rule tended to become despotic and hereditary. These were later developments; before another century had passed all the cities (except

Digitized by Google

Venice, which remained a close aristocracy) had fallen under the power of despots. In Dante's time the democratic power remained with the burghers, who chose their own ruler or accepted the Emperor's nominee; but his poetic vision saw the danger to the commonwealth from their luxury and factiousness. Not bound to follow any feudal lord to the field, they became refined to a degree unknown to the dwellers in mountain fastnesses, and this led to the employment of those mercenary soldiers who became so great a danger in later years. Examples originally of the bourgeois virtues of a pure and simple life, and the republican virtues of patriotism and public spirit—luxury made them a prey to the corresponding vices; love of home became love of ease, and love of country, party spirit; and the reforms of Savonarola two centuries later showed how the Florence of his day had yielded to the same temptations. And Dante blames other republics for yielding to frivolity, greediness, and peculation, all vices of civilization, born of many needs.[1] Factiousness and party spirit were also besetting sins of these early republics. When all were eligible for power, all desired it. Sometimes the factions may have had a racial origin; the lords of the mountain fastnesses forced to dwell within the city walls could not amalgamate with the citizens. Sometimes the more powerful burghers contended with the lower orders of the people; sometimes there were family feuds—Montagues and Capulets—encouraged by the commonwealths who needed a master. And beyond the walls the rivalry of city and city was always a cause of strife, mostly the result of a desire for trade success.

A similarity has often been noted between the struggles of these republics and those of ancient Greece. But there is an important difference. The Greeks could and did unite against a foreign invader; there was a strong sense of nationality, of the difference between a Greek and a barbarian. In Italy the 'Patria' was the city, and love for the Fatherland did not extend beyond its walls. The cities did occasionally unite, as in the Lombard League led by Milan, and

[1] Siena, *Inf.* xxix. 121–3; *cf.* also the references to Casentino and Lucca.

Digitized by Google

the union of 'the cities which affect the Pope' against the Emperor. It has been reserved for our own day to see the dream of an united Italy realized. In Dante's time there was no bond of nationality; the only union of which he dreamt was to come through the Emperor, and, Guelph as the poet was, he welcomed Henry VII. as a peacemaker, the arbiter who would control Italian factions.

Nevertheless, in their personal characteristics the ancient and mediæval republics are curiously alike. Both Dean Church and Mr. Symonds note the similarity between Florence and Athens. Both were alike in eager curiosity, in restless love of change,[1] and in a passion for art. And in both cities culture was accompanied by a certain sceptical and merely patronizing acceptance of the national religion. Just as the ancient faith had become in the days of Socrates a beautiful myth, and not a practical guide of life, so was Christianity among the learned of Florence in the days of Dante.

Mr. Symonds also compares Venice and Sparta. Unlike the other republics, but like her ancient model, Venice was a colonizer. And her Government was less purely democratic. Her Doge was controlled by the Council, just as the Spartan Kings were by the Ephors.

Besides these special analogies there are certain general characteristics found both in Greece and Italy. All the republics were democratic in origin, their power derived from the people. All tended to split into factions, even taking part with the enemies of their State to unite with those of the same political views in another city (the Ghibelines of Florence taking part with Arezzo, as the democrats of Athens did with Thebes). All were jealous of great men. Dante at Ravenna is a second Aristides; all dreaded aristocracy; the 'ordinances of justice' were like the decrees of banishment in Greece.

Lastly, the republics were alike in their eventual fate, the fate of all republics, the fate which Burke foretold for the first Republic of France: they fell under the rule of tyrants. They might be cultivated, like Pericles and the Medici, or despots, like the Sforzas and the Pisistratidæ, but tyrants they

[1] *Purg.* vi. 145-7.

Digitized by Google

were. The leopard, beautiful as it was, stopped the way to the sunlit hill.

The next beast is a lion, variously interpreted as Pride and Ambition, or France. That pride and ambition hinder good government is a truism; that French influence has always been prejudicial to Italy is a fact of history. It was by the French party that Dante himself was banished, and after his time it was Charles VIII. who destroyed the last remnant of republican power in Florence. Restless ambition has always been a mark of the French character. Too fond of the soil of France to be good colonizers, they never settled in Italy, as many Germans did, but only disturbed its peace to seek *la gloire*.

Even in modern times, though the victor of Magenta and Solferino did indeed help to free Italy from Austrian oppression, though an English poetess hailed him as one who

'Came to deliver Italy,
Emperor evermore,'

yet when he had satisfied the craving of his people for war he played just the part of the earlier invaders of Italy, and became the opponent of liberty, the defender of the Pope.

But the lion was not as terrible as the wolf. No foreign enemy could do the harm a neighbour could; outside war could not pursue as selfishness did. Avarice, greed, selfishness in any form, is the inherent vice of human nature which follows man everywhere. And the Papal temporal power was the type of this vice to Dante.[1]

The same hindrances have opposed the progress even of our generation, but not exactly in the same way. Party spirit instead of checking freedom has been made the engine of representative rule, and in England at all events government by opposition has rather provoked emulation than enmity. Even ambition has been purified to a certain extent by alliance with patriotism. The imperialism of our day, the desire for the wide rule of the English race and the extension of her trade, is a very different thing from the desire of acquiring territory which led the French to invade Italy. Of course

[1] *Inf.* vii. 46–48.

Digitized by Google

the evil is ever mingled with the good. We are quite as much a 'nation of shopkeepers' and as alive to our national interests as the ancient Florentines. We cannot say that our expansion has for its primary aim the good of the native people where we settle, but, though our own advantage may be our original motive, we do mostly honestly try to 'take up the white man's burden' and to benefit where we conquer.

Avarice and greed can never cease to tempt while man is what he is; but they cannot, in England at all events, be called the special sins of our religious guides, and even the most advanced continental radical who hates 'Clericalism' with a bitter hatred would not accuse his priests, as Dante did, of seeking personal wealth.

And Dante's panacea for the cure of all these evils was *Imperialism*; that would unite factions, repel invaders, and leave the Church free for her proper work. Of course Dante's Imperialism was very different from modern conceptions. It required a personal ruler, and though it admitted differences of local autonomy it hardly allowed for the wide divergence of different races. Moreover, it had for its complement an universal spiritual authority. With Dante the Empire and the Papacy were not antagonistic, but correlative. Each had its own work, and would fail if it attempted any other. Carlyle, in his *Heroes*, lays it down as an axiom that 'the true king, guide of the practical, has ever something of the pontiff in him, guide of the spiritual.' But it has not been found so in history. Whether it be that the mixture of sacred and secular things has a tendency to deteriorate the higher work or not, it is certain that rulers who attempt to mix the two functions have never been real benefactors to mankind. The fanatics of Munster, the Covenanters of Scotland, the Puritans in America, were all oppressors in different ways. Dante saw the wisdom of Pope Gelasius when he said that

'God, knowing the danger of such an aggregation of powers . . . has divided the functions of the two powers . . . the sacred ministry ought by no means to arrogate to itself the administration of secular business.' [1]

[1] Quoted by Hall Caine in *The Eternal City*.

Digitized by Google

Our day, at all events, is not likely to fall into that danger. It may be a question if there be not some danger on the opposite side—if the State does not arrogate to itself some of the functions of the Church; at all events, it claims a supremacy over her.

Can our Imperialism also be a cure for modern evils? At least we hope that it will promote peace in our own dominions; that it will lessen selfishness by widening sympathy and uniting in one those of the same race. Dante noted how the very name of Mantua united Virgil and Sordello.[1] *Our* fatherland is confined within no city walls; it extends to those scattered all over the world who speak the same tongue, and even, in a lesser degree, gives a feeling of kinship to our cousins across the Atlantic who have separated from its flag, because they speak the tongue that Shakespeare wrote.

Certainly imperialism has been the enemy of luxury. Our colonists are always content to 'rough it'; and our gilded youth willingly left their easy life at home to defend their brothers in Natal. The strengthening and hardening of the national character may be an indirect consequence for good from the Transvaal war.

Lowell tells us that 'God sends His singers into every age.' If a great poet were to arise now to sing the new imperialism and present the ideals of our time at their best and purest, could he do for the twentieth century what Dante did for the fourteenth? Hardly so. In the first place there is no generally accepted standpoint of right, in either civil or religious matters. In Dante's day, every one theoretically accepted the idea of one universal ruler of the Church, and one of the State. Now different nationalities have different modes of government, and the share of power acquired by all classes has given rise to a spirit of criticism. The Ser Martins and Dame Berthas of our day think they know all about everything in politics; while in religious matters there is a tendency to shrink from stereotyping even the eternal verities themselves.

Another reason why no Dante could teach now is the

[1] *Purg.* vi. 74.

Digitized by Google

rush and complexity of modern life. Dante, as we have seen, was a fully informed student of all the learning known to his time. Our greatest men now are all specialists—life is not long enough to know all that is to be known. Poets may study Nature for its beauty as Wordsworth did, but they have no time to examine into its hidden causes like Darwin as well. No one can be said to know any one subject properly until he has given his life to it, and therefore he could not be at the same time poet, philosopher, statesman, and student, like Dante, even though he were as many-sided as Mr. Gladstone himself.

Yet surely there are still some ideals which unite all sympathies. If a bard should arise now to voice the universal hope of the age, he would first be intensely philanthropic, even socialistic. The service of man is one ideal of our time, and though civilization has its dark corners, a reforming poet would dream of plans for man's social condition by which the very lowest criminals would disappear under the influence of a wider charity and a truer love for humanity, not by a patronising benevolence but by personal sympathy.

> 'Stand upon the earth . . . to raise them.
> The man most man, with tenderest human hands,
> Works best for man—as God in Nazareth.'[1]

And such an imaginary poet must recognize progress and development. The love of the past which was characteristic of the Romantic Revival has not entirely left the new century, but it is rather sentimental than practical. With Dante, it was on Italy's ancient struggles that he based his hopes for her future freedom. He did not forget the days when every free-born Italian was a Roman citizen, when (as Sismondi says) the little Italian republics 'first lighted the torch of civilization' with that of liberty, when the rest of Europe was submitting to feudal supremacy. And, to be abiding, modern hopes for development should be founded on the ancient progress too.

> 'Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new,
> That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do.'[2]

[1] *Aurora Leigh*, Bk. ix. [2] *Locksley Hall.*

Digitized by Google

This must be the note for the new progress of the new century.

Lastly, a new *Divina Commedia* must recognize the spiritual side of man's nature, his relations to God and the unseen world. A practical age we may be, but we realize the unseen quite as strongly as the most superstitious centuries, and far more vividly than the sceptical eighteenth did. It does not need to be a believer in spiritualism, or to accept any of the hypotheses of the Society for Psychical Research, to prove this. And if the invisible be thus recognized on the speculative, far more is it accepted on the more certain religious side. This age is more truly an 'Age of Faith' than those so called. Even Dante himself does not realize in his journey through the invisible world the ever-abiding Presence of the Incarnate Lord as Newman's Gerontius did. In this era even doubting poets like Matthew Arnold feel there is 'a something not ourselves which makes for righteousness.'

'Dante has no imitators,' says Carlyle. Modern poets like Cardinal Newman and Bishop Bickersteth have made the state of the departed soul the theme of their verse. But they do not make it the type of the present life as Dante does. In Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*, Mrs. Browning's *Vision of Poets*, and Lewis Morris' *Vision of Saints*, the place in another world of those known to fame is described. But they all avoid contemporaries, and do not attempt to deduce practical political teaching from their poetic pictures.

No. Dante, at once a political and a poetic teacher, is unique. We may have voices from our poets warning us 'lest we forget' what we owe to a superintending Power; cheering us with the hope that

> 'Good shall fall
> At last—far off—at last to all,'

and that even if 'right were worsted,' 'wrong' could not 'triumph.' But, for all that, the twentieth century has not, and never can have, any poet-seer to give her the practical rules for this age that Dante gave to the fourteenth.

Digitized by Google

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—General Literature.

The Teachings of Dante. By Charles Allen Dinsmore. Price 5*s*. (Westminster: Constable and Co., 1902.)

Macaulay, writing eighty years ago, said of the young gentlemen and young ladies of his day that they could as soon read a Babylonian brick as a canto of Dante. Nowadays we seem to have fallen into the opposite extreme. It has become the fashion, not only to read Dante, which is a matter for congratulation, but also to write about him. This latter fashion bids fair to develop into a serious nuisance. Discursive talk about Dante, to the real lover of Dante, is hardly less tiresome than the 'chatter' which used to arouse the wrath of the admirers of Shelley.

Mr. Dinsmore tells us that he took Longfellow's translation of the *Inferno* with him into the woods one hot summer's morning several years ago, and that, after reading awhile, he became so powerfully attracted by 'Dante's great personality' that to attempt to shake off his spell was 'like trying to escape the law of gravitation.' Thenceforward Mr. Dinsmore set himself to study Longfellow's and Professor Norton's translations of the *Divina Commedia*—it nowhere appears that he has made acquaintance with the original—and in no long time began to contribute papers on Dante to the *Atlantic Monthly*. Professor Norton, it seems, suggested that these magazine articles should be gathered into a book—hence the present volume. We cannot help wishing that Professor Norton, himself a profound student of Dante, had refrained from encouraging the publication of these studies in book form. If every enthusiastic reader of Dante is encouraged to give to the world his impressions and appreciations we fear that a revulsion of feeling will inevitably take place, and that the study of Dante will come to be regarded as a craze. Mr. Dinsmore has nothing very original to say. His volume consists, to a large extent, of a sort of running analysis of the narrative portions of the *Divina Commedia*, accompanied by comments, and illustrations drawn largely from trans-Atlantic writers. To this last circumstance the reader is indebted for such strange collocations as 'Dante and Parkman,' or 'our Puritan Dante, Jonathan Edwards,' which are characteristic of a lack of sense of proportion discernible throughout the book. Mr. Dinsmore has read Dante with attention, but it does not seem that he has always been able to appreciate the real significance of what he has read. Of the *Vita Nuova*, for

Digitized by Google

instance, he remarks, that 'read as plain prose the tale seems bizarre enough, and Dante appears almost ridiculous.' Again, of the *Paradiso* he says, 'It must be confessed that there is much that on first acquaintance strikes one as ridiculous,' and he gives as an instance 'the flaming spirit of the venerable Peter Damian, whirling like a millstone, making a centre of his middle.' To criticise Dante from such a standpoint as this betrays ignorance almost as abysmal as that imputed by Mr. Dinsmore to Walter Savage Landor for a misconception no whit worse than his own. Nor does Mr. Dinsmore always accurately represent what Dante says. To say nothing of the ludicrous misrendering in the passage above quoted, we have such mis-statements as that Dante discovers Brutus and Cassius 'in the bloody *maw* of Lucifer,' and that he 'submitted to be girded with a *reed*'; neither of them mistakes which should have been made by one who claims to be a close student of Dante. There is a similar looseness of statement in the somewhat perfunctory sketch of the poet's life at the beginning of the book. Mr. Dinsmore commits himself to the remarkable assertion that 'we know as little of the outward life of Dante as of that of Homer'; yet he tells us the dates of Dante's birth and death, the name of his wife, and various details of his public life. Are we to assume that Mr. Dinsmore knows as much, or as little, of Homer?

For the rest, the book is pleasantly written, in a clear style, and gives evidence of wide, if not deep, reading. To English readers the somewhat undue prominence given to American writers, many of whose names are hardly known on this side of the Atlantic, will not prove an attraction. The volume is provided with a frontispiece from Rossetti's drawing of 'Dante's Dream.' It has no index.

George Eliot. By LESLIE STEPHEN. 'English Men of Letters.' Price 2*s.* net. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

THE inclusion of eminent women among 'Men of Letters' will be welcomed by all who read this attractive book. Sir Leslie Stephen (who could write a good life of any English author) is specially fitted, by general sympathy with her aims and ideas, by personal knowledge, and by a keen sense of humour, to write a life of George Eliot. The events of that life are, of course, condensed from other sources; yet nothing can read less like a mere epitome. For the acute comments on these events, and the mature and independent judgment on her works, raise the book to the rank of an original source of information.

It is certainly remarkable that George Eliot should have been not only a novelist but a first-rate novelist. A preparation con-

Digitized by Google

sisting of the study of philosophy, the editing of a heavy review, and the translation of advanced works of theology might have been enough to stifle any imaginative gifts. Her philosophy did in the end stifle her fiction, but not until she had given priceless treasures to the world. The love of analysis, which at last overwhelmed her, seems to have been long restrained by her vivid memory and her keen sympathy with the facts and companions of her early life. Sir Leslie Stephen passes in review her series of novels. *Adam Bede* he considers to be a masterpiece 'in rather a different sense' from that which the author intended. He cannot quite accept Dinah as flesh and blood, and thinks that incidentally 'a more attractive picture' is drawn 'of the sinners whom she ought to have awakened.' The earlier part of *The Mill on the Floss* represents to his mind 'the culmination of George Eliot's power'; and he acquiesces in the prolongation of this earlier part more readily because of the comparative failure of the tragic third volume. He perhaps hardly dwells enough on the supreme excellence of *Silas Marner*; but, on the other hand, he is duly impressed with the dulness of *Daniel Deronda*. His verdict is that she could not really draw a man, except rather a feminine man. Our complaint would rather be that her young men, if men, are not gentlemen. No conceivable definition of that much-debated word would include Stephen Guest; Lydgate apparently tried to belong to the class, and just failed; while probably Will Ladislaw cared little whether he belonged to it or not.

We once heard a very eminent man, to whom his religion was much the most important part of his being, complain that George Eliot was 'out of tune.' We may at least agree that her works are in a minor key, and contain many unresolved discords. Her change of religious views after she was grown up no doubt divorced her intellect from her sympathies; and, in spite of the very high aims of her writings, the physical basis on which she rests seems to impart a sense of inevitableness to the wrong actions of her characters, and of a want of motive to the right actions. Yet Englishmen may rejoice that the author who has dissected character so acutely, and appealed so strongly to the subtler sense of humour, should also have maintained so high a standard of principle.

Matthew Arnold. By HERBERT PAUL. 'English Men of Letters.' Price 2*s.* net. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

IF the quality of George Eliot's later novels was injured by her philosophy it is equally true that the quantity of Matthew Arnold's poetry was diminished by his culture and power of criticism. The quality of his verse did not indeed suffer, but it was profoundly

Digitized by Google

affected. He was saturated with the classics, and he had the fastidiousness of a critic; and these characteristics imparted a distinction, reserve, and self-control to his poems which made them appeal (as Mr. Herbert Paul says) 'so exclusively to the cultivated taste of the educated classes.'

Mr. Paul's biography has great merits. It is excellent reading; it is sympathetic and acute; it is frequently witty; and yet it hardly seems to us a model biography. The writer of it is so much in the foreground, we have so much of his opinions, his wit, and his wisdom, that Matthew Arnold seems sometimes thrown back and dwarfed in comparison with him. Mr. Paul's *obiter dicta* range over a wide field, and embrace the essentials of Christianity, the merits of *Ecce Homo* and of Dr. Hawtrey's hexameters, the monitorial system in schools, Milan Cathedral, and the management of the Great Western Railway. His judgments are generally sound, but there are too many of them.

The book ends with an eloquent and charming description of its hero; and, indeed, few celebrated men have been so attractive and even in character, and (except for the loss of his sons) so happy in their lives.

Arnold's life-long devotion to Oxford was a remarkable instance of the spell which Oxford casts over her sons. His undergraduate years were passed at a time when the University was given over to controversial theology, in which he took little interest. There was abundant talent, there was even genius in the place; but so dominant was the religious interest that, except Matthew Arnold himself, Ruskin, and Froude, it would be difficult to name any Oxford writer who exercised influence over the thought of the nation in the earlier Victorian period, and who did *not* exercise it through the medium of theology. And yet it was this unreformed Oxford, the 'home of lost causes,' the beautiful city by the Thames, the nurse of classical learning, which had his affection through life.

Arnold was not a great theologian, and even in this Review it is unnecessary to say much about his incursion into the domain of that science. We do not, however, quite understand Mr. Paul's remark that he 'took the doctors of the Tübingen school for apostles.' We have always understood that the Tübingen doctors relegated the composition of a great part of the New Testament to the year 150, and drew a sharp line between Pauline and Petrine Christianity. Arnold seems to have made little of the distinction, and to have assigned a much earlier date to the books. But on the whole we had rather keep alive his poetry and literary criticism, and let his theology sleep.

Digitized by Google

John Ruskin. By FREDERIC HARRISON. 'English Men of Letters.' Price 2*s.* net. (London : Macmillan and Co. 1902.)

THE phrase 'English Men of Letters' may certainly be applied, in this series of books, to the biographers as well as to their subjects. To read of Ruskin in the words of Frederic Harrison is a double literary pleasure : we read for the sake of each of these masters of style. Moreover, there are other reasons which tended to fit Mr. Harrison for the work. He knew Ruskin personally, and loved him ; Ruskin's high aims and gorgeous eloquence alike appealed to him with a constant force, and there were certain points (such as the assault on the older political economists) where the lines of thought of the two men, otherwise so divergent, crossed each other. And yet one feels a sense of incongruity, on which it would be churlish to dwell, as Mr. Harrison has alluded to it himself in words of touching humility. He expresses his hesitation at undertaking the task, not from any lack of admiration for the great man whose life he is writing, but because he himself is 'sworn in as a disciple of a very different school, and of a master whom he often denounced,' and may therefore be imperfectly fitted to fulfil it. We will only say that we wish he had succeeded in keeping that master's name out of the book. It occurs too often, and generally with such qualifying words as show the allusion to be out of place and unnecessary.

What a charming picture is that of Ruskin, when Mr. Harrison first visited him, in the year 1860 ! The great man—for he was already famous—receiving his unknown guest with 'radiant courtesy' ; the 'slight but active figure,' 'inexhaustibly vivacious and voluble' ; the impressive manner, and the modest and unassuming bearing ; the affectionate deference to his parents—what a combination of attractive qualities, almost (one would have thought) self-contradictory, or at least incompatible ! It is, indeed, impossible to clothe in words, or even to frame, any definite conception of what Ruskin was, or what his opinions and his aims amounted to. His life was a bundle of paradoxes. The son of a Scotch evangelical wine merchant became the apostle of mediæval art ; and yet his first artistic writings were published before mediæval art had exercised any appreciable influence upon him. The Tory set on foot, and struggled for years to maintain, an experiment in Socialism—or what at least became this in other hands. The severe adherent of logic and fact was the most discursive and inconsequent of writers ; he who was in private life a gentle humble talker wielded such a bitter pen that he compared himself to Swift. These inconsistencies, however, hardly deduct anything from the supreme importance of

Digitized by Google

his life and influence. Ideas and not definitions are what Ruskin gave to the world. His definitions, had he made them, would probably have varied with each decade of his life; his ideas and principles were as unchanging as the old-fashioned frock-coat and blue tie which Mr. Harrison describes in 1860, and Mr. E. T. Cook in the days of the Oxford Professorship.

Ruskin's intrinsic nobility of mind was such that his country might well be proud of him. Whether he was as proud of his country may be doubted from some of his utterances, but few men have ever striven so hard to make it better.

Alfred Tennyson. By Sir ALFRED LYALL, K.C.B. 'English Men of Letters.' Price 2*s.* net. (London: Macmillan and Co. 1902.)

THE memoir of Tennyson by his son is so full and so widely known that Sir Alfred Lyall was probably well advised in making this short book rather a critique of the poet's works than a history of his life. He is well qualified, as a brother poet, to undertake such a task; and he has much that is interesting to say, and many luminous remarks to make, of poetry in general: *e.g.* his description of Nature as she appeared to Wordsworth, 'the homely nurse who endeavours to content the immortal soul of imperial man with his humble abode on earth.' But a prolonged disquisition on poetry is not very easy to read; and this particular disquisition has the further drawback that it leaves one in doubt whether the writer is in full sympathy with Tennyson's aims or has a thorough appreciation of his excellence as a poet.

It is a pleasure to contemplate so complete a life and character as those of the late Poet Laureate. He consecrated himself to the service of poetry from his earliest years; he was the bosom friend of a set of undergraduates at Cambridge, so brilliant that they formed an excellent circle of critics for his early works; he lived through years of poverty and neglect into an old age of fame and wealth, and yet was never tempted, poor or rich, to give to the public anything but his best work; and he left behind him a son who was able and willing to let us all see what sort of man his father was. And yet it is possible that his fame suffers, or has suffered, from some of these advantages. The admiring inner circle of friends perhaps tended for a time to repel the larger public; the lucidity and beauty of language which he attained probably inclined hasty critics to think that other contemporary poets, because more rugged or more obscure, must be also more deep; and the whole-hearted admiration of his son tempts readers to think that there must be another side to his character which is not shown. So far as any such criticisms

Digitized by Google

have been passed upon Tennyson, we believe them to be essentially unjust. It seems to us impossible for any person who reads *In Memoriam*, and reads with it the letter in which Henry Sidgwick describes its effect on the rising intellect of the Universities, to refuse to allow either depth of thought or width of influence to the author; but we rather doubt whether we should carry Sir Alfred Lyall with us. At least, he quotes with sympathy FitzGerald's judgment that Tennyson reached the highest point in his work in 1842; he considers him to be 'in his proper domain' when he 'returns to the surface' after a descent into the mysteries of human existence; and his general view of poetry seems to be a view which makes much more of the influence of a generation upon its poets than of the reflex influence of the poets upon their generation.

Sir A. Lyall justly praises Tennyson's power of describing nature, of conveying the 'true outline and colour' of a scene. He does not, we think, make sufficient mention of the peculiar quality imparted to these passages by the introduction of an intellectual conception which prevents the words from being barely descriptive. The verse he quotes from 'The Palace of Art,' beginning 'A still salt pool,' is a very good instance of this; for here the expression 'moon-led waters' is not description; it leads the mind to conceive the action of the tides, and imparts a special distinction to the passage.

We believe that a good many similar instances might be found, and that they might suitably be used as the introduction to an analysis of Tennyson's art.

The Poetry of Robert Browning. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* (Isbister and Co., 1902.)

MR. STOPFORD BROOKE has produced a study of Browning which, though not the first of its kind, is very helpful and complete. The ablest chapter in the book, the one which in spite of its length it is hard to put down, is the first, which contains a contrast of Tennyson and Browning, and a candid statement of the faults of the latter. Other passages which we may single out for special praise are the comparison of Pompilia and Balaustion (p. 370), the parallel drawn between Browning and Sordello (p. 331), showing that 'Sordello's' obscurity represents a phase in Browning's character and career, and the final panegyric on Browning as a poet and a man (pp. 441–2). The book abounds in eloquent passages, of which we may give the following as an instance (p. 329): 'There comes a time, sooner or later, to a great poet when, after many experiments, the doors of his intellect and soul fly open, and his genius is flooded with the action and thought of

Digitized by Google

what seems a universe. And with this revelation of Man and Nature, a tidal wave of creative power, new and impelling, carries the poet far beyond the station where last he rested.' The hopeful spirit of the author, which makes him an apt interpreter of Browning, reveals itself in an interesting passage (p. 23), in which the poet is described as a leader in the reaction against Early Victorian conventionality :

> 'That reaction has in many ways been carried beyond the proper limits of what is just and beautiful. But these excesses had to be, and the world is beginning to avoid them. What remains is the blessing of life set free, not altogether from the use of conventions, but from their tyranny and oppression, and lifted to a higher level, where the test of what is right and fitting in act, and just in thought, is not the opinion of society, but that law of love which gives us full liberty to develop our own nature, and lead our own life in the way we think best, independent of all conventions, provided we do not injure the life of others, or violate any of the great moral and spiritual truths by obedience to which the progress of mankind is promoted and secured.'

The book abounds in happy statements and comparisons, specimens of which we will quote, premising that part of the appropriateness of such things often depends on the context in which they occur. 'Tennyson had fifty years of recognition, Browning barely ten' (p. 6); 'The Jew lay deep in Browning' (p. 34); 'No trace of the British constitution is to be found in his poetry' (p. 37); 'I think he might have done a little more for England' (p. 29); 'He is never quite "inevitable"' (p. 96). Very happy are the comparison (p. 302) of 'The Bishop orders his Tomb at St. Praxed's Church' to a painting by Velasquez, and the suggestion to read 'The Ring and the Book' 'in four months, letting ten days elapse between the reading of each book' (p. 392), a method hinted at by Browning's way of publishing the poem ; and the remark (p. 320) that the scene of 'A Grammarian's Funeral' must be Germany, not Italy.

On the other hand, there are one or two parts of the book where the author is in our judgment less successful. The chapters on the treatment of Nature in Browning are hard and affected. The question which they suggest to us, especially after reading the arid descriptive passages which are quoted in them as illustrations, is whether Browning's treatment of Nature is of great importance. We are disposed to emphasize, even more than Mr. Brooke himself does, such a statement as that on p. 68, 'What he loved was man, and nature' in his poems 'is of little importance unless man be present, and then she is no more than the scenery in a drama.' The treatment of 'Christmas Eve' and 'Easter Day' is very inadequate, and the power of 'The Blot in the 'Scutcheon' is imperfectly appreciated. Then

Digitized by Google

again the style of the book is occasionally inflated and precious ; the use for example of such words as 'concent' and 'gest' is affected, while the introductory paragraph about Browning and Tennyson sitting on the two peaks of Parnassus is intolerable. When the author says that a description of a thunderstorm in 'Pippa Passes' is 'as splendid as the thing itself' (p. 80) he is merely talking nonsense. Again there are one or two questionable *obiter dicta*, thus : 'When the love of Nature forms the only subject, or when the love of Man forms the only subject, poetry decays and dies' (p. 114). What about Homer and Chaucer? Again, on p. 285, we find coupled with a lyric of Burns and a drawing of Raffaelle, 'a song of Beethoven's.' Are Beethoven's songs his distinctive work? There are one or two statements which we simply do not understand. Thus on p. 31 it is said that 'Browning's desire to get to the root of things' was English ; we should have said that the desire to get to the root of things is not an English quality. The English intellect as compared with the French or German has for centuries delighted in the political virtue of compromise, and been too prone to avoid clear thinking and clean-cut systems of thought.

Setting these small blemishes on one side, we are indebted to Mr. Stopford Brooke for helping us with an answer to several questions which suggest themselves to those who feel grateful to Browning without perhaps having thought out the answers for themselves clearly. What was Browning's aim? Wherein has he made the world better? What is his claim to our admiration? Do we like him as a man, or as a poet, or as an intellect? Will his work last? is it obscure or not? is he to be taken seriously, or was he only a Bohemian at heart? We have only space to quote one or two luminous passages from Mr. Brooke, who is a good guide, because though enthusiastic he is not blind.

What was Browning's aim? 'He set himself to represent as far as he could all types of human nature' (p. 6). (Compare with this a passage, too long to quote here (pp. 205–6), in the chapter 'Browning and Sordello.') What was Browning's message? He was an optimist. 'He would have reversed the Psalmist's cry. He would have said : "Thou art not cast down, O my soul : thou art not disquieted within me. Thou hast hoped in God, who is the light of thy countenance, and thy God"' (p. 14) ; 'Whatever he lost, there was one poetic temper of mind which never failed him, the heroic temper of the faithful warrior for God and man ; there was one ideal view of humanity which dominated all his work ; there was one principle which directed all his verse to celebrate the struggle of humanity towards the perfection for which God, he believed, had destined it'

Digitized by Google

(pp. 438–9). The chapter on Browning's theory of human life analyzes clearly his philosophy, which may be defined as a gospel of divine discontent with this imperfect life in view of a future to be earned by aspiration and effort, in which the discords will be resolved.

What is Browning's claim to our admiration? Above and beyond his philosophy of life, which proved him to be a bracing and ennobling influence, stands out his genius in its many aspects. 'In reality to do this kind of thing well' ('Fra Lippo Lippi') 'is to do a very difficult thing. It needs a full knowledge, a full imagination, and a masterly execution. Yet when we read the poem, it seems as natural as the breaking out of blossoms. This is that divine thing, the ease of genius' (p. 305). But a further question rises: Is the undoubted genius poetical or only intellectual? Mr. Brooke thinks he can detect a later style in Browning, which is intellectual, not emotional; 'The Ring and the Book' represents the struggle of the two elements in his nature for the mastery. It would be very interesting to know if Mr. Brooke is right in attributing simpler and more emotional poems in 'Asolando' and other later volumes to a convenient poet's desk where youthful poems lie hidden for years and years (pp. 245, 248, 414, 432, 435).

Mr. Brooke is very candid about Browning's faults of style: in fact his book is a mine of quotations for the enemy. But we should be inclined to go even further than he does, and to condemn nearly all the passages which he quotes for praise from 'Sordello' as unpoetical. Perhaps before going any further we had better quote a few of Mr. Brooke's admissions: 'So far as Browning's obscurity goes, his poetry will not last like Tennyson's. It is all very well for his students to say that he is not obscure; he is' (p. 50); 'If he had begun by imitating a little, if he had studied the excellencies of his predecessors more, . . . he would have reached more continuously the splendid level he often attained' (p. 91). Talking of the dramas, about which he is almost too severe, he says (p. 220): 'Poets should be acquainted with their limitations, and not waste their energies or our patience on work which they cannot do well.' 'Fifine at the Fair,' 'with the exception of some episodes of noble poetry, is . . . a very harlequinade of the intellect' (pp. 424–5). In 'Parleyings with Certain People' 'imagination such as belongs to a poet has deserted Browning' (p. 435). The admiration of the Browningites for his obscurities is gently ridiculed in several places (pp. 42, 46, 218). And it is implied that if the later poems are preserved from dying (pp. 54, 416), it will be due to the intellectual pleasure which they give (cf. also pp. 46, 55).

Lastly, is Browning to be taken seriously, or was he merely a

Digitized by Google

Bohemian diner-out, an intellectual parasite in high life, using the word in its Greek sense, a brilliant but superficial charlatan? We believe with Mr. Brooke that Browning had a message and did men good; his undoubted Bohemian vein is due to his great sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men. There is 'in a poet a roving element, which resents the barriers made by social and domestic purity' (p. 333), reflected in 'Fifine at the Fair.' The truth is excellently summed up in a few words on p. 384: 'There is a certain sympathy in Browning for Aristophanes. The natural man was never altogether put aside by Browning.'

William Hazlitt. By AUGUSTINE BIRRELL. ('English Men of Letters' Series.) Price 2*s.* net. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

THERE has been a revival in Hazlitt's reputation of late years, due, not improbably, to the warm praise bestowed on him by Louis Stevenson, who has many disciples and followers in the literary world; and it is perhaps not unnatural that a place should have been found for him in the extended circle of Messrs. Macmillan's well-known series. Mr. Birrell writes pleasantly about him, in his usual style, redolent of literary allusions. He can hardly be called an enthusiastic biographer; but it is difficult to be enthusiastic about Hazlitt. Even Stevenson found the *Liber Amoris* business too much for him. Mr. Birrell passes lightly, and with manifest distaste, over this unpleasing episode, and does not dwell overmuch on Hazlitt's various quarrels; but though he praises his literary work with discrimination he fails somehow to leave a very high idea of him in the reader's mind, or to direct him very clearly as to how he should set about making acquaintance with Hazlitt's very voluminous writings. We are inclined to think that Mr. Birrell lets the cat out of the bag when he writes (p. 123), 'Hazlitt's success in circulating his opinions is largely attributable to the fact that . . . he has always been a favourite author with journalists and ready-writers. His views are infectious, his style attractive, and his words very quotable with or without acknowledgment.' To which it may be added that he provides the literary journalist with topics and suggestions *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis.* He wrote well on many subjects; yet with him, as with Leigh Hunt, it is difficult to read his essays without thinking how much better this sort of thing is done by Charles Lamb. It is the case of genius against talent, and the similarity of subjects makes the comparison more noticeable. After all, is not most of Hazlitt's work simply good miscellaneous journalism?

Digitized by Google

Haunts of Ancient Peace. By the author of 'The Garden that I Love,' &c.; with illustrations by EDMUND H. NEW. Price 6*s*. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1902.)

THIS book is one which deserves to be read not so much for its gentle literary grace, which is considerable, nor even for the intrinsic interest of the questions incidentally discussed, as for the general impression which it leaves upon the mind. The sympathetic reader, whether he agrees or not with the views expressed by the *dramatis personae* of the volume, the Narrator, the Poet, Lamia, Veronica, the Painter, the Parson, the Man of Letters, will at all events thankfully feel, on laying down the book, that he has passed some hours in the company of serious, intelligent, sober-minded, and refined people, fond of the country, fond of good books, lovers of things pure and beautiful, and followers of the ancient ways.

The gentle quaternion with whom Mr. Austin has already made us familiar leave the seclusion of the garden for a more extended survey of the world. Their path lies among green hills, wooded slopes, rich pastures, quiet hamlets, and waters of comfort. They make friends, with enviable ease, with all the agreeable people they meet, they speak with the frankness born of loving intimacy of their dreams and hopes, they deplore modern tendencies, Bridge and Motor-cars, and the indifference of the English nation to the higher literature. They are not, perhaps, always at their best in set conversations; Lamia's persiflage is not always so sprightly as her interlocutors seem to find it; and the Man of Letters, in whom we are told to expect 'a genial and diverting talker,' is, it must be confessed, a rather long-winded old gentleman, with a taste for elaborate and obscure compliment. But still the impression holds good and gathers strength that it is good to have been in high-minded and rational company; and we are tempted to exclaim with Veronica, 'for the crowning mercy of serious conversation, God's name be praised.'

It seems ungenerous to indicate defects in a book which has given us simple and sincere pleasure, but we deliberately think that Mr. Austin is happier when he is praising the old than when he is satirizing the new, for the simple reason that he seems familiar and at home with the former, and to have but a bowing acquaintance with the latter. A great deal is nowadays talked and written about the restlessness, the sick disease of modern life. But probably there were always a majority of busy and bustling people in the world, and a minority of tranquil philosophical persons, who found food for wonder and delight in the face of nature and their

Digitized by Google

own quiet occupations. It is only, we believe, that, owing to the increased facilities of communication and the daily papers, the bustlers make more noise and stir than they used to do; and we would respectfully beg Mr. Austin, in his next pleasant book, to turn his face more sedulously upon the grave past and the quiet present, and leave the noisy rascals—and, we would add, the politicians—to take care of themselves.

A word must be said in praise of the illustrations; these too have a sober and serious charm of their own, and are evidently the work of one who feels deeply what he depicts. There is something essentially poetical in them, which is even more conspicuous in the smaller vignettes than in the more ambitious designs.

Both to author and artist, then, our thanks are due for a book with a real and definite charm of its own, a sedulous attempt to uphold and to dignify the gospel of simple life and refined thoughtfulness.

Mazarin. By ARTHUR HASSALL. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903.)

THIS is the latest volume of the excellent series of 'Foreign Statesmen.' Mr. Hassall has, by his earlier books, and especially his Life of Louis XIV., shown his thorough knowledge of recent works on the history of France in the seventeenth century; he now applies this, in special detail, to the career of the clever Italian diplomatist who succeeded Richelieu. The editor has wisely allowed, as he did not allow to earlier contributors in the series, a preface and appendices. These enable Mr. Hassall to put his position more satisfactorily before the reader. While he does not contribute anything of striking originality to the study of the internal or the foreign policy of Mazarin, he writes a judicious estimate of the whole work of that astute statesman. We could wish that he had explained in more detail the duties of the different officials whose offices are important during the epoch of the Fronde. We are glad of the few pages on the relation of Mazarin to literature and art. The book as a whole is careful and sound, without being especially interesting.

The Smith Family. A Popular Account of most Branches of the Name, however spelt, from the Fourteenth Century downwards, with Numerous Pedigrees now published for the First Time. By the Rev. C. READE, M.A. (London: Elliot Stock, 1902.)

THIS book 'professes to review the great Fabrician family, whether crisped as Smith, smoothed into Smyth, or smidged into Smijth,' but of course with limitations. According to Professor Mahaffy

Digitized by Google

the Petrie papyri tell us that there was a man known as Smith, and occupied in the beer trade, in the twentieth year of the third Ptolemy, 227 B.C., whereas Mr. Reade modestly begins with the fourteenth century of the Christian era. Moreover it was calculated fifty years ago that the Smith population of London exceeded the total population of Liverpool, not to say that the bare 'Smiths' are said to have frequently merged their patronymic in some other. By way of keeping his book within reasonable bounds Mr. Reade has therefore condensed the pedigrees that have already been published, and he complains that some members of the families of Smith have declined to give him information. We trust that there is some modest shrinking from publicity still left among us to account for this reluctance, as well as the reason which Mr. Reade alleges in his chagrin, that some Smiths are ashamed of their origin. In spite of these various limitations, however, we have a volume here which is full of matters of general interest. The return of the commissioners of Henry VI. in 1433, the lists of the sheriffs, and the heralds' visitations give us information about the mediæval Smiths and the Smiths of the Reformation period. Then we have chapters on the Smyths of Elkington, the West Country Smiths, the Smiths who wear the name of Dorrien, or Carington, or Pauncefote, or Bromley, the pedigrees of English, Scotch, and Irish Smiths, and a list of celebrities of the name—all irresistibly suggesting to a profane mind the grace about rabbits hot and rabbits cold. Mr. Reade's general conclusion is that these descendants of primitive ironworkers include scarcely a poet or an idealist, while in practical matters they stand pre-eminent. That is to say, the late W. H. Smith, M.P., was the concentrated essence of the clan. So far as we have tested Mr. Reade's own comments by personal knowledge we should not be able to attach much weight to his opinion. For example, he says that Henry John Stephen Smith, one of the most brilliant and accomplished men that were ever connected with Balliol, was 'a man whose attainments were obscured by an offensive affectation and a superb self-assertion.'

The Scenery of England, and the Causes to which it is due. By the Right Honourable LORD AVEBURY, F.R.S., D.C.L., &c. Price 15*s.* net. Pp. xxvi–534. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

THIS is an attractive book. It is well printed, beautifully illustrated, and written in the graphic and picturesque style for which its talented author is celebrated. Its purpose is to show that the scenery of England is mainly due to *subaërial* agency; and Lord

Digitized by Google

Avebury follows in the steps of Sir A. Geikie, rather than in those of Sir R. Murchison and Mr. Mackintosh, who advanced the claims of *marine* denudation. The first chapter notices the succession of geological systems in England, and names the districts in which they occur. An account of the glacial period follows, in which its features in England, such as striae, moraines, erratics, and smoothed rocks, are described. Lord Avebury is a thorough glacialist, but on the vexed question of the origin of the boulder-clay he offers no definite opinion. The general configuration of the land is shown to have been occasioned by complex causes, but mainly by rain and rivers. A long chapter describes the action of the sea on the coasts, the formation of shingle and sand, and the silting-up of harbours. Raised beaches and submarine forests are noted, but the author seems to have passed over the 'Head of Rubble,' which on the Cornish coast is, at times, nearly 100 feet thick, and which Sir Joseph Prestwich has proved was formed during a great submergence. Two chapters deal with the origin of mountains. They are mainly formed by the shrinking of the earth's mass, which, by pressure, throws the crust into folds. They are then disintegrated by rain, frost, and rivers. English mountains are next described according to their geological age, from the Wrekin, which is the oldest, being Pre-Cambrian, to hills of Quaternary gravel, which are the latest. The extinct volcanoes of England have a chapter given to them, in which their forms and old lava streams are noticed. Three chapters follow on our rivers. The valleys are said to be the work of streams, aided by rain and frost; but many of the valleys are too large to have been cut by the present streams. The altered course of rivers through geological changes is well described, such as the former different size and course of the Thames and Severn. A most interesting chapter is devoted to our English lakes. Their origin by many causes is discussed, and Lord Avebury thinks that some at least have been formed, as Sir Andrew Ramsay maintained, by being scooped out by glaciers. The drainage and the colouring of lakes are also discussed. The influence of rocks on scenery; downs, fens, and moors; rural customs, the names of towns, and the nebular theory, as indicating the changes during the earth's earlier stages, all have chapters devoted to them. Lord Avebury's standpoint, on the whole, is that of a Uniformitarian in geological theory, but he seems willing to admit that in the past great convulsions have occurred. The value of the book would have been increased if, in the footnotes, not only the *name* of the book referred to were mentioned, but the *page* also. Footnotes should be given in such a precise manner that the reference can be tested. There is a most

Digitized by Google

useful list of books and articles referred to at the end of the work, and also a comprehensive index. The glossary at the beginning, however, might have been enlarged with much advantage.

Lombard Studies. By The Countess Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco. Price 16*s.* (London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1902.)

The fascination of Italy for the English traveller, which with some rare exceptions used to find expression in hasty diaries or passing expressions of rapture, to be renewed when the next opportunity occurred, has of late years taken another and far more satisfactory form. Interesting volumes prepared in the land of enchantment itself, collecting the historical facts of bygone times and reinvesting them with life in the actual scenes of their occurrence, have supplied a motive for the delights of travel, while giving them a permanent result. This result is still better attained when the traveller is transformed, through some happy circumstance, into a permanent resident, and has time, opportunity, and special facilities for producing a really important addition to those annals, the *Annali d' Italia*, which did not come to an end when the Abbot-Historian laid down his pen nearly a century ago.

The fascinating subject revives again and again with new life as it appeals to the vigorous Northern mind brought face to face with its manifold claims. Of this we have the greatest proof in the wonderful series of works by the late J. A. Symonds, and also, though in a less degree, in the work before us, the *Lombard Studies*, by Countess Martinengo Cesaresco. Any one who has visited the Lago di Garda, the Benacus of the ancients, will be able to recall, when reading the opening chapter of this book, its beautiful scenery from the summit of the mountain 'Ingannapoltrone,' and the landing-stage at Desenzano, whence embarked on the opalescent waters of the lake, after skirting the richly scented lemon plantations, you rush through the high gorge of the mountains, where the wind lashes the waves into a perpetual foam, to the bustling little town of Riva, at the further extremity. The following lines are a perfect picture :

'The shadows deepen and the sun dips behind the hills towards Brescia. As we go home the oars of the rowers turn up marvellous changing splendours, as one might who should dig for treasure in a fabled Eastern mine—gold changing to orange, orange to crimson, crimson to purple, purple to indigo, which of a sudden becomes illuminated with innumerable traceries of silver. The moon has risen' (p. 44).

In the chapter dealing with the memorials of a Lombard house we have the history of some of the famous palaces on the shore,

Digitized by Google

and the subject of Moretto's beautiful paintings, Scirra Martinengo Cesaresco and the daughters of Antonio Martinengo, an original letter of Galileo Galilei, and other matters of historical interest. Another chapter is devoted to bringing forward the extenuating circumstances of the melancholy story of Vittoria Accoramboni.

Leaving the Lago di Garda, the writer is no less happy in describing the claims of the Lago d' Iseo :

'Never was there a little lake of such irregular form, with scenery so various : towering peaks and naked escarpments ; lovely little bays, where the abundant olive groves tell of the mildness of the climate ; islands of all shapes and sizes—castellated isles, monastic isles, tiny desert isles, where a little child would give the world to be shipwrecked on a summer noon ; thickly populated village isles, with pink and white oleanders filling up every inch of room left vacant between the water' (p. 180).

Rimini, a town only too little known to the English traveller, is presented to the reader in two aspects. First, as the fascinating watering-place lapped by the blue waves of the Adriatic, with stretches of golden sand and a background of amethyst mountains, with the suggestion of the outskirts of the famous Pine Forest of Ravenna in the distant horizon. The little fishing vessels, with their gaily painted sails like so many flamingoes, scudding over the ever-changing sea, the merry population in the colony of seaside villas delighting in the summer bathing, and the swimming master Totano —a character in Rimini—with his coloured gourds to teach the 'inesperti' to swim, and the Stabilimento, with its opera and its band, and all the accompaniments of an Italian summer by the sea. Secondly, in sharp contrast, the grand and somewhat sombre aspect of 'Historical Rimini,' with the magnificent Roman remains, the bridge over the Marecchia and the arch of Augustus ; or in its mediæval character with the frowning 'Rocca' of the Malatesta, the scene of the immortal episode of Francesca da Rimini, or the Tempio Malatestiano, with its romance of Sigismondo and Isotta, for ever perpetuated in sculptured emblems. We refer our readers, and especially our travelling readers, for the key to all these matters of historical interest to the pages of this fascinating volume.

Digitized by Google

II.—Music and Art.

Music in the History of the Western Church. By Professor Edward Dickinson. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1902.)

The close connexion of music with worship is due originally to two main causes: first, that all speech, when heightened by strong emotion, tends to approximate to musical tone; second, that in primitive religious ceremonial an important place is taken by movements of dance or pantomime which necessitate a recurrent rhythm. In savage or barbarous rites the two are of almost equal influence; in civilized religions the rhythmic element has usually been subordinated, and sometimes almost entirely suppressed. Particularly is this the case with the music of the Early Christian Church. The dignity and restraint of the Christian ritual were felt to be incompatible with the peculiar nervous effect produced by rhythmic recurrence, and it is a significant fact that our Church music had passed through many centuries of existence before it could be measured in notes of different duration or determined by the beat of a uniform time-signature. Even up to the days of Palestrina rhythm played but little part in religious service; the phrases are rather those of the speaking voice than those of an organized metrical system, and to this may be traced, in part, the sublimity which is so essentially characteristic of his work. There is as much difference between the 'Missa Papæ Marcelli' and an average modern hymn as there is between the Psalms of David and the Psalms of Tate and Brady.

With Palestrina the first great period in the history of Church music came to an end. The artistic revolution of 1600 did much to secularize the melody of the service, and while it gained something in expression it lost more in gravity and in self-control. Even a composer of such high genius as Purcell was unable to resist the prevailing fashion, and his anthems and services too often recall the tradition that Charles II. liked music 'to which he could beat time with his finger.' But meanwhile the art was learning to weave that magnificent texture of harmonic counterpoint which ennobles every melody that it clothes, and in the choral writing of Purcell himself, still more of Handel and of J. S. Bach, it showed itself once more worthy of the high office which it was set to fill. In the 'Messiah' and the 'Israel,' in the B Minor Mass and the St. Matthew Passion the new music proved that it too could raise monuments of imperishable strength and beauty.

After Handel the tendencies more widely diverge. In one

Digitized by Google

direction went the Viennese school, leading through Haydn and Mozart to its climax in the 'Missa Solennis' of Beethoven; in another the Italian, always deficient in sternness, and paying for its deficiency with the incredible degradation of Rossini's 'Stabat Mater'; in another the German, soft and luxurious with Spohr, picturesque with Mendelssohn, mystic with Schumann, closing on a full note in the 'Deutsches Requiem' of Brahms; in another again the French, sensational with Gossec and Berlioz, emotional with Gounod, always individual in character, and intolerant of limitation; and in another the English, holding firm through its darkest period a slender thread of tradition, and emerging at last into the free air which it is breathing at the present day. It is a far cry from the Church music of the nineteenth century, so brilliant, so diverse, so full of colour and movement, to the primitive beauty and serenity of the Ambrosian hymns.

Such is the story which, in this most interesting and valuable monograph, Professor Dickinson has set himself to recount. We should gather that he is more familiar with the earlier than with the later periods, or it may be that after Bach the subject grows too large for the limits of a single volume, and that in the process of compression some facts must needs be omitted or displaced. But in the main he shows a wide and accurate knowledge of his subject; he takes his information from the fountain-head, and he treats it with dispassionate judgment and with sound critical insight. There are, no doubt, one or two points on which we should disagree, notably, for example, the refusal to assign any Church melodies to Luther; but it is impossible that a volume of so wide a range should not occasionally offer a hostage to criticism. In any case the historical work as a whole is remarkably well done; and the value of the book is enhanced by two excellent closing chapters on the present state of Church music in England and America. We cordially commend the work to all who are interested in the subject with which it deals, and can assure them that they will read it with equal profit and pleasure.

Brother Musicians: Reminiscences of Edward and Walter Bache. By CONSTANCE BACHE. Price 6*s*. (London: Methuen and Co., 1901.)

In *Brother Musicians* Miss Bache has provided a pleasant memoir of her two brothers, Edward and Walter, for a generation of music-lovers to whom their names recall but little. The elder is remembered only as a writer of *morceaux de salon*, the younger as the enthusiastic champion of Liszt's compositions; so that we are

Digitized by Google

grateful to the sisterly devotion which allows us to see in the letters of both brothers a personality both attractive and artistic. Edward was certainly the more interesting of the two, and decidedly the better as a letter-writer. Miss Bache is evidently not very much in sympathy with his ideals, which to an ardent enthusiast for Wagner and Liszt no doubt seem old-fashioned. But read Brahms and Verdi for Beethoven and Donizetti, and Edward Bache's letters will still express the purest aspirations of the best musicians of to-day. And even in his published music, overladen as it is with the fashionable flimsy decoration of its age, we can admire his feeling for the best style of Italian melody, and a workmanship that is almost faultless. The memoir of Walter Bache is less attractive. The battle of the Wagnerites has been fought and won—the master's work nowadays needs no defence; Liszt, for all his disciple's enthusiasm, has not yet been, and probably never will be, considered by English musicians as a great composer. We could well have spared many pages on this subject, and most of the letters would bear much cutting down. Miss Bache has, however, given us much that is interesting; for a specimen, nothing could be better and truer than Walter Bache's advice to her as regards a singing class: 'Give them lots of Bach and they will grumble at first, and all come again next year, and bring their sisters, cousins, and aunts' (p. 222).

Rex Regum: a Painter's Study of the Portrait of Christ from the Time of the Apostles to the Present Day. By Sir WYKE BAYLISS K.C.B., F.S.A. Library Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Price 8*s.* 6*d.* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, and Co., 1902.)

THE author, an artist himself, who has at his disposal the notes and drawings of a brother artist, the late Mr. Thomas Heaphy, essays to prove that the accepted likeness of our Lord is no arbitrary invention, but a tradition from an authentic portrait painted by some one who had seen Him in the flesh. Such a task requires not only reverence and enthusiasm, of which the book gives ample proof, but also historical and archæological accuracy, in which it is sadly wanting. We may cite as an instance the reference to a certain picture at Genoa, ascribed to St. Luke, and said to have been sent by our Lord Himself to Abgarus (not Agbarus) of Edessa. 'The history of this picture,' we are told (p. 46), 'goes back at least to the middle of the second century, when it was believed to be authentic.' We know nothing of the history of this picture; but the first reference to the correspondence between our Lord and Abgar is in Eusebius, about A.D. 315, and the first mention of a picture is in the more recent *Doctrina Addae*, where it is said to have been painted not by Luke,

Digitized by Google

but by Ananias. Such random statements would discredit a stronger cause.

None of the extant portraits can be brought into or even near the possible lifetime of any one who may have seen the Lord. Probably the earliest instances which Sir W. Bayliss adduces are certain fragments of glass vessels enclosing a leaf of gold which have been found embedded in cement in the Roman catacombs. Assuming that these vessels were chalices, and asserting that the use of glass chalices was forbidden in the second century, the author infers that these relics are earlier than that date. But we are not aware of any better authority for the prohibition of the use of glass for the purpose than Honorius of Autun, in the twelfth century, who says that, as Zephyrinus had substituted glass chalices for wooden, so Urban had ordained the use of silver or gold. The use of glass, if forbidden, certainly did not cease. Moreover it is a wide gap between the death of our Lord and the accession of Urban in 223. Next come the paintings in the catacombs, of which the most important perhaps is that in the catacomb of St. Calistus, or rather of Domitilla, of which an admirable drawing is given from the hand of Mr. Heaphy (p. 38). But De Rossi assigns this picture to the third century, and Northcote and Brownlow [1] to the fifth. These eminent archæologists conclude [2] that 'there are no genuine portraits of our Blessed Lord in the catacombs'; and although they await the evidence to be found in the present work we do not think their judgement would have been affected by it.

We do not think, then, that Sir W. Bayliss succeeds in producing an historical proof of a traditional Likeness of our Lord dating from anything like a contemporary hand. But at the same time we are much impressed by a study of the excellent series of photographs in this book. They do seem to show that there are only two types of face which artists have attributed to our Saviour. The one is a Greek type, probably borrowed from that of Dionysus—a radiant youth, not suggestive of the Man of Sorrows. The other is that Face familiar to us all, and adopted by all the great artists, though each has adapted it according to his own imagination. Whence did this type arise? It is not the invention of the Italian Renaissance; for we find it already in the frescoes in the catacombs and in the mosaics of East and West. Were there artists in the third or fourth century—a period when art, if sometimes interesting, was seldom or never original or imaginative—capable of conceiving a type which the greatest painters were content to develop and not to supersede?

[1] *Roma Sott.* ii. 218. [2] *Ibid.* p. 224.

Digitized by Google

If it be urged that tradition compelled them to adhere to a type which had been conventionally recognised for many centuries, it should be noticed that no such trammels bound them in the case of the Blessed Virgin, whom each painter depicted just as he thought fit. Moreover this type of portrait of our Blessed Lord has been found capable of development to represent the noblest conceptions of Christ which the most supreme painters have formed. Who was the consummate artist among the Early Christians who invented this noble type? Is it improbable that among the companions of St. Peter or St. Paul or St. John there may have been one who, though he could not have invented such a type, was able to record that which he had seen with his eyes and treasured in his heart? May there not be some truth in the tradition, late though it be and discredited by absurd attributions, of Luke the painter?

We cannot say. To us the question, though assuredly interesting, has not the importance which it has to Sir Wyke Bayliss. We shall be glad if we can regard the Portrait as probably authentic; but we shall not be distressed if we must conclude with St. Augustine, 'Ipsius Dominicae facies carnis innumerabilium cogitationum diversitate variatur et fingitur, quae tamen una erat quaecumque erat.'[1]

III.—Education.

The Training of Teachers. By S. S. Laurie, A.M., LL.D. (Cambridge: University Press, 1901.)

Professor Laurie holds the Bell Chair of the Theory, History, and Art of Education at Edinburgh University. The selection of papers which this volume contains deals with various problems of education in this country, as subdivided into primary, secondary, and academic. The author magnifies his office and that of those whom it is his duty to train (pp. 100, 232, 280, 295). He speaks at times almost in a prophetic strain of the dignity and influence of the schoolmaster. But his words ring true, and the book has the merit of basing education on first principles, even if it is not always very clear in expression. Such books are for the specialist, and even for him such a document as the Inaugural Address, with which the volume opens, is hard reading; but they are good for the specialist in that they make him think, and get him away from the rule of thumb, which is the danger of so many teachers.

It is impossible in short compass to give an idea of Professor

[1] *De Trin.* viii. 7.

Digitized by Google

Laurie's views of educational problems. The chief proposition of the book is the desirability of training secondary schoolmasters. The arguments on this subject are sound and convincing. All that can be said on the other side is that, as the schoolmaster usually chooses his profession because he is in sympathy with boys, he starts with an attitude of mind which is likely to ensure success, even if he makes mistakes in detail; and the adaptability of boys makes them suffer less from mistakes in method than the theorist supposes.

With regard to the curriculum of secondary schools, Professor Laurie is loyal to the old ideal with modifications. He sees clearly the fallacy of those who wish to make education utilitarian, and to make boys specialize before the last year at school (p. 166). He brings out clearly the superiority of language as a training to mathematics, and he speaks cautiously of the usefulness of natural science as training. He strongly recommends the retention of Latin (p. 164) in its prominent place, but he sacrifices Greek (p. 169), and pours contempt on verse composition (p. 173). He puts next to Latin and English the study of geography (p. 200), history being taught in connection with English and geography. He has a high idea of the value of French and German as mental training (p. 168).

It is where Professor Laurie makes practical suggestions that he aims too high. Thus he would have no place-taking or prizes (p. 245), no punishments in a divinity lesson (p. 232), no participation by junior masters in boys' games (p. 62).

But, taking the book as a whole, we consider it one which all engaged in teaching would benefit much by reading carefully. It will make them think and do their work better with renewed inspiration. We wish we were able to do more than refer to such valuable passages as the following: the difference between true and false sympathy with boys (pp. 60–62), the art of setting examination papers (pp. 249–252), the function of a university (p. 109), the dignity of the scholastic profession (pp. 55–57).

The Teacher and the Child. By H. THISELTON MARK. Price 1*s.* 6*d.* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902.)

THIS book is intended chiefly for the guidance of Sunday school teachers, and the first thought which it suggests is satisfaction that there are parts of the world—of which presumably Lancashire is one, for the author is the Master of Method at Owens College—where Sunday school work is regarded as worthy of systematic effort. Though the writer's psychology and method are at times tedious, and modern fussiness shows itself now and again (*e.g.* the Kinder-

Digitized by Google

garten nonsense from America on p. 110), there are passages of great ability and usefulness, of which we give as examples the discussion (p. 25) of the nine natural tendencies in children which help the teacher, the suggestion about children's handwriting (p. 48), the discussion (p. 130) on instinctive moral impulses, and that (pp. 137–139) on heredity. As might be expected there are many helpful hints by the way, of which we can only give one or two here (p. 34). 'There is a short-trip memory which loads and unloads almost at will, carrying its burden only to the end of a definite stage' (p. 56). 'I never found anybody yet that I wanted to be like. Not that I'm self-satisfied. I should like to be myself—only higher' (p. 90). 'A school is more safely judged by those it fails to improve than by those it helps.' But what does the author mean on p. 21 when he says, 'The trained musician can distinguish four thousand tones'?

IV.—Philology.

The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon and a Fragment of his Hebrew Grammar, edited from the MSS., with Introduction and Notes by the Rev. E. Nolan, B.A., and S. A. Hirsch, Ph.D. (Cambridge: University Press, 1902.)

At the present time, when the advantages of the Greek language as a subject of instruction are on their trial, there is a certain fitness in the appearance of an edition of the Greek grammar which was written by one of the earliest champions in this country of the study of that language. The ignorance of Greek displayed by the bishops of his time, who were required when consecrating a church to inscribe the Greek alphabet with their pastoral staves on sand, was one of the principal reasons which induced Friar Bacon to compose his grammar. We have here presented to us (1) a Greek grammar from an Oxford MS., (2) a fragment of a Greek grammar from a Cambridge MS. discovered by Mr. Nolan, (3) a fragment of a Hebrew grammar from the same Cambridge MS. The Oxford MS. alone contains a statement, in a later hand, that the work comprised in it is that of Roger Bacon; but the editors appear to have satisfactorily shown from internal evidence that all three treatises are to be attributed to him. The two Greek grammars appear to be rough drafts (several of which Roger Bacon was in the habit of composing before publishing his works), preliminary to a more elaborate grammar intended for advanced students. For the information contained in the Oxford and Cambridge grammars is mostly of an elementary character. It does not go beyond points

Digitized by Google

of orthography (a large part of the work is devoted to the correction of current errors under this head) and accidence. The longer (Oxford) grammar ends with the conjugation of τύπτω: it is curious that the use of this paradigm, taken over by Bacon from earlier grammarians, has probably lasted for two thousand years. Bacon's principal source appears to have been Priscian. But he is by no means a servile follower of others. He shows an independence of judgement, and, as Dr. Hirsch remarks, 'he possessed the true philological instinct; he had a keen perception of the connection subsisting between the various dialects belonging to groups of languages.' Indeed the illustrations from Latin sometimes, as when a section is devoted to the scansion of a line in Horace, carry the writer rather far from his subject.

The Greek grammar cannot, for the most part, be said to possess any great intrinsic value: its chief interest lies in the glimpse it gives of the standard of Greek scholarship in England in the thirteenth century. The Hebrew grammar is too slight a fragment to call for remark here. The editors have done their work well.

Demetrius on Style. The Greek Text of Demetrius *De Elocutione.* Edited, with Introduction, Translation, Facsimiles, &c., by W. Rhys Roberts, Litt.D. (Cambridge: University Press, 1902.)

Dr. Roberts has followed up his editions of Longinus *On the Sublime* and *The Three Literary Letters* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus by an equally admirable edition of another Greek treatise on style, which well deserved the careful and comprehensive treatment which it has here received. The fresh interest which has been aroused in this department of Greek literature is shown by the fact that a German edition of the *De Elocutione* appeared within a year of that of Dr. Roberts. The treatise is valuable, not merely from an antiquarian point of view, as presenting the opinion of a cultivated Greek on the masterpieces of Greek literature, but also because it contains much useful criticism for writers of any age or country. The author of the *De Elocutione* would certainly admit that a dissection of the style of a Demosthenes or a Thucydides, and an imitation of the features found in the composition of their sentences, would be quite insufficient to produce a work on the level of the writings of those masters; yet he would maintain, and justly, that a would-be stylist could not fail to derive much benefit from such a study. After some preliminary remarks on the sentence and its constituent parts, the body of the author's work consists of a detailed

Digitized by Google

criticism, with illustrations from Greek authors, of the four types of style, viz. (1) the 'elevated' or 'grand' style, (2) the 'elegant' or 'polished' style, (3) the 'plain' style, (4) the 'forcible' or 'vigorous' style. Of prose authors, Thucydides furnishes the most frequent examples of the elevated style, Xenophon of the elegant style (Plato, Herodotus, and others also supply instances), Lysias is the model of the plain style, and Demosthenes of the forcible. The editor suggests as instances of the four styles among English poets—Milton, Tennyson, Wordsworth, Shakespeare. The editor has supplied an introduction dealing with the study of prose style among the Greeks, and the date and authorship of the *De Elocutione*. His translation is often most felicitous and always admirable; his notes are brief but adequate; his glossary of terms of rhetoric, grammar, metre, and criticism is a valuable addition to Greek lexicography. We could wish, however, that he had included in the work the complete Index of Greek Words which he has prepared. We would make one suggestion on a passage in the translation. In the comment on Homer's phrase ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχη in § 82, does not συνεχῶς φρίσσουσαν μάχην προσηγόρευσεν mean 'The poet has given the *collective* designation of "shuddering battle,"' &c.? Συνεχῶς seems capable of bearing this meaning, and to take it with the preceding words is rather awkward. As to the authorship, the treatise is certainly not the work of Demetrius of Phalerum, an author who, as the well-known story of the Greek translation of the Bible shows, was credited with various literary undertakings. The mixture of Attic orthography, grammar, and vocabulary with the grammatical usages and vocabulary of the post-classical age betrays the Atticist. The conclusion reached is that the work 'probably belongs either to the first century B.C. or the first century A.D., the latter period being on the whole the more likely,' and 'its author may have borne the name Demetrius.' There are some indications that he lived at Alexandria.

Thesaurus Palaeo-Hibernicus. By WHITLEY STOKES and JOHN STRACHAN. (Cambridge: University Press, 1901.)

IT is now more than two years since a number of German scholars published a *Festschrift* addressed to Dr. Whitley Stokes on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. It was a fitting recognition of forty years' unremitting diligence in the cause of Celtic letters. The present volume shows that the vigour of the veteran philologist is unabated, though he has joined forces with a scholar of a younger generation. It is the first instalment of a great undertaking, nothing less than a complete Corpus of all extant remains of the Old-Irish

Digitized by Google

language contained in manuscripts anterior to the eleventh century. These remains consist almost entirely of glosses and scholia, sometimes merely a word or two, sometimes a few sentences, written by scribes in the margins or between the lines of Latin manuscripts. Very few specimens of connected prose are found in codices included within the scope of the *Thesaurus*; the longest are those which occur among the Patrician documents in the 'Book of Armagh'; these will appear in the second volume. There is, indeed, no reasonable doubt that many of the epic tales which survive in the great collections of the twelfth century were written down at a much earlier period; but it is equally certain that successive scribes have defaced the older and purer linguistic forms of these texts; and though such alterations may make little or no difference to the sense, they affect vitally the very problems with which philologists are occupied; our editors have, therefore, wisely excluded such documents entirely from their purview. They are concerned only with the MSS. which exhibit the language as it was actually written down before the year 1000. Such a compilation will be of immense service to students. It is from these glosses that Zeuss quarried the foundations of Celtic grammar; it is on them that all scientific study of the Irish language must still be based. The material has indeed all been published before by Dr. Stokes himself, by Ascoli, Nigra, Zimmer, and others; but all these editions are more or less difficult to procure. Besides, the excellent critical work which has been done by the scholars just named and others, such as Thurneysen, Windisch, Pedersen, and Dr. Stokes's present collaborator, Dr. Strachan, has let in new light and made necessary many changes in reading and interpretation. It is hardly necessary to say that the *Thesaurus* represents the most recent scholarship and adds fresh contributions to the subject. These appear in the form of new renderings or emendations of doubtful passages. We may mention Dr. Strachan's correction of *anærmesuthigetar* for *ances me suthigetar* (p. 5), the certain restoration of *diúrad* in place of *iúrad* (p. 498), and the highly ingenious interpretation of the words *nipu thuc conid ḋrfus*, which appear in the 'Book of Armagh' as a marginal remark on the miracle of the loaves (St. Luke ix. 16). The editors analyze *conid* as *co n-ith*, and translate 'it was not a "bone with grease" remaining.' This is quite in the style of an Irish byword; only would it not be still better to read *cen ith*? The meaning would then be that the relics of the feast were no dry bone (but juicy victuals).

Discussions on questions of grammar or etymology are, however, excluded by the plan of the work. These we may look for, should the editors redeem (as all Celtic students must devoutly hope they

Digitized by Google

may) the half-promise made in their preface that they will publish a third volume containing an Old-Irish lexicon. For such an undertaking no happier combination could be imagined than Dr. Stokes's vast knowledge of the language and its literature allied to Dr. Strachan's scientific spirit and critical acumen. In the meantime the *Thesaurus* itself contains on each page, first, the lemmata from the Latin codices; second, the Irish glosses thereon; third, a translation of such of these glosses as are not mere equivalents of the words glossed; fourth, textual and other notes. A dozen pages of addenda take account of the most recent literature up to the moment of publication.

This volume consists entirely of 'biblical glosses and scholia,' non-biblical matter being reserved for the second volume. In arranging their material the editors have followed the order of the books of the Bible to which the glosses relate, thus avoiding the controversies which still rage as to the relative ages of the manuscripts. The evidence on this question is summarized in their 'Description of the MSS.' By far the largest part of the volume (477 pages out of 727) is occupied by the 'Milan glosses,' which elucidate a commentary on the Psalms, copied probably in the ninth century by a monk named Diarmait; the manuscript belongs to the Ambrosian library. Next to these in extent, perhaps superior to them in linguistic value, stand the Würzburg glosses on the Epistles.

The value of these glosses is, of course, almost entirely linguistic; it is only indirectly that they have any human or historical interest. They were written by Irish monks, of those who were scattered far and wide among the monasteries of Europe from the seventh century onwards, who copied these and so many other MSS. at St. Gall, at Bobbio, at Reichenau, in Carinthia, who knows where? Pious, industrious men, they transcribed diligently for the glory of God and the preservation of learning, misspelling the Latin as their native accent prompted, adding their marginal notes here and there for the instruction of their countrymen and fellow-students and the future joy of German philologists. Rarely would one of them, hearing the thrush's note outside his cell, be tempted (like the monk of St. Gall) to answer the bird with an Irish *rann*, or celebrate (like the scribe at St. Paul's Monastery, in Carinthia) the prowess of his white cat, Pangur Bán.

Yet anyone who sets himself to realize the early civilization of Ireland must consider what is implied by the existence of these glosses—what level of culture, what external influences, what acquaintance with classical tradition, what experience of foreign lands

Digitized by Google

and other manners. There is, we believe, little direct evidence that the studious class in Ireland had any first-hand knowledge of the great secular literature of Rome, still less of Greece; they seem to have confined themselves almost entirely to the patristic writings. Which of the Fathers were best known to them, and through what works, it would be interesting to determine, but the inquiry has not as yet been pursued with any thoroughness.

We venture to add a few notes on points of detail.

Page 4: The gloss on Psalm lxx. [lxxi] 18, '*tempus*-1. *diblide*, is given without explanation. It appears from Zimmer's *Glossae Hibernicae* (p. 210) to be added in the margin and refers to *senium*, which the glossator apparently took to be an adjective and therefore added *tempus*. *Diblide* is presumably the Latin *debilitas*. O'Reilly's *Dictionary* gives the meaning 'second childhood.'

Page 5: *glasar*, which glosses the words *dedit erugini fructus eorum*, is rendered hesitatingly 'rust.' May it not be *glas-ár*, 'destruction of green things, blight,' a compound similar to *bó-ár*, 'cattle-plague, murrain'?

Page 161: On Psalm xxxii. [xxxiii.] 5, the Latin commentator writes *ab speciali laude misericordiae Dei convertitur ad universalem eius bonitatis praedicationem*, on which the glossator remarks, *conruthoi huilidetaid a preceptæ do thaidbsin sainemlæ dæ*. This is rendered 'he turned from the universality of his teaching to show forth the excellence of God' (with the emendation *hua huilidetaid*). But it seems clear that *sainemlæ dæ* must refer to *speciali laude*, as *huilidetaid a preceptæ* to *universalem praedicationem*. The meaning seems to be 'he had turned aside from the generality of his teaching to show forth the special qualities of God [and now returns from the special to the general].' This would give the temporal value of *ru* which Zimmer has established.

Page 340: On the commentator's words *ut--corpora--avibus et bestiarum dentibus non paterent* we have the gloss *coniptis ersoilcthi* 1.1. *coniptis erlama*, which is rendered 'that they might not be opened, *i.e.* that they might not be ready.' This is meaningless: translate rather 'that they should not be exposed, that is, that they should not be in reach [of birds and beasts].' *Erlam* seems equivalent to πρόχειρος with the meanings 'at hand, in reach, ready.'

Page 341: Should not the glosses numbered 11 and 12 be read as one? *is tú remfolaing*, 'it is thou who preventest.'

Page 489, gloss 80: *ralasom* is translated oddly, 'He has put it'; why not 'He has uttered it'?

Page 528: St. Paul says (Rom. xi. 22), 'Behold therefore the

Digitized by Google

goodness and severity of God—towards thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.' On the word 'otherwise (*alioquin*)' the glossator writes *is ferr menme friss*, which is rendered 'better is (thy) mind towards Him,' and Dr. Strachan adds a note, 'This seems to be some idiomatic expression translating *alioquin*.' Is it not simpler to understand the phrase as a general comment on the passage? 'it is better to have a mind inclined towards Him, otherwise,' &c.

Page 592: The words *adiuvantibus vobis* are glossed *afotegidsi*. 'This seems corrupt,' say the editors; but *fotégidsi* may very well be a literal equivalent of *subvenite*.

Page 612: St. Paul's words (2 Cor. x. 11), 'Such as we are in word by letters when we are absent, such will we also be in deed when we are present,' are glossed *ammi tuailnge ar mbrethre*. The editors translate 'we are potent in our word.' Rather, 'we are able to maintain our word.'

V.—New Testament.

Addresses on the Revised Version of Holy Scripture. By C. J. Ellicott, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Hon. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (London: S.P.C.K., 1901.)

A change has been gradually taking place in the mind of the Church with regard to the Revised Version. The permission to use it in public worship has been acted on in many places. Many students, who for some time were annoyed by changes which seemed to them trifling, or critical of what seemed to them mistakes, have come to recognize that the real theological gain offered by this version does outweigh such considerations. These addresses, which it is superfluous to praise, appear just at the right time. The veteran scholar and theologian, who was himself, as chairman, present at 405 out of 407 meetings of the New Testament Company, who shared in the revision of the Apocrypha, and to whose conviction and energy the beginning of the work was largely due, has given us, in lucid and dignified language, the history of the Revision, a defence of its faithfulness, and a plea for its use in churches. In this plea the Bishop speaks as well as the scholar, and his earnest sincerity has as much weight as his temperate reasoning. Not the least important part of the addresses are the practical directions about the proper way of introducing the use of the Revised Version into the services of a church. In this chapter, perhaps especially, the reader will admire the wisdom of a spiritual Father, who loves the brethren as he desires the glory of God.

Digitized by Google

The Twentieth-Century New Testament: a Translation into Modern English, made from the Original Greek (Westcott and Hort's text). Price 3*s.* 6*d.* (London: Marshall and Son; America: The Fleming H. Revell Company, 1901.)

THIS translation is now completed by the addition of the Pastoral, Personal, and General letters, and the Revelation, and the whole is published in one convenient volume. It is issued as a tentative edition only, and there will therefore be an opportunity of correcting a few slips, such as the omission of a clause in 2 Pet. i. 7. As a mere translation it fails to some extent, because it includes so much interpretation. The modern English too of the translators is, after all, further from the vulgar tongue than is the English of the Revised Version, and it would be a mistake to suppose that it will make the same kind of impression on the minds of most men as the Greek did on the original readers. At the same time it is probable that to a section of the English-speaking people the New Testament will come with a fresh force and reality in this form, and the book may be used by all as a valuable aid to study.

The Study of the Gospels. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Westminster. 'Handbooks for the Clergy.' Price 2*s.* 6*d.* net. (London: Longmans, 1902.)

THIS book should be welcomed alike by those who find it difficult to keep fresh in the matter of special study when they are cut off from fellow students and by those who desire help in attempting to gain acquaintance with the present methods of studying the Gospels. The former will find here a restatement of these methods, which, although it does not deal systematically with divergent opinions, yet furnishes many points of detail which will awaken fresh inquiry. At the same time others will find a clear presentation of the lines to be followed in a literary and historical study of the authorship and composition of the Gospels. After an introductory lecture on the dates and origin of the Synoptic Gospels we are taken to them as they stand; and beginning with St. Mark as the earliest historical record, we are guided to the contents of the 'non-Marcan document' (the name Logia is rightly discouraged) by illustrations, which also serve to show how both this source and St. Mark have been utilized by the writers of the First and Third Gospels. Care is taken that the student shall not lose himself in the midst of details, or be content to stop at this stage. The short summary of St.

Digitized by Google

Mark's Gospel and a sketch of some features of the non-Marcan document are just what are wanted. Attention is centred upon the vivid picture of the Christ, His strength, sympathy, and freedom from conventional restrictions; and a more detailed note upon the title 'Son of Man' gives further help in this direction. Again, after the discussion of the First Gospel it is well to be reminded that 'this Gospel was accepted by the general consciousness of the Church as a true record,' and that, although the Sermon on the Mount as reported in St. Matthew is made up of several distinct sayings and discourses, we possess there 'the final form in which the divine Spirit fixed these great utterances for the permanent instruction of the Church.' In the last two chapters the difficulties connected with the Fourth Gospel are dealt with, and in our opinion the best thing in this book is the statement of the contrast between St. John's Gospel and the Synoptic narratives, in which Dr. Robinson brings out with equal clearness the evidence which makes us say, 'Only an Apostle could have written so.' The book is not one to be read hastily, and will prove of real value to any who will accept its guidance and test by it the conclusions which their own studies lead them to form.

1. *Codex I. of the Gospels and its Allies.* By KIRSOPP LAKE, M.A. 'Texts and Studies,' vii. 3. Price *7s. 6d.* net. (Cambridge: University Press, 1902.)
2. *Texts from Mount Athos.* By KIRSOPP LAKE. 'Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica,' v. pt. 2. Price *3s. 6d.* (Oxford: University Press, 1902.)

THESE two volumes, appearing almost simultaneously from the two University presses, represent some years of industrious work by Mr. Lake in elucidating the textual history of the Gospels. The first is a study of the group of minuscule manuscripts known as 1, 118, 131, and 209, which have long been known to be related to one another, though the details of the relationship have never been worked out before. Mr. Lake prints the text of Evan. 1 (which, it may be remarked, was used by Erasmus, though, unfortunately, not as much as the inferior Evan. 2), with a full collation of the other members of the group, and prefixes tables of selected and classified readings, from which his conclusions as to the character of the group are drawn. His conclusions are briefly these: (1) 1 is by far the best representative of the common archetype; (2) 118 and 209 are closely connected, 209 being the better representative of the common ancestor; (3) 131 only belongs to the group in Mark i–v.

Digitized by Google

and Luke i–xxiv., elsewhere being of the ordinary Antiochian family; (4) in Mark the whole group is related to the Ferrar group, and to the manuscripts 22, 28, 565, 700, all probably representing a local text of pre-Antiochian character from some region in the East; (5) in the other Gospels the group stands by itself, having many points in common with ℵ B, whereas in Mark its affinities are rather with the Old Syriac. In conclusion Mr. Lake makes the important observation that many manuscripts contain interesting texts of St. Mark, while in the other Gospels they have the ordinary text; and this he interprets as the result of the comparative neglect of St. Mark in the earliest period (of which there is other evidence), whereby it escaped much of the levelling and assimilating process which the other Synoptists underwent. The point is one of real importance to the Synoptic problem, and the additional evidence of the fact adduced by Mr. Lake is not the least valuable part of a most creditable piece of work.

The second volume is the result of a visit by Mr. Lake and Mr. Wathen to Mount Athos in 1899, in which they were able to do a great quantity of useful work. The principal result (so far as the New Testament is concerned) is the examination of the interesting uncial codex Ψ. Mr. Lake gives its text in Mark in full, and a collation of it in Luke, John, and Colossians. In Mark the manuscript has a text of very early type, agreeing mainly with ℵ B, though with occasional divergences of Western or Alexandrian character. Elsewhere its text is of less interest, though it shows several variants from the *textus receptus*. Another interesting manuscript at Mount Athos is Evan. 1071, written in South Italy. It contains the subscriptions to the Gospels characteristic of the group headed by the uncial Λ, which is associated with Jerusalem or Sinai; but the special point of interest is the remarkable resemblance of its text in the *pericope adulterae* to that in the Codex Bezae, which suggests that the latter manuscript may have been in Italy when 1071 was written.

Mr. Lake also prints portions of the *Acta Pilati* and the *Acta Thomae*, and finally gives a catalogue of all the Biblical MSS. which he saw at Mount Athos. This catalogue is especially valuable for the library of the Laura, in which there are over 200 manuscripts which have never appeared in the lists of Gregory and Scrivener. Mr. Lake here describes about 140 of them, with the numbers which will be assigned to them in the next edition of Gregory. The descriptions are necessarily of the briefest, but Mr. Lake deserves the congratulations and thanks of Biblical scholars for his painstaking and fruitful labours.

Digitized by Google

Die Evangelien eines alten Unzialcodex (B ℵ-text) nach einer Abschrift des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, herausgegeben von A. SCHMIDTKE. Price 4 Marks. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901.)

THE primary purpose of this volume is the publication of the text of a minuscule manuscript of the Gospels (Paris Bibl. Nat. gr. 97, Scrivener 743, Gregory 579) which, having been examined by Dr. Schmidtke on behalf of Professor von Soden's edition, proves to have (except in St. Matthew, where its text is ordinary) a text notably akin to that of the Codex Vaticanus (B). The presence in it of Arabic writing indicates an Eastern origin, and it is highly probable that, like most of the group associated with B, it had its birthplace in Egypt. It has long been known as one of the few manuscripts containing the double ending to St. Mark, and it now joins Evan. 33 as one of the minuscule manuscripts with a predominantly 'neutral' type of text. Dr. Schmidtke regards it as a transcript of an uncial manuscript written in the fifth century, though the indications (which suggest an archetype with a single-columned page of twenty-four lines, with twenty-three letters to the line) are hardly decisive in respect of the date, and the single-columned arrangement would point to the latter part of that century at earliest. But Dr. Schmidtke goes beyond the simple publication of the text. Following up Bousset's view, which sees in the B ℵ-text the edition of Hesychius, he calls attention to a system of subdivision of the text in B (partially supported by the new manuscript), different from the well-known Eusebian sections, and characterised by much greater minuteness in St. Matthew and in the parts of the other Evangelists which are parallel to parts of St. Matthew than elsewhere. Hence he concludes that the Hesychian edition was based upon a Gospel harmony in which the text and arrangement of St. Matthew were taken as the norm, and such a harmony is known to have existed in the work of Hesychius's countryman, Ammonius of Alexandria. The theory is ingenious and interesting, and Dr. Schmidtke deserves all credit for the care with which he has worked it out; but it rests upon rather delicate foundations at present, and the evidence requires full and independent examination before it can be generally accepted.

The Teaching of Jesus. By GEORGE BARKER STEVENS, Ph.D., D.D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. (New York and London: Macmillan, 1902.)

THE series of New Testament handbooks to which this volume forms a contribution was noticed in the pages of the *Church Quarterly Review* for January 1901, and two volumes then issued —one on the *Higher Criticism of*, the other an *Introduction to*,

Digitized by Google

the New Testament—were criticised with qualified approval, the comparative absence of the Pauline and Johannine aspects of Christianity being pointed out in the one book, while in the other the materials employed were distinguished from the conclusion deduced from them. The present instalment has a higher object in view, which is thus described in the Preface:

'The effort has been made to translate the thought of Jesus into modern terms, and so to correlate the different elements of His teaching as to exhibit its inner unity. His sayings have also been brought into frequent comparison with the Jewish religious ideas of His age, in order to exhibit the historical background on which His teaching was presented, and thus to bring out into clearer relief its striking independence and originality' (pp. vii, viii).

The second of the two subjects here indicated—the contrast between Judaism and Christianity—is well set out in the opening chapter, where what is old and new in the teaching of our Lord is discussed, and the kernel of truth in Jewish thought is distinguished from its accretions.

Judaism (as has been said) was the cradle of Christianity, and again at a later time it very nearly became its grave.

The next seven chapters are occupied with the records of Jesus's words and deeds, the methods of His teaching, His attitude towards the Old Testament, the Kingdom and the Fatherhood of God, and the terms the 'Son of Man' and the 'Son of God.'

There does not appear to be much that is original in this part of the volume, but the results of modern study are well summarized, and the references to the latest authorities (which include Harnack's *What is Christianity?*) are given at the opening of each chapter. From this point onwards many topics and problems of the highest interest are passed in review and discussed, among which we may notice particularly that which concerns the saving significance of Christ's death—wherein it consists.

The conclusion arrived at, after weighing the principal replies that have been given, is that Christ's death is not to be isolated from His life-work in general, and that it is grounded in the divine nature.

The volume concludes with a statement of the doctrine of the Resurrection and Judgement as exhibited (*a*) by the Synoptists, (*b*) in the Johannine tradition.

There is much throughout the whole volume to render it useful and acceptable as a manual of instruction for students of the New Testament, and by books like this we are reminded of the words with which Dean Milman concluded his *History of Latin Christianity*:

Digitized by Google

'We cannot presume to say that men may not attain to a clearer, at the same time more full, comprehensive, and balanced sense of the words of Christ than has yet been generally received in the Christian world.'

The Theology of Christ's Teaching. By the Rev. T. M. KING, D.D., Principal of Manitoba College, Winnipeg; with an Introduction by the Rev. JAMES ORR, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.)

IN the short biographical sketch prefixed to this volume Dr. Orr frankly points out the limitations of the author's method; his adherence to what may be called a 'pre-critical' view of the Old Testament, and his free use of the Fourth Gospel as a source parallel to the synoptical narratives. 'In both respects,' says Dr. Orr, 'it may be admitted that Dr. King's work represents an older stage of theological and critical discussion than that now in vogue.' It does not appear, indeed, that Dr. King had specially studied, or settled to his own satisfaction, the questions raised by modern criticism; on the contrary, he seems to have 'had an open mind on these newer questions,' and even to have invited Professor George Adam Smith to deliver a course of lectures to the students of his college. But though it would be impossible to claim that the present work stands on a level with books of a more scientific quality, it may be fairly said that it has solid value. It amply illustrates the leading characteristics of the writer—his industry, his methodical temperament, his sobriety of judgement. His style in fact bears traces of a training in German method. He studied theology at Halle under the guidance of men like Julius Müller, Tholuck, and Neander; and whatever may have been his limitations it is evident, as Dr. Orr remarks, that 'he had the keenness to perceive, what all indications corroborate, that it is about the thoughts and words of Christ Himself that the battles of theology in this new age will have to be fought.'

Dr. King's subject is 'Biblical theology as embraced in the personal teachings of Jesus Christ.' Towards the end of the volume there is a tendency, perhaps inevitable, to enlarge the scope of the inquiry, and the chapters on 'justification' and 'sanctification' practically involve a consideration of the teaching of the New Testament taken as a whole. Speaking generally, however, the survey is strictly confined to 'the personal teachings of the Saviour,' which Dr. King rightly regards as constituting 'the ultimate basis of authority in regard to things Divine and Spiritual.' These teachings are examined with most praiseworthy thoroughness and freedom from dogmatic prepossession, nor would it be fair to complain that the

Digitized by Google

treatment is, as we have said, 'pre-critical,' and that some subjects (notably that of the Sacraments) are dealt with in a regrettably slight and meagre fashion, when the points of central importance are worked out with such conscientious thoroughness.

There is little to be said in regard to the substance of Dr. King's treatise. He is invariably cautious, reverent, and moderate in his doctrinal statements, and one attractive feature of his work is the candour and fairness with which he describes the views of those from whom he finds himself compelled to dissent. We may mention particularly his brief comment on modern 'Kenoticism,' his gentle but persuasive criticism of Dr. Fairbairn's view of the relation subsisting between the Church and the Kingdom of God, and his discussion of a theory of justification which he himself rejects. There are many passages too which show that Dr. King was able to take a comprehensive survey of a many-sided doctrine, and to give due weight to its various elements or aspects. In this connection we should select the following as a typical passage :

'We are forced to the conclusion, then, that there is no adequate explanation of the Saviour's sufferings, as these are disclosed to us in His own words and in the statements of the gospels regarding them, which does not take account of the unique relation to man and to sin in man which He sustains, and of the penal character which His sufferings in consequence assume. He comes into the world not simply as a man, or even as a sinless man, but as the Son of Man ; He identifies Himself with man before God. As a result He comes not simply into a sympathetic but into a real relation with the sin, the guilt of man. He does not simply feel it as if it were His own. In a very real sense, though of course not in that of personal blameworthiness, it is His own, being the sin, the guilt of those with whom He has in the incarnation made Himself one. He feels its heinousness as only an absolutely pure nature can do. He acknowledges the justice of its condemnation in suffering not only through it, but for it ; He bears its penalty in dying.'

This passage is a good example of Dr. King's fine reserve in stating conclusions arrived at only after unsparing thought. The book is one that will repay study, mainly because of the spirit which it exhibits—a spirit of earnest inquiry tempered by profound reverence and a deep sense of the necessary limitations under which 'the words of the Word' can be expounded.

It is to be regretted that the Greek words in the book are very defectively printed. Most of them are left unaccented, and we have noticed such monstrosities as εἵστηκειν, ἐκεῖνος, πάση, μακάριοί, μετανοειτε, &c. This gives an impression of unscholarly editing, which would, we feel sure, be an injustice to Dr. Orr.

Digitized by Google

The Sermon on the Mount. Its Literary Structure and Didactic Purpose. By B. W. BACON, D.D. Price 4*s.* 6*d.* net. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902.)

THE writer's object is to furnish a text-book which may serve as an introduction to the higher criticism of the Gospels. In a lecture which occupies the first half of the book reasons are given for believing that Jesus early in His ministry did deliver a connected discourse, quasi-legalistic in form, illustrating the nature of the Kingdom of God and the character of its laws and institutions. The methods employed in dealing with St. Matthew's report of this sermon are illustrated by a discussion of the true contexts of c. vi. 7–15, 19–34; after which the text of 'the original discourse on the higher righteousness' is given. Two appendices are added, explaining why other passages in St. Matthew's report are excluded, and justifying in small points the text adopted; while a third contains restorations of seven other discourses (*e.g.* on prayer, and four discourses of the Galilean crisis), but without any justification in detail of the reconstruction. Much of this must, of course, be very tentative, but it seems to us that Dr. Bacon unduly disregards the occasions with which the Evangelists (especially St. John) connect incidents and teaching, as well as differences in details. Our impression is that the majority of young students would be better advised to turn to the more complete studies on this subject.

An Introduction to the Thessalonian Epistles. Containing a vindication of the Pauline authorship of both Epistles and an interpretation of the Eschatological section of 2 Thess. ii. By E. H. ASKWITH, B.D. Price 4*s.* net. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

IT is only within very distinct limits that this book can be called an Introduction. The writer tells us in the preface that his object in publishing is to obtain criticisms of his interpretation of the Eschatological section, and that he hopes eventually to publish a complete commentary. As an introduction to his special subject he gives a sketch of the Thessalonian Church, gathered from the Acts and these Epistles; and then reviews external and internal evidence bearing upon the question of authenticity. The discussion of the chief difficulties is good and thorough, but in c. 1. sufficient allowance is not made for the incompleteness of the account in the Acts; and we doubt whether the somewhat elaborate explanation of the quotation in Polycarp's Epistle is really necessary. Mr. Askwith may be right in supposing that St. Paul's Eschatological teaching had been

Digitized by Google

an interpretation of our Lord's predictions (cf. Matt. xxiv.), in the light of the circumstances of his own time; but we are not convinced that the circumstances in St. Paul's mind were the restless opposition of the Jews to the Romans, caused by Emperor-worship (ἡ ἀνομία), and that he expected this to culminate in rebellion (ἡ ἀποστασία) after the death of Claudius (ὁ κατέχων). The passage must surely be taken in connexion with c. i., which suggests a very different explanation.

St. Paul and the Roman Law, and other Studies on the Origin of the Form of Doctrine. By W. E. BALL, LL.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1901.)

THIS is an interesting collection of essays, some of which have already appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, dealing with several important, if somewhat disconnected, subjects. They are (1) the influence of Roman law on St. Paul, on Church formularies, and on Ante-Nicene theology; (2) St. John and Philo Judaeus; (3) the quotations in the New Testament from canonical and uncanonical writings.

In the earlier essays St. Paul's acquaintance with Roman law is deduced principally from his use of the metaphors of adoption and inheritance, and from the allusion to a law concerning guardianship in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. The two following chapters trace the survival of the Roman *stipulatio* in the Baptismal service and other Church offices, and the contributions to theology of Tertullian, the greatest lawyer among the early Fathers. Dr. Ball's intimate knowledge of Roman law enables him to throw out many suggestive hints in these chapters. We may mention in particular the parallel drawn (p. 34 f.) between the relation of the later and more equitable Praetorian law to the ancient and more rigid Quiritarian law, and, on the other hand, the relation between 'the law of Christ' and the law of Moses; 'at the period when St. Paul wrote, and for some time previously, Roman jurisprudence had been deeply engaged with a problem analogous to that which perplexed the early Church.' Interesting also is the sketch (pp. 52 ff.) of the gradual development of the ante-chamber of the jurisconsult into the class-room of the school of rhetoric. With regard to the subject which gives the book its title (it does not occupy more than thirty-seven pages), it must be confessed that the Apostle's knowledge of Roman law is by no means so certainly established, in the opinion of eminent New Testament critics, as Dr. Ball would lead us to suppose. Because adoption was practically unknown among the Jews, while it was a familiar phenomenon in the Roman

Digitized by Google

world, it cannot at once be assumed that St. Paul is necessarily thinking of Roman law. The word *υἱοθεσία* and the practice of adoption were common also in the Hellenistic world;[1] and Professor Ramsay, in his *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, has given strong reasons for supposing that it is the Greek, and not the Roman, form of adoption that is alluded to. The difficulty of reconciling the language used in Gal. iv. 1, 2, of 'the time appointed of the father' (*ἡ προθεσμία*), with Roman law, in which the term of the guardian's office was fixed by statute and the *curator* was not appointed by the will of the father, has been pointed out by Lightfoot and Ramsay. The latter writer finds the explanation of the passage in Syrian (Seleucid) law (*op. cit.* p. 393). It is to be regretted that Dr. Ball, in revising his earlier essay, has not endeavoured to meet the criticisms to which his theory has been subjected by Professor Ramsay.

In his chapters on St. John and Philo Judaeus Dr. Ball maintains that 'the doctrine of the Logos was unquestionably derived from an Alexandrian source.' He argues that the intercourse between Alexandria and Judaea was intimate and continuous, that Philo's writings consequently had a rapid circulation, and that the Hellenists of Jerusalem would form a natural channel of communication; and he is inclined to see indications that the Apostle's express purpose was 'to correct, or rather to complete, the doctrine of the philosopher.' It does not appear whether Dr. Ball has weighed the arguments by which the late Bishop of Durham was led to the conclusion that it was the *Memra* of the Targumists, or rather of the oral tradition which they inherited from an earlier age, which was the basis of the Apostle's language, and that 'the teaching of St. John is characteristically Hebraic and not Alexandrian,' while 'it is not intelligible as an application or a continuation of the teaching of Philo' (Westcott, *St. John*, pp. xvi–xviii). But we cannot think that those arguments have been overthrown. It is by no means improbable that Philo's doctrine on the Logos had found its way to Palestine and Ephesus at the time when the Fourth Gospel was written, and it is conceivable that St. John's phraseology may have been partly determined by the fact that 'in both Jewish and Gentile circles the term was familiar';[2] but a more direct dependence on Alexandrian doctrine we should not be inclined to admit. The theory that the author of the Book of Wisdom is rather later than and indebted to Philo (p. 104) also requires stronger support than is here given to it.

[1] See Hicks, 'St. Paul and Hellenism,' in *Studia Biblica*, iv. 8.

[2] Article 'Logos,' in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible.*

Digitized by Google

In the concluding chapters on New Testament quotations from deutero-canonical and uncanonical Scripture Dr. Ball rightly emphasizes the importance of these apocryphal writings, the true value of which for New Testament exegesis has only in recent years begun to be understood. The story of the recovery of the Book of Enoch is retold, and the New Testament parallels enumerated. On p. 176 the suggestion that the New Testament doctrine of election may be 'founded on hints contained in Isaiah, expanded and amplified in the pages of Enoch,' might have been illustrated by a reference to the opening verses of the Epistle to the Ephesians, where the description of the elect as chosen 'before the foundation of the world,' 'according to the good pleasure' of God, and the mention of 'the lot' or 'inheritance' which is reserved for them, find close parallels in the section of Enoch known as the Similitudes. The case for the use of the Book of Wisdom in the New Testament, particularly in the central group of St. Paul's Epistles, is much stronger than as here stated.[1] The date assigned to 2 Esdras (p. 157), 'some thirty or forty years before the Christian era,' is too early; most critics are now agreed that the book falls somewhere between 70 and 100 A.D. A reference might perhaps have been expected (p. 188) to the fragments of a Coptic Apocalypse of Elias recently edited by Steindorff, and (p. 205) to the fragment of the 'Penitence of Jannes and Jambres' which Dr. James brought to light in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for July 1901. On p. 177 the striking parallel from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Reuben 5) to 1 Cor. xi. 10, 'because of the angels,' should certainly have been quoted.

In several passages an exact reference would have been useful, *e.g.* on pp. 107 and 109 (Philo), p. 142 (Aristotle's *Politics*), p. 186 ('a later writer'). On p. 129 the site of the Jewish temple in Egypt is given as 'Onion near Memphis.' Is not this name due to a misunderstanding of Josephus? The district was loosely called after the founder of the temple 'the region of Onias' (*τὴν Ὀνίου χώραν λεγομένην, Jos. Ant.* xiv. 8, 1), but the actual name of the locality was Leontopolis.

While fully appreciating the originality and suggestiveness of much that is contained in these essays of Dr. Ball, we think that their usefulness would have been considerably increased if a somewhat larger space had been devoted to the several topics discussed, and more account had been taken of some recent criticism.

[1] See especially Grafe's monograph ('Das Verhältnis des paul. Schriften zum Sap. Sal.') in the volume of Essays dedicated to Weizsäcker.

Digitized by Google

Anglo-Jewish Calendar. By MATTHEW POWER. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* (London : S. J. Sands, 1902.)

THIS little volume is intended to serve as an introduction to a larger work on *The Chief Dates in the Life of Christ.* It is an attempt to reconstitute the Jewish Calendar for the years of our Lord's ministry. This is effected, first, by an unquestioning adherence to Wurm's calculations of the date of the new moon of Nisan for all the years which might claim to figure as that of the crucifixion ; and, secondly, by a curious application of the calendar rule *Badhu*, which, Father Power would have us believe, was already in existence in the first century, but kept as a profound secret ; this rule was, he thinks, invoked so as to prevent the Passover from falling on a Friday, but not otherwise. The Synoptists, according to his theory, accept the astronomical 15th of Nisan as the true date of the Passover, while John adopts the popular usage as governed by *Badhu.* 31 A.D. is the only possible year in which *Badhu* would operate, and therefore, according to Father Power, 31 must be the true date of the crucifixion. The argument is interesting, but the assumptions made are so arbitrary that we cannot attach any weight to the conclusions.

Gesù Cristo nella Letteratura Contemporanea Straniera e Italiana. By BALDASSARE LABANCA. (Torino, Bocca, 1903.)

THE Professor of Christian History in the University of Rome passes in brief review an immense number of works on the Life of our Lord, beginning with the philosophical Strauss, who has had far less influence in Italy than the sentimental stylist Renan. These books are some of them written in Italian, some translated into that language, and some only accessible in foreign tongues. So far as we can judge, with a knowledge of the literature far less extensive than the author's, his summaries are accurate ; but we are not prepossessed in favour of his carefulness when we read (p. vii) that tradition ascribes the Gospels to 'the four apostles' ; or when Archbishop Trench is quoted (p. 152) as 'Il Chenevin' ; or when Mr. Ottley becomes 'Ottey' on p. 156, and 'Dickersteth' on p. 158 ; or when St. Bonaventure, who died in 1274, comments on the *De Imitatione*, which was written in the fifteenth century (p. 71). We have no right to complain that the list of English books is very meagre ; yet we are surprised to find no reference to Liddon, Geikie, Sanday, Gore, or Martineau.

The author concludes that a scientific Life of Jesus is impossible ; partly because the materials are disputed, partly because they involve the supernatural, which science cannot recognize, or, if the supernatural be excluded, the residuum is meagre and incoherent

Digitized by Google

(p. 368). But all science has to deal with disputed data; and if science cannot make a satisfactory biography without the supernatural it should rise to the noble task of constructing a biography which includes it. There is in fact a good deal of vague talk in the book about 'scientific criticism.' That criticism is not scientific which starts with the *a priori* assumption that miracles are contrary to nature and therefore incredible. It is the function of science to ascertain whether an event did occur, not to assume that it could not occur; and the truly scientific mind will not expect to find precisely the same sort of evidence in the case of an historical event and in the case of facts which can be reproduced at will in the laboratory. Too often Signor Labanca applies the term 'critic' too exclusively to those who reject the traditional Christology. A judge does not falsify his office when, after due examination, he acquits the prisoner—else Jeffreys is the true type of a judge. Surely Renan is not a more scientific critic than Lightfoot.

The writer sums up his purpose in these words: 'I have no desire to deny the Christian religion when I deny the substantial Divinity of Christ' (393). He concedes to our Lord what he calls a 'moral divinity,' that is to say, a pre-eminence over other men in holiness; and more than this he cannot see in the Synoptic Gospels, or in St. Paul, or anywhere before the year 70—a period about which he seems to have unique information. But surely it would have been idolatrous devotion if St. Paul had said of a merely human teacher, 'To me to live is Christ'; nor could a modest saint have spoken, as St. Mark tells us Jesus spoke, of the supreme honour of a place at his right hand. Imagine St. Francis using such language! The old dilemma recurs, perhaps in a new form—'Christus si non Deus non bonus.' We cannot think it conducive to accuracy to apply the same term 'Christian' to the old religion which believes in a Divine mediator sent by God and to the new religion which only confesses a saintly seeker after God.

Signor Labanca has written *multa* rather than *multum*. Yet we think his book will do more good than harm. Its superficial criticism will hardly shake the faith of those who believe in the Incarnate Son of God; and the writer's very real reverence for the Saint of Nazareth may appeal to some who have thought Christianity impossible and contemptible. And those who know the country are disposed to welcome anything which, even in the way of denial, may attract attention to the name and the claims of Jesus Christ.

Digitized by Google

Periodicals.

The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. IV. No. 16. July 1903. Macmillan and Co.). 'Robert Campbell Moberly,' by W. Sanday. 'The King of Tyre in Ezekiel xxviii.,' by A. A. Bevan. 'Palæography and its Uses,' by A. Souter. 'The Greek Monasteries in South Italy (II.),' by K. Lake. 'The Purpose of the Transfiguration,' by R. Holmes. 'The Lucan Account of the Institution of the Lord's Supper,' by H. E. D. Blakiston. The writer contends that either the Lucan narrative and that of St. Paul and the Synoptists are independent traditions of different stages of the same scene, or priority must be assigned to the former. 'On the Early Texts of the Roman Canon,' by E. Bishop. 'The Greek Translators of the Prophetical Books (III.),' by H. St. J. Thackeray. 'Notes on the Succession of the Bishops of St. Andrews (I.),' by Bishop Dowden. 'The Punctuation of St. John i. 3–4 in the Peshitto,' by G. H. Gwilliam. 'A Possible View of Rom. x. 13–21,' by W. Spicer Wood. Reviews: 'Das Buch Henoch' (Flemming and Radermacher), by R. H. Charles. 'Bible Studies' (Deissmann), by Ll. J. M. Bebb. 'The Age of the Fathers' (W. Bright), by J. F. Bethune-Baker. 'Orientalia,' by A. E. Cowley.

The Expositor (Nos. XLIV.–XLV. August–September 1903. Hodder and Stoughton). 'The Atonement and the Modern Mind (I., II.),' by J. Denney. 'The Life of Christ according to St. Mark,' by W. H. Bennett. 'The Teaching of Christ in the Gospel of St. Luke,' by H. B. Swete. 'Did Alexandria influence the Nautical Language of St. Luke? A Study of Acts xxviii. 12 in the Light of Greek Papyri,' by E. J. Goodspeed. A very interesting study of the meaning of the names of the winds. 'The Value-Judgments of Religion (I., II.),' by A. E. Garvie. 'Recent Foreign Literature on the New Testament,' by J. Moffatt. September: 'God as Spirit,' by J. H. Bernard. 'James Martineau and Frederic Robertson: a Study of Influence,' by J. Hoatson. 'Note on St. John vii. 52: *A* Prophet or *The* Prophet,' by A. Carr. Argues for the latter rendering and a reference to Deut. xviii. 15–19. 'Missionary Methods in the Times of the Apostles (III.),' by Th. Zahn.

The Critical Review (Vol. XIII. No. 4. July 1903. Williams and Norgate). 'The Title *Catholic* and the Roman Church,' by M. A. R. Tuker. A polemic against the assumption of the title by Anglicans. 'Recent Theological Controversy in the Norwegian Church,' by J. Beveridge. The conflict between the old Lutheranism and the 'New Preaching.' 'Mallock's *Religion as a Credible Doctrine*,' by H. Hayman. Mallock's argument is vitiated by a neglect to take into account 'the one absolute and primary certainty—the mind's own consciousness.' 'Lidgett's *The Fatherhood of God in Christian Truth and Life*,' by H. R. Mackintosh. 'Adamson's *Development of Modern Philosophy*,' by J. Iverach.

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. I. No. 4. July 1903. Williams and Norgate). 'The Character of Jesus Christ,' by F. G. Peabody. The writer urges the superiority of the 'æsthetic' to the 'ascetic' view. The dominant note is Strength, marked firstly in prodigality of sympathy, and secondly by solitude of soul. 'Are Indian Missions a Failure?' by W. Miller. A reply to Dr. Oldfield's recent article by the Principal of Madras Christian College. Success is not to be measured by mere numbers: the higher classes are not so absolutely untouched, nor are the divisions among Protestant sects so great an obstacle as is contended. The native churches are becoming increasingly self-sustaining and self-propagating. 'The Philosophy of Authority in Religion,' by Wilfrid Ward.

Digitized by Google

'In the case of the more thoughtful and gifted, an ever-living and active reason, accepting the claims of Authority, appears to be the philosophical instrument best adapted to an adequate and discriminating appreciation of religious truth. . . . The mass of the unthinking must trust simply to Authority.' The writer scarcely faces the problem how 'the machinery of the recognized theology' is to be 'kept in due repair' in cases where its official exponents are averse to progress. 'Do we believe in the Reformation?' by W. F. Cobb. Deplores the intense conservatism of the Church of England, the modern abuse of the 'grand old title of Protestant,' and the Lambeth Opinions in which 'the Judge was but a legal person, shorn of all spiritual character.' Any person who appeals to Authority (whether in the shape of the Longer or Shorter Catechism, the Westminster Confession, the Articles, Wesley's Sermons, or even the Bible) is *therefore* a sacerdotalist! 'The Liberal Catholic Movement in England,' by P. Sidney. The Liberal Catholics are apparently ready to surrender the Temporal Power, dislike the religious orders, wish to conciliate Anglican Ritualists, and hold that the invitation to re-union must come from Rome. They regret the Vatican decisions of 1869–1870, and the dogma of Papal Infallibility. No information is given as to the *personnel* of the 'Liberal Catholics' who are willing to make these concessions. 'The Growing Reluctance of Able Men to take Holy Orders,' by P. S. Burrell. The cause lies not in pecuniary considerations or the greater choice of professions in modern times, but partly in recent Church controversies, and largely in the general unsettlement in matters of belief. No system of liberal interpretation of existing formulas can be successful. 'Physical Law and Life,' by Professor J. H. Poynting. 'In mind there is territory which the physicist can never annex.' 'Pressing Needs of the Old Testament Study,' by T. K. Cheyne. A plea for a sounder (?) and more searching criticism of the Hebrew text, which *inter alia* will justify the Jerahmeelite theory. 'Zoroastrianism and Primitive Christianity,' by J. Moffatt. 'The Purpose of Eusebius,' by W. R. Cassels. A reply by the author of *Supernatural Religion* to Professor Jannaris on Eus. *H. E.* iii. 3. 3. 'Jewish Scholarship and Christian Silence: a Rejoinder,' by A. Menzies. In reply to Mr. C. G. Montefiore. Professor W. B. Smith and Mr. A. F. R. Hœrnle continue the discussion on the Pauline authorship of Romans, and Mr. G. F. Deas that on Dr. Oldfield's article on Indian Missions.

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. VII. No. 3. July 1903. Chicago). 'Catholic—the Name and the Thing,' by C. A. Briggs. An historical inquiry into the use of the term. 'Nothing has so much injured the Church of England in the past as her arrogant exclusiveness as a National Church.' 'Decadence of Learning in Gaul in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries, as viewed especially in the Lives of the Saints,' by A. H. Wilde. 'The Pauline MSS. F. (Augiensis) and G. (Boernerianus),' by W. B. Smith. The first part of a detailed discussion of their relationship. Recent Theological Literature: 'Carleton, *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible*,' by J. H. Gardiner. A very interesting discussion. 'The *Confessions* of St. Augustine: recent editions,' by B. B. Warfield. 'Henson, *Cross-Bench Views*,' by J. G. Greenhough. Canon Hensley Henson has 'to a large extent succeeded to the position and influence of Dean Stanley.' 'Hore, *Student's History of the Greek Church*,' by F. C. Conybeare. Mr. G. T. Ladd writes on Christian Apologetics and Mr. F. S. Arnold on Recent Books on Early Christian Literature.

The Princeton Theological Review (Vol. I. No. 3. July 1903. Philadelphia: MacCalla and Co.). 'James McCosh as Thinker and Educator,' by

Digitized by Google

A. T. Ormond. 'The Question of the Authorship of the Books of Scripture: a Criticism of Current Views,' by W. M. McPheeters. A somewhat confused criticism of the 'mental confusion' of the Higher Critics as represented by Dr. R. Payne Smith (regarded as still Dean of Canterbury), Mr. J. J. Lias, Professor A. F. Kirkpatrick, and Professor C. A. Briggs. Upon the writer's principles no criticism of any kind would be possible. 'Missionary Policy in the Levant,' by J. F. Briggs. 'Evolution and Theology of To-Day,' by W. H. Johnson. Holds that the two affect each other very little either by raising or solving difficulties. 'Revelation or Discovery,' by A. C. Zenos. 'If religion be a discovery the object of it can never be higher than the Buddhist's Way of Peace or the inexorable law of righteousness.' 'The Laws peculiar to Deuteronomy,' by G. C. Cameron. Discusses their supposed connexion with Josiah's Reformation, and attributes to them a much greater antiquity. 'Sanctifying the Pelagians,' by B. B. Warfield. A disquisition on *Saint* Julian of Eclana. Reviews: 'James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*,' by H. C. Minton. 'Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*,' by D. S. Schaff. 'Cooper and Maclean's translation of the Syriac *Testament of Our Lord*,' by H. A. Nye.

The Dublin Review (Vol. CXXXIII. No. 266. July 1903. Burns and Oates). 'Subscription to the XXXIX. Articles,' by Dom J. Chapman. The Prayer Book is 'a superannuated abortion, sprung from an unblessed union between the conservatism of the Tudor autocracy and the spirit of revolt imported from Germany. As for the Articles, nobody pretends to admire or respect them, not even their defenders and advocates.' The tone of the article is unworthy of the writer's reputation as a student. 'Modern Spiritualism: its History and Physical Phenomena,' by T. Croskell. 'The Philosophy of Church History,' by W. H. Kent. Lays stress on the advantages of division of labour in writing a General History, and calls attention to Paul Allard's *Julien l'Apostat*. 'Subjectivism and Solipsism,' by G. Cator. Criticizes the attempts of Subjectivists to escape from Solipsism, and accuses Theistic writers who are Idealists of a disposition to shirk the problem, and Idealists generally of confusing mind as a presupposition to the intelligibility of the universe with mind as a cause of it. The writer sums up his own attitude in the dilemma: 'Either the existence of God is inferable or the existence of other human minds is uninferable.' 'The Agnosticism of Faith,' by F. Aveling. A review of Professor Flint's *Agnosticism*. 'Father de Hummelauer and the Hexateuch,' by Dom Howlett. 'The *Tao*-ist Religion,' by E. H. Parker. A useful summary of previous work on the prophet-philosopher Lao-tsz and the influence of *Tao*-ism in China.

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XV. No. 60. July 1903. Macmillan and Co.). 'Ea; Yahveh: Dyaus; ΖΕΥΣ; Jupiter,' by A. H. Keane. Maintains the connexion in common Aryan origin of the three latter names and their absolute distinction from the two former. The writer holds that 'Jahveh is to be identified in every way with the Babylonian primæval god Ea.' 'Is there a Jewish Literature?' by S. Levy. A plea for the use of the title Hebrew on the analogy of '*Roman* History but *Latin* Literature.' 'The Wisdom of Ben Sira (II.),' by C. Taylor. 'Primitive Exegesis as a Factor in the Corruption of Texts of Scripture illustrated from the Versions of Ben Sira,' by J. H. A. Hart. 'An Early Copy of the Samaritan-Hebrew Pentateuch,' by G. Margoliouth. A description of a newly acquired British Museum MS. of the Fourteenth Century. 'The Lost Tribes, and the Influence of the Search for them on the Return of the Jews to England,' by A. M. Hyamson. An historical account of

Digitized by Google

English theories in the Seventeenth Century. 'The Arabic Portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge,' by H. Hirschfeld. Gives four fac-similes. 'Hapax Legomena im Alten Testament,' by A. S. Yahuda. 'Professor Blau on the Bible as a Book,' by E. N. Adler. A very interesting discussion of the material, format, &c., of MSS. of the O.T. Books.

The Expository Times (Vol. XIV. No. 11. August 1903. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark). 'In Memoriam: Robert Campbell Moberly,' by W. Sanday. 'The Religious Value of Faith,' by J. M. Hodgson. 'Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel*,' by J. Taylor. 'Modern Preaching,' by H. R. Mackintosh. 'The Sacraments of the New Testament,' by R. Rainy. 'Why Jesus did not Answer,' by J. Reid. A discussion of Matt. xxi. 27. Because, not having used the light they had, the chief priests and elders were incapable of receiving more. 'The Testimony of the Tomb,' by Bishop Ellicott. An Easter sermon. 'Denney, *The Death of Christ*,' by J. Dunlop. 'Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts,' by W. Cruickshank. 'Contributions and Comments.'

The Edinburgh Review (No. 405. July 1903. Longmans, Green, and Co.). 'Recent Theories of Development in Theology.' Reviews, amongst other works, Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums*, Loisy's *L'Évangile et l'Église*, and Montefiore's *Liberal Judaism*. The treatment of M. Loisy by the authorities is 'a folly going beyond a crime,' but he has attempted to defend a position defensible only at the expense both of critical and evangelical truth, and in his strictures upon Professor Harnack is quite wrong. The writer sympathises with Mr. Montefiore's contention that a revolt from Legalism should not necessarily involve secession from Judaism—an argument which is capable of an extended application. 'The Social Revolution in Ireland.' Views Mr. Wyndham's Bill with favour as a step—though not the final one—towards a solution of the 'Irish problem,' but thinks it likely permanently to alienate the descendants of the old proprietors from the country.

The Quarterly Review (No. 395. July 1903. John Murray). 'The Sagas and Songs of the Gael.' 'The History of Mankind.' A dissertation on World-Histories. 'Asia in Transformation,' by A. R. Colquhoun. Deals with the extension of Russian influence. 'The Survival of Personality,' by Sir Oliver Lodge. An appreciation of Myers's *Human Personality* and Podmore's *Modern Spiritualism* as examples of scientific method. The article contains very little that is new. 'Religion and the Poor,' by H. Hensley Henson. Based on Mr. Charles Booth's recent work. The writer finds ground for hope in the reflection that so much effort cannot wholly be wasted, agrees with Mr. Booth as to the loss entailed by defective organisation of relief, and thinks that a reformation of the conditions of existence must precede the offer of a spiritual message to the brutalized masses. 'Pope Leo XIII.' Discusses the character of the late Pope as a statesman rather than as a theologian or a priest. 'His policy has been rather that of the opportunist, at once bold and clever, than that of the far-seeing statesman.'

The English Historical Review (Vol. XVIII. No. 71. July 1903. Longmans, Green, and Co.). 'Gian Matteo Giberti (III.),' by M. A. Tucker. 'Provincial Constitutions of the Minorite Order: Constitutions and Capitular Decrees of the Province of St. Anthony (Venice), 1290–1296,' by A. G. Little. Printed from the Bodleian MS. Canonici Misc. 75. 'The Name of Santa Maura,' by W. Miller. 'Linacre and Latimer in Italy,' by P. S. Allen. Prof. F. W. Maitland continues his 'Elizabethan Gleanings,' and deals with Supremacy and Uniformity.

Digitized by Google

Reviews: 'Newman, *Politics of Aristotle*,' by R. D. Hicks; 'Zimmer, *Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*,' by J. B. Bury; 'Krusch, *Passiones Vitaque Sanctorum Ævi Merovingici*,' by M. Bateson; 'H. A. Wilson, *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*,' by H. M. B.

The Economic Review (Vol. XIII. No. 3. July 1903. Rivingtons). 'The Feeble-minded,' by M. Dendy. Proposes remedies for the large number of irresponsible paupers and criminals. 'State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand,' by Sidney Ball. 'Methods of Charity,' by C. Baumgarten. A plea for a more systematic and scientific treatment of the problem.

The Classical Review (Vol. XVII. No. 6. July 1903. David Nutt). 'Bevan, *House of Seleucus*,' by F. T. Richards. 'Recent Excavations in Rome,' by T. Ashby, junr. 'Maass, *Griechen und Semiten*,' by G. F. Hill. Deals with the question of Phœnician influence upon the cults of Corinth.

The Contemporary Review (No. 452–3. August–September 1903. Horace Marshall and Son). 'Pope Leo XIII.,' by E. Elbano. A very interesting but rather unfavourable study. 'Leo XIII. played with the surface of things, and the results he obtained were superficial.' The writer perpetuates the fable of the Camerlengo's silver hammer. 'The Liberal Movement in the Church of England,' by J. Verschoyle. A defence of Dean Fremantle's lecture on *Natural Christianity*, with (apparently for the first time) the full text of the much assailed passage dealing with the Virgin Birth. 'The Conclave,' by E. J. Dillon. Describes the ceremonial of a Papal Election, and holds that the *ius exclusivæ* will never again be exercised! Quotes (as applied to Cardinal Gotti) a prophecy of Verdino: 'Upon the throne of St. Peter a gleaming star will shine, chosen contrary to all human prevision, after a terrible electoral struggle.' September: 'Recollections of M. Thiers,' by E. Crawford. 'The French Peasant before and after the Revolution (I.),' by M. Duclaux. 'Pius X. and the Conclave,' by E. Elbano. The writer thinks that 'it would be difficult to write the history of the late Conclave without largely encroaching upon the domain of the satirist.' 'The new Pope is an estimable bishop, whose intellectual equipment is by no means on a par with his high moral qualities.' 'The Indian Missionary,' by Professor E. Armitage. A very able examination of both the truth and the misapprehension underlying Dr. Oldfield's recent criticisms. Cites Sir William Hunter's testimony to the work and personal influence of the missionaries.

The Catholic World (Vol. LXXVII. Nos. 461–2. August–September 1903. New York). The contents are 'popular' rather than 'learned' in character. Amongst others may be noticed: 'Prayers, Old and New,' by L. Johnston. 'Louis Veuillot,' by E. Myers. 'Eastern Churches in Communion with Rome (illustrated),' by L. O'Rourke. September: 'Pius X.: From Venice to the Vatican,' by A. Diarista. 'The Final Word on Socialism,' by W. J. Madden. The remedy is in the hands of the rich. 'Ecclesiastical Sculpture in America,' by S. Hartmann. 'St. Francis of Assisi, Poet and Lover of Nature,' by F. D. New. 'A Narrative of Missions on the Congo (illustrated),' by J. B. Tugman.

The East and the West (Vol. I. No. 3. July 1903. S.P.G.). 'The Exiles: a Poem,' by the Bishop of Derry. 'The Function of the Layman in Foreign Missionary Work,' by A. C. Madan. An appeal for lay assistance in teaching trades and work of all kinds in Central Africa and elsewhere. 'The Attitude of Educated Hindus towards Christianity,' by T. E. Slater. The attitude gives reason for hope, though the progress is slow. A state of religious unsettlement at present prevails in India. The writer notices that the *Imitation*

Digitized by Google

of Christ is a favourite book in India, because of its teaching of self-renunciation. 'The Missionary Attitude towards Negro Labour in Africa,' by Sir Harry Johnston. Emphasizes the danger of discouraging the Negro, if willing, from seeking work in S. Africa: 'otherwise either the African will sink into the condition of the uninquiring peasant, or else Islam, by the spirit of independence and enterprise that it fosters, will sweep the Christian Missions off the field.' 'The Native Labour Problem in S. Africa,' by G. F. Bird. Advocates the encouragement and adequate payment of Kaffir labour. 'The Final Struggle of the World-wide War: a Review and a Forecast,' by R. M. Benson. 'The Place of Ali in Eastern Religious Thought,' by E. Sell. 'The Chinese Character and Missionary Methods,' by R. Allen. The conservatism, love of 'propriety,' and corporate feeling of the Chinese must be carefully studied. 'Dr. Oldfield on the Failure of Christian Missions in India,' by J. Kennedy, I.C.S. Considers that the criticisms deserve attention as representing to some extent the opinions of a certain class in India; but that where Dr. Oldfield speaks for himself he merely betrays his ignorance, which the writer endeavours to expose. 'Some Ancient Objections to Foreign Missions,' by the Editor.

Revue Biblique Internationale (Vol. XII. No. 3. July 1903. Paris: Lecoffre). V. Rose: 'Études sur la Théologie de St. Paul; II. Jésus-Christ, Seigneur et Fils de Dieu.' M. J. Lagrange: 'El et Jahvé.' P. N. Schloegl: 'Le chapitre V du Livre des Juges.' A learned study of the Hebrew and LXX text of the Song of Deborah. E. Duval: 'Le texte grec de Jérémie, d'après une étude récente.' A review of G. C. Workman's *The Text of Jeremiah*. M. J. Lagrange: 'Nouvelle note sur les inscriptions du temple d'Echmoun.' S. Ronzevalle: 'Quelques monuments de Gebeil-Byblos et de ses environs.' A. Condamin: 'Transpositions accidentelles; Jér. xlvi. 3–12.' M. van Berchem: 'Épigraphie Palestinienne; Inscription arabe de Bâniâs.' M. Abel: 'Inscriptions grecques de Bersabée.' M. R. Savignac: 'Un tombeau romain à Beit-Nettif; Une église byzantine à Yadoudeh; Fouilles anglaises.' The Reviews include Harnack's *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* and F. Nau's *La Didascalie des douze Apôtres traduite du syriaque pour la première fois*, by P. Batiffol; Hoennicke's *Die Chronologie des Lebens des Apostels Paulus*, by S. Perret; and some important discussions by H. Vincent and M. J. Lagrange of works dealing with the topography of Palestine and of Jerusalem.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (Vol. IV. No. 3. July 1903. Louvain). G. Rasneur: 'L'Homoïousianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie (II.).' J. Flach: 'La royauté et l'Église en France, du IX^e^ au XI^e^ siècle.' A. Cauchie: 'Le Gallicanisme en Sorbonne d'après la correspondance de Bargellini, nonce de France (1668–1671) (III).' G. Rasneur: 'Coppieters, *De historia textus Actorum Apostolorum*.' C. Callewaert: 'Vindex, *Difesa dei primi cristiani e martiri di Roma accusati di avere incendiata la città*.' J. Flamion: 'Lübeck, *Reichseinteilung und kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients bis zum Ausgange des vierten Jahrhunderts*.' G. Rasneur: 'Allard, *Julien l'Apostat*.' A. Commissaris: 'Achelis, *Die Martyrologien, ihre Geschichte und ihr Wert*.' The number contains also a lengthy Chronicle and an elaborate Bibliography for the year.

Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique (Nos. 7–8. July–October 1903. Paris: Lecoffre). L. de Lacger: 'Science Sociale, sommaire d'un cours.' P. B[atiffol]: 'La légende de sainte Thais.' A. C.: 'Notes de littérature sémitique.' Dufour: 'L'inspiration de la sainte Écriture depuis e concile du Vatican.'

Digitized by Google

Notes of a thesis for the Doctorat, more remarkable for their gross injustice to M. Loisy than for their originality.

Teologisk Tidsskrift (Vol. IV. No. 5. 1903. Kjöbenhavn). F. Torm: 'C. E. Scharling.' E. Geismar: 'Martin Kählers Grundtanker.' J. O. Andersen: 'Danmarks Kirkeliv i 1901–2.' N. P. A. Rasmussen and F. Torm: 'Læsemaaden, Matt. i. 16.' K. Heiberg, 'Kirkehistorisk Literatur.'

Studi Religiosi (Anno III. Fasc. IV–V. July–October 1903. Firenze). In morte di Leone XIII. U. Fracassini: 'Il Regno dei cieli e il Figliolo di Dio; I. La questione di metodo; II. La natura del Regno dei cieli.' G. Bonaccorsi: 'L'Essenza del Cristianesimo secondo il Professor Harnack; III. Cristologia, Domma e Vangelo.' G. Semeria: 'Storia di un conflitto tra la scienza e la fede; III. Galileo Galilei. I Problemi.' M. F.: 'Nuovi studi biblici del P. Lagrange.'

Analecta Bollandiana (Vol. XXII. No. 3. July 1903. Brussels). H. Thurston: 'Visio monachi de Eynsham (III.).' H. Delehaye: 'La Passion de S. Théodote d'Ancyre.' Bulletin des publications hagiographiques. U. Chevalier: 'Supplementum ad Repertorium Hymnologicum (*Saluete, natæ regiæ —Soli Deo*).' Index generalis in tomos I–XX, Pars I.

The Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement (July 1903). 'The Excavation of Gezer,' by R. A. S. Macalister. 'Mount Hermon and its God in an inedited Greek Inscription,' by Professor Clermont-Ganneau. 'Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre,' by Sir C. W. Wilson. 'The Site of the Church of St. Mary at Jerusalem, built by the Emperor Justinian,' by C. M. Watson. 'The traditional "Harbour of Solomon," and the Crusading Castle at Jaffa,' by J. E. Hanauer. 'Notes on some Ruins and a Rock-cut Aqueduct in the Wâdy Ḳumrân,' by E. W. G. Masterman. ''Ain-el-Ḳuṣ'ah,' by R. A. S. Macalister. 'Greek and Latin Inscriptions,' by J. E. Hanauer and R. D. Hicks. Some recently discovered early Christian and Pagan epitaphs. The number is copiously illustrated.

Books received, Pamphlets, Reprints, etc.

From the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The Ninety-ninth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society. 1*s.*

From Thomas Burleigh.

Light and Shade. By Arthur H. Holmes. 2*s.* 6*d.* Short Stories reprinted from *The Outlook*, &c.

From Chapman and Hall.

The Art Workers' Quarterly. July 1903. 2*s.* 6*d.*

From the Christian Press Association Publishing Co., New York.

The Symbol of the Apostles: a Vindication of the Apostolic Authorship of the Creed on the Lines of Catholic Tradition. By A. MacDonald, D.D.

From Hepworth and Co., Tunbridge Wells.

Our Relations with Aboriginal Peoples, with Special Reference to Queensland. By H. A. R. Joy, M.A. 3*d.*

From the Hygienic Publishing Agency.

The Witness of Science to the Method of Christ's Kingdom. By John Coutts. A bewildering attempt to express the Kingdom of God as a system of numbers.

Digitized by Google

From Burns and Oates.

The Spiritual Conflict and Conquest. By Dom J. CASTANIZA, O.S.B. Edited with preface and notes by the Very Rev. JEROME VAUGHAN, O.S.B. 5*s.*

Towards Eternity. By Abbé POULIN. Translated by M. T. TORROMÉ. 5*s.*

The Blessed Virgin in the Nineteenth Century: Apparitions, Revelations, Graces. By BERNARD ST. JOHN. 6*s.*

From James Clarke and Co.

The New Testament in Modern Speech. By (the late) R. F. WEYMOUTH, D.Lit. Edited by E. HAMPDEN-COOK, M.A.

From T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.

The Expository Times. Vol. XIV. (Oct. 1902–Sept. 1903). 7*s.* 6*d.* The principal articles have been already noticed.

From Hodder and Stoughton.

Ulrich Zwingli. A life of the Swiss patriot and reformer. By SAMUEL SIMPSON. 5*s.*

From James Parker and Co.

Dr. Clifford on Education. By I. GREGORY SMITH, M.A., Hon.LL.D. 6*d.*

From Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.

Old Testament Critics. By T. WHITELAW, D.D. 7*s.* 6*d.* A detailed examination of the character and results of their teaching from a hostile standpoint.

From Macmillan and Co.

Christian Social Union Addresses. By the late BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., Lord Bishop of DURHAM. 1*s.*

Problems of Religion and Science. By the Ven. JAMES M. WILSON, D.D. 6*d.*

Poetry of Thomas Moore. Selected and arranged by C. LITTON FALKINER. 2*s.* 6*d.* Golden Treasury Series.

To Those Who Suffer. 1*s.* A series of extracts from letters of advice and consolation.

From Methuen and Co.

Studies in Saintship. Translated from the French of Ernest Hello. With an introduction by VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Preces Privatæ of Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester. Translated, with an introduction and notes, by F. E. BRIGHTMAN, M.A. 6*s.*

The Grave: a Poem. By ROBERT BLAIR. Illustrated by twelve etchings, executed by L. SCHIAVONETTI, from the original inventions of WILLIAM BLAKE. 3*s.* 6*d.*

From Alexander Moring, De La More Press.

The Mirrour of Vertue in Worldly Greatnes or the Life of Sir Thomas More, Knight. By WILLIAM ROPER. 1*s.* 6*d.*

The Special Bases of the Anglican Claim. By GEORGE F. HOLDEN, M.A.

Digitized by Google

From A. R. Mowbray and Co.

The Layman's Book of Prayers. By GERARD SAMPSON. 9*d.*

The Layman's Bible: Epistles of S. Peter. By GERARD SAMPSON. 1*s.*

Devotional Instructions on the Eucharistic Office. By G. R. PRYNNE, M.A. 1*s.*

Thoughts on Holy Communion. By ETHEL ROMANES. 6*d.*

Bands of Love. Drawn up and arranged by H. M. KYLE. 2*s.*

Memories of a Sister of S. Saviour's Priory. With a preface by Father STANTON. 3*s.* 6*d.*

A Guide to the King's Highway. 7*d.*

The Diocesan Mission: its Place in the Church. By GEORGE DEVEREUX DAVENPORT, M.A. 4*d.*

Positive Christianity: an Answer to Christian Science. By E. F. H. FRERE. 1*s.*

Record of a Year's Reading. Arranged by LUCY H. M. SOULSBY. 6*d.*

Week by Week: a MS. Book of Private Prayer. Arranged by L. H. M. SOULSBY. 6*d.*

From Eveleigh Nash.

The Failure of the Churches. By A CHURCHMAN. The failure, according to 'A Churchman,' is due to three dogmas—that the Scriptures are the Word of God, the doctrine of the Trinity, the doctrine of substitution!

From the National Association for the Prevention of Consumption.

Tuberculosis. Vol. II. No. 7. July 1903. 6*d.*

From the Church Building Society.

The Church Builder. A Quarterly Record. 3*d.*

From the Oxford University Press.

First Days and Early Letters of the Church. By T. H. STOKOE, D.D. 3*s.* This is the third volume of a series of Manuals of the New Testament, and gives an annotated summary of the first part of Acts, Hebrews, and the Catholic Epistles, with an Appendix on the Book of Revelation.

From Rivingtons.

Russian Orthodox Missions. By EUGENE SMIRNOFF. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Handbook to the Book of Common Prayer. By Prebendary REYNOLDS. 4*s.* 6*d.*

From Simpkin, Marshall and Co.

Anglican Innocents in Spain. By F. E. SIDNEY, F.S.A. Beautifully illustrated.

From Skeffington and Son.

Faith and Sacrament: or the True Key to Holy Living. By ARTHUR LEIGH-LYE, B.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Bible Object Lessons. By H. J. WILMOT-BUXTON, M.A. 5*s.*

Sunday by Sunday: a Year's Sermons preached in a Northern Church. By LIONEL EDMUNDS, Rector of St. Marnan's Church, Aberchirder, N.B. 6*s.*

Digitized by Google

Along the Shadowed Way. Thirty-eight plain-spoken sermons. By the Rev. J. GEORGE GIBSON, F.R.G.S. 5*s.*

The Church's Lessons for the Christian Year. Being 120 new sermons. By ALFRED G. MORTIMER, D.D. Part I. 2*s.* 6*d.*

English History Reader. (For the Upper Standards.) By E. M. WILMOT-BUXTON. 2*s.*

Wonderful Words and Works. By G. W. ALLEN. Sermons on the Parables and Miracles. 5*s.*

Catechisings for Church and Sunday Schools: Third series, *The Life of Our Lord.* By J. H. POTTER, M.A., and A. E. W. SHEARD, M.A. 2*s.*

From the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Our Lord's Virgin Birth and the Criticism of To-day. By R. J. KNOWLING, D.D.

Evolution and the Holy Scriptures. Being addresses delivered by the Ven. JAMES M. WILSON, D.D. 6*d.*

A Representative Church Council. Speeches at a joint meeting of the two Convocations. By the Bishop of SALISBURY and Bishop BARRY. Church Historical Society, Tract LXXV. 3*d.*

Bible Readings (*Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity to Septuagesima*). Arranged by C. C. G. 2*d.*

Notes for One Year's Sunday School Lessons, Series II. By Archdeacon WILSON. 1*s.*

From Elliot Stock.

British Family Names, their Origin and Meaning. By H. BARBER, M.D., F.S.A. Second edition, enlarged.

The Goal of the Universe; or, the Travail of the World's Saviour. By S. W. KOELLE, Ph.D.

From the Via Eastern Code Co.

The Via Eastern Telegraphic Social Code. Missionary Edition. Compiled by R. T. ATKINSON. 5*s.* A very useful work of reference in a small compass.

From Wells Gardner, Darton and Co.

The Cross in Dark Places. By F. CAUDWELL. 2*s.* 6*d.* A series of interesting recollections of work in North and East London, with numerous stories.

The Motherhood of God. By A. SMYTHE PALMER, D.D. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Sun-Children's Budget. 6*d.* A Botanical Quarterly.

Mothers' Union. Handbook and Central Report, 1903. 1*s.*

Digitized by Google

THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº CXIV. *JANUARY* 1904.

ART. I.—THE CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA.

1. *The History of the English Church and People in South Africa.* By A. T. WIRGMAN, B.D. (London: Longmans, 1895.)
2. *The Church and the Civil Power.* By the same author. (London: Bemrose, 1893.)
3. *The East and the West.* No. 1. (London: S.P.G., 1903.)
4. *The Mission Field.* November 1900. S.P.G. (London: Bell and Sons.)
5. *The Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa.* (Capetown, 1899.)

ONE result of the prominence with which South Africa has come before our eyes of recent years ought to be a growing and more intelligent interest in the position and prospects of the Anglican Church in that country. The subject is an interesting one both from the point of view of past history and from that of future development. With regard to the past, we cannot do better than quote the words of Dr. Wirgman:

'Other Colonial Churches of our communion have had their varying struggles, trials, and difficulties, but no other Colonial Church has had to contend for the root principles of Catholic belief and apostolic order under the same difficulties as we have had to encounter. No other Colonial Church has had to bear the brunt of

Digitized by Google

the struggle between Erastian conceptions of the relations between the Church and the Civil Power and the ordered freedom of true spiritual liberty as the South African Church has done. The Colonial Churches won their liberty and gained their freedom from the oppressive fictions and traditions of a State supremacy, which was supposed to import into new and free countries the disabilities and hindrances of the Established Church of England, without any of its corresponding advantages of endowment. But the strain and stress of the conflict whereby this liberty of organization and freedom of action was won fell upon the South African Church alone.'[1]

These words were written nearly ten years ago. How far is the Church in South Africa to-day true to the splendid traditions of her past, and what are the problems with which she is called upon to grapple in the immediate future? In answer to this question, we may suggest four points of general interest to English Church people. First, the missionary work of the South African Church among the native races; secondly, her work of edification among the English-speaking population, and especially the British settlers who are now streaming out in such numbers; thirdly, her relation to other Christian societies; and lastly, her responsibility for the education of the young.

All these are large and momentous questions. Within our limits they can only be touched on in a cursory and desultory manner; but perhaps enough may be said to illustrate the great opportunities and the no less great dangers which confront the Church of the Province of South Africa at the present day, and to secure for her the sympathy and prayers of loyal Anglicans in other parts of the world. We take first the relation of the Church to the native races, because it must never be forgotten that, if the Church of South Africa be true to her responsibilities, missionary work must take its place in the very forefront of her programme. And in this field her opportunities are very great, quite bewilderingly great in fact. One result of the war has been enormously to increase the respect felt by the natives for Great Britain, and to dispose them favourably towards the

[1] *History of the English Church and People in South Africa*, Introduction.

Digitized by Google

Christianity which is presented to them under English auspices. And when we add that even before the war there were clear signs of the special attractions exercised upon them by the Christianity of the Anglican Church, it will be obvious that the openings and the needs for missionary work are very marked. The natives are more than ever looking to English influences, and in particular to the English Church, for education and religion. And it is not hard to understand why the Church has this growing attraction for them. Her hierarchical organization, with a bishop at the head corresponding in some degree to a paramount chief, has something to do with it. Then the native has a good deal of that 'desire for discipline' which we know is the beginning of wisdom. He respects a Church which has a high standard of practical Christianity, and which does not hesitate to excommunicate those who fall short of that standard. And, thirdly, the beauty and orderliness of her liturgical services and her reverent ceremonial appeal strongly to a nature which is both simple and observant, and which has a keen sense for music and pictorial effects.

So far, then, it is clear that political and ecclesiastical influences combine to present the Church with a rare opportunity—an opportunity such as can hardly occur again—for developing and extending her missionary work. But along with this unique opportunity there goes a very serious danger. A smattering of education together with responsible employment, especially during the war, has fostered a sense of strength and importance among the natives such as never existed before. The result is that a widespread racial movement is on foot, aiming at the acquisition of social standing and political rights for the dark races, not on the ground that they are sufficiently civilized to recognize and fulfil the duties involved in such a position, but rather on the ground of superior numbers and aboriginal ownership of the country. It is no wonder that an unreasonable claim like this is met by an equally unreasonable prejudice against any concession, social or political, being made to any person with a dark skin, however fit he may happen to be for the rights and duties of civilized life. In fact, things point to a deadlock in this

Digitized by Google

respect which is of very serious significance for the future. Before going on to deal with the specially religious aspect of these conditions, we will give two quotations to show that the Church is fully aware of the difficulty and is doing her best to point to the true solution. The first is from a letter on the native question by Dr. Gibson, coadjutor Bishop of Capetown, addressed to the Rector of Lydenberg in August 1902, and since printed. After pointing out that there is no exception to the duty of evangelizing all races, the writer continues:

'At the same time we have to point out that the duty of evangelization stands quite apart from social and political considerations. Social equality is determined by education, heredity, environment, and the like; and while the Christian has to enforce the charity and the courtesy which our Lord teaches, he is not to demand or claim a social equality where none exists. Not, of course, that the dividing line is in itself that of colour; but it is marked out by such factors as I have named above. . . . Similarly with politics. The giving of the franchise depends upon such matters as education, intellectual fitness, a stake in the country, and the like. A man, whether white or black, may be an exemplary Christian, and yet wholly unfit for the franchise. The Church no more insists on a universal political equality than she does on a universal social equality. She does, however, claim that colour is to be no bar to rising, and she does teach that, because a man is black, he is not *in virtue of his colour alone* necessarily inferior to one who is white. . . . Our responsibility, of which nothing can divest us, is this: to Christianize the natives; to give them justice, good government, and fair treatment; to help them to such an education as may be most suitable for them, so that they may develop along such lines, and to such a point, as God intends for them.'

In the same month (August 1902) some resolutions were passed at a Conference of the Bishop and Clergy of Mashonaland, which, while agreeing with Bishop Gibson's admirable summary of principles, add one or two practical suggestions:

'(1) We believe that the Christian faith—while accepting loyally the consequences of Christ's identification of Himself with universal humanity—recognizes the inequalities existing in individuals and races, arising from the fact that neither individuals nor races are born with equal faculties or opportunities. . . . (5) We believe that the

Digitized by Google

only way to fit the natives of Africa to fill the place intended for them in the commonwealth is by the disciplinary influence of the Christian Gospel. This Gospel, we believe, involves the training of the native in a sense of responsibility to himself, to his neighbour, and to the State. (6) We believe that moral training and the discipline of work are the immediate means of cultivating this sense of responsibility. (7) We believe that two things which make the native unambitious in his work both for himself and others are (*a*) polygamy, and (*b*) the absence of wants. (8) We believe that as the commonest, though not the highest, incentive to work is the desire to satisfy wants, and as the tendency of civilization is to increase a man's wants and to turn irresponsible nomads into citizens, and kraals into homes, the Church and the State should introduce as soon as possible a universal system of industrial training and education. (9) We believe that polygamy should be in every way discouraged.'

These extracts give good hope for the future. They show that the Church has shaken itself free from that temper of hysterical admiration for 'the noble savage,' as such, which was fatally prevalent in England in the middle of the last century, and which produced incalculable mischief by snubbing and disheartening British settlers, driving the Boer farmers to seek independence in the interior, and finally producing its inevitable result in a series of sanguinary conflicts with the native tribes, which might have been avoided by a little initial firmness and common-sense. Firmness and common-sense, combined with missionary zeal, are the qualities which are, more than any others, needful to-day for dealing with the great racial movement just alluded to.

But that movement presents also special difficulties and perplexities on the ecclesiastical side. In this connexion it appears as 'the Ethiopian Church,' and claims that native Christians shall have their own ministry, discipline, and organization, all independent of the white man's influence or interference. The Ethiopian Church started in a secession from the Wesleyans in 1892, and sought to obtain orders and status by affiliation to the African Methodist Episcopal Church of America. The Rev. J. M. Dwane, who had previously been a native Wesleyan minister, and who joined the Ethiopian Church in 1894, paid two visits to America with this object. Difficulties, however, were made in America, and after a time a section of the

Digitized by Google

Ethiopian Church, under the leadership of Mr. Dwane, applied to the Archbishop of Capetown for admission to the Anglican communion. The application was considered by a synod of the bishops of the province at Grahamstown in August 1900, and a scheme was drawn up of 'an Order to be formed within the Church, and to be called the Order of Ethiopia.' Shortly afterwards Mr. Dwane was confirmed, admitted to communion, and ordained to the diaconate; whilst twelve Ethiopian readers had the great privilege of receiving a course of instruction from Father Puller, S.S.J.E., after which they were admitted into the Church, confirmed, and licensed as readers by various bishops of the province. These men form the nucleus of what is known as the 'Ethiopian Order,' an expression which denotes those members of the old Ethiopian Church who, after instruction by Father Puller or his disciples, have entered the Anglican communion. But the term Ethiopian *Order* means more than this. It means that these people have joined the Church not as individual converts, but in a corporate capacity, forming 'a society within the Church.' Now, it is just here that difficulties may be anticipated in the future, and in fact have arisen to some extent already. No doubt this *corporate* admission to the Church was intended as a complimentary recognition of their moral courage in applying for proper ecclesiastical status, but none the less it was a dangerous gift. The retention of the name *Ethiopian* seems particularly unfortunate, tending as it must to perpetuate their connexion with the old Ethiopian Church, its lamentable slackness of faith and discipline, and its separatist tendencies in things political and religious. Again, the *Order*, and the constitution which governs it and gives it quasi-independence, are a great temptation to the spirit of separatism *within* the Church. Especially is this the case with regard to certain clauses in the constitution which appear to make the readers or catechists of the Order independent of the priest who is in charge of the district in which such readers work, and to make them subject only to the authority of the Bishop of the diocese.

'It is implied,' writes Father Puller, 'that the missions of the Order shall be subject in every way to the Diocesan Bishop, but

Digitized by Google

they are to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the parochial clergy and of the missionaries administering the older missions of the Church.'[1]

Now, it seems obvious that every organized mission must be under the charge and control of a priest, who shall be responsible for preparing candidates for confirmation, giving them Communion, and hearing the confessions of penitents. And it is further obvious that these priestly duties can only be performed by a local ministry, *i.e.* by priests resident in the various districts, and not by a single clergyman itinerating through the whole of South Africa. Such a clergyman may do splendid work in the way of inspection and organization, but cannot possibly undertake the priestly supervision of congregations which may be a thousand miles apart. It would seem that the only way in which the work of the Ethiopian Order can be carried on as a Church agency, effectively and without friction, is by arranging that each Ethiopian reader shall be licensed to the nearest resident priest, who shall supervise his work and perform sacerdotal duties for his congregation, while at the same time allowing him as much independent initiative as is compatible with the maintenance of ecclesiastical order and discipline.

The moral of all this is twofold. First, the Church must keep clear of all racial agitation for the premature acquisition of social and political rights. And, secondly, she must make the Christianization of the native (on which his claim to a higher civil status must largely depend) as thorough and comprehensive as possible. She must not be content with exhibiting him as a convert; she must take care that religion goes deep and spreads widely in his character, making him a better man in all the relations of life, including domestic service. In this way she may hope gradually to overcome the indifference, or in many cases the antipathy, of the colonial mind to missionary effort—an antipathy based partly on the

[1] 'The Ethiopian Order,' in No. 1 of the S.P.G.'s admirable quarterly, *The East and the West*, page 84. Clauses 13 to 16 in the Bishops' Scheme seem to 'imply' this exemption from the authority of the parish priest; but it is only fair to say that such exemption is nowhere formally and explicitly asserted.

Digitized by Google

disastrous effects of the sentimental policy of the past, and partly on the spurious claims of the 'Ethiopianism' of to-day.[1]

And now we must pass on to the relation of the Church to the white population, including colonials born in the country, and British settlers recently arrived. This relation involves perplexities, which will inevitably increase in the near future, unless the problem is fairly faced, and solved on clear and definite principles. In order to understand the position, we must remind ourselves once more of the great battle waged and won by the South African Church, under the guidance of Bishop Gray, against heresy and Erastianism; of the brave stand which she made for Catholic belief and spiritual liberty; of her determination to ground the authority of her bishops on apostolic succession instead of 'letters patent,' and to make the Prayer Book (without the 'interpretations' of Privy Council) the standard of her faith and worship. Now, the question simply is, whether she is going to be true to these great traditions of the past, or whether she is prepared to sacrifice them in the interest of a wider popularity and a more rapid development of influence. There is, to put it plainly, a danger of the South African Church compromising, and even forfeiting, that spiritual freedom which has been so dearly bought. A variety of influences, some palpable and obvious, others of a more subtle character, combine to constitute this danger. Under the first head we may place the action of the Diocesan Synod of Natal. The members of this Synod are persuaded that it would be easier for them to obtain possession of certain properties left in trust for 'the Church of England in Natal,' if the third proviso in the constitution of the Provincial Church were repealed. This proviso runs:

'Provided that in the interpretation of the aforesaid Standards and Formularies the Church of this Province be not held to be bound by decisions, in questions of Faith and Doctrine, or in

[1] Of course there is a great deal of unfairness and ignorance in the colonial attitude to Missions. It ignores the temporary upheaval and unsettlement necessarily caused by the leaven of Christian liberty in the native mind, and also ignores the bad influence often exercised by the careless and inconsistent lives of white Christians.

Digitized by Google

questions of Discipline relating to Faith and Doctrine, other than those of its own Ecclesiastical Tribunals, or of such other Tribunal as may be accepted by the Provincial Synod as a Tribunal of Appeal.'

There are two criticisms to be made on the proposal to remove this bulwark of the independence of the South African Church. The first and minor point is that such action would probably not effect the object in view. In fact, during the last session of the Natal Parliament a Bill was brought forward for handing over the properties in question to the diocese of Natal, on condition that this third proviso should be deleted from the constitution of the Church of the Province. *But, even with this condition attached, the Bill was thrown out by Parliament.* The Parliament held apparently that even the deletion of the proviso would not of itself establish a *legal* connexion between the South African Church and the Church of England. We welcome this opinion with respectful acclamation, and we venture to think that the Natal diocesan authorities made a fatal mistake in allowing such a condition to be attached to the Bill. They thereby admitted that their claim to the property depended on their ability to set up a legal nexus with the Church of England, and this they failed to do. Their position is an unenviable one. And yet, in spite of the decision of their Parliament, they have unanimously decided to propose the repeal of the third proviso at the Provincial Synod which meets at Capetown on January 23, 1904. The proposal has nothing to recommend it; we hope and believe that it will be decisively rejected. Its acceptance would mean a compromise of principle, without even a fair prospect of pecuniary compensation. In using this language, we do not wish to bring any accusation of bad faith against the Churchmen of Natal. They have, we believe, an equitable right to the property which they claim; they do not, we are sure, wish to reimpose the Privy Council yoke on the Church of the Province. Nevertheless, they are taking action which, while it would probably fail to assist their claim, would certainly be interpreted adversely to the spiritual independence of their Church. This is, then, our second criticism on the proposal. It may be that the repeal of the proviso would not of itself produce a legal union with the

Digitized by Google

Church of England; we are inclined to agree with the Natal Parliament that it would not; and it may be that, if the proviso went, other safeguards of possible validity would remain. But nevertheless the impression would be created that the Church of South Africa was deliberately and consciously moving in a direction which could only logically end in the re-establishment of a relation which had been successfully repudiated by Bishop Gray.[1]

But there is also another danger, more subtle in character, which threatens the independence of the South African Church. Certain exponents of militant Protestantism are denouncing her as a hotbed of 'ritualism'; they are insisting on a South African 'comprehensiveness' equal to that of the Church of England, and they argue, in support of this claim, that the Church of South Africa is really part and parcel of the English Establishment, and that any provisos or other ecclesiastical quibbles which obscure this fact should be ruthlessly abolished.

Now, here also there are two things to be said. In the first place, anyone who knows the South African Church will rub his eyes with bewilderment on hearing that 'ritualism' (by which Catholic ceremonial is meant) is rampant there. There could not be a greater mistake. The merit of that Church is that she insists on a certain minimum of loyalty to the Prayer Book in matters of faith and worship; but, especially in regard to ceremonial, this standard is by no means high. Incense is scarcely ever used except in some native churches; the use of Eucharistic vestments varies very much from one diocese to another; and the churches in which the Holy Eucharist is made the principal Sunday morning service could probably be counted on the fingers. It is not too much to say that the services, as rendered at a typical

[1] It is hardly necessary to add that no one would object to the position of the Privy Council as a court of appeal for preventing the miscarriage of justice in causes ecclesiastical or civil. What we do object to is the perversion of the Privy Council into an ecclesiastical tribunal for determining the doctrine and discipline of the Church. And until this usurped claim has been definitely renounced, it will be the wisdom of the free Churches of the Anglican Communion to give it as wide a berth as possible.

Digitized by Google

normal South African church, contain nothing that a convinced Churchman, however moderate, could reasonably object to.[1] And when the clergy are told, in a phrase borrowed from English controversy, that their practices are causing the 'alienation of the laity,' it may be answered that a conclusive test of the truth of such an assertion is readily available. The South African Church, being unendowed, depends for her very existence on the support of the laity. If the laity were alienated, her clergy would be starved and her churches closed, whereas the numbers of both are rapidly increasing. In the second place, those who claim that the comprehensiveness of the Church of England should be reproduced in South Africa should clear their ideas as to the real meaning of their words. It is admitted that a considerable latitude of area must characterize an Established National Church of any country, though many sober judges are of opinion that in England the bounds have been very unduly widened, so much so as to prevent the Church from exercising her proper *teaching* function, and to drive many of her sons in sheer bewilderment to seek clearer statements of doctrine in another communion. But, waiving such criticisms, the fact remains that the South African Church is neither National nor Established, but just a free association of people who hold to the principles of the Prayer Book. As such, she co-exists on terms of absolute equality with other Christian bodies which profess the tenets of Wesleyanism, Lutheranism, &c. And so, while she will be ready on occasion to conciliate her own weaker members by acquiescing in a lower standard of ceremonial than the Prayer Book contemplates, in the sphere of doctrine she can plead no temptation or excuse for sacrificing principle for the sake of comprehension. The Wesleyans &c. do not in the least wish to be comprehended; there is no prestige of Establishment to complicate matters; they have their own doctrinal basis on which they stand, and recognize that the

[1] It is worth mentioning that the Bishop of Bloemfontein, who has been blamed for refusing to allow the 'moderate' party at Kimberley to build a church of their own, offered to provide them with one in which the ceremonial should be still simpler than that practised in the parish church.

Digitized by Google

Church has hers. Those who claim membership in a free and non-established Church do so because they agree with her doctrinal position. The only exception to this rule is furnished by a small section of people who from time to time make their voice heard, and who, paradoxically enough, claim to be included in the Church on the express ground that they disbelieve in many of her most cherished principles.

'We do not believe in Baptismal Regeneration,' they say in effect, 'nor in any objective presence in the Holy Communion. We do not believe that any spiritual gift is conveyed in Ordination. We do not approve of the observance of Saints' Days, and could never enter a place of worship in which either confession or fasting were so much as mentioned. On the ground of these Protestant tenets, we demand churches where our principles shall be duly preached and practised.'

Now, when confronted by claims like this, the Church is compelled to take a firm stand on *principle*. The Prayer Book is her accepted standard, and she cannot be expected to promulgate views which flatly contradict its teaching. No doubt she is to be wise and conciliatory in dealing with these people, but first and foremost she must 'to her own self be true.' If these anti-Church tenets find expression occasionally in churches of the English Establishment, that is nothing to her, except possibly an argument against the whole principle of Establishment.

Historically, too, there is a considerable difference between the position of the Church of England and that of the Anglican Communion in a new country. The Church of England has developed through many centuries under the influence of a great variety of political, social, and ecclesiastical factors. *Quisque suos patimur Manes;* she has to bear her own ghostly torments, and to carry the burden of her past with her as she confronts the problems of the future. That past, since the time her Prayer Book was drawn up, includes the teaching of foreign reformers, the violence of independent supremacy, and the patronage of Whig statesmen. No wonder that she has not passed altogether scatheless through so many trials; no wonder that she cannot yet appeal quite fairly and squarely to her own rules and regulations, but has still to submit to many accommodations and compro-

Digitized by Google

mises which are the heritage of her chequered history. But the Church in a new country has no such lamentable necessity laid upon her. If she accepts the English Prayer Book, she can accept it without misgivings, and interpret it according to the plain natural meaning of its language. Her history lies before her, not behind; and it will be an enormous advantage if, as she enters on the making of that history, she can start with a clear conception, and speak with an united voice, with regard to the doctrine she has to preach, the ministry of grace she has to exercise, and her own credentials and authority as a living member of the Body of Christ.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the South African Church will stand fast in that spiritual liberty which is her one great 'endowment;' that she will maintain her loyalty to the unadulterated principles of that Prayer Book which she gratefully accepts from the Church at home; that she will be ready, if necessary, to forego a rapid and showy development of activity, and choose rather a steady advance along the lines of truth and consistency; that she will remember that united and consentient witness to the faith on the part of a smaller body is far stronger than the confused murmur of a disorganized multitude; that, in a word, she will prove worthy of the inheritance bequeathed to her by Robert Gray, first Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan of South Africa.

Thirdly, if we would gain an accurate view of the work of any given Church, we must consider not only its own efforts and opportunities and guiding principles, but also its relation to the work done by other denominations in the same field. And here we must remember that the Anglican Church in South Africa has had much lee-way to make up. Before the consecration of Bishop Gray in 1847, she can scarcely be said to have had any existence whatever, although by that date the Dutch Reformed Church had established a complete network of organization, and the Wesleyans had been at work for thirty years. No statistics shewing the state of things to-day are available for the whole of South Africa; but the following are the figures for Cape Colony in 1898 (the year before the disturbances caused by the war), printed by the

Digitized by Google

Government, and purporting to give the number of white 'persons belonging to the congregation' of the various religious bodies. Dutch Reformed Church, 145,831; Church of England, 34,416; Wesleyan, 23,189; Roman Catholic, 14,965; Presbyterian, 9,055. Very roughly, these figures shew the comparative strength of the denominations, as far as numbers go, in the Church dioceses of Capetown, Grahamstown, and St. John's. With regard to the Wesleyans, it is only fair, first, to acknowledge with admiration the strength and success of their work in general; and, secondly, to admit that if the Church seems to have passed them in the number of her white adherents, she is still behindhand, certainly in Cape Colony, and probably throughout South Africa, in her roll of native Christians. And, further, there is a point of organization in which the Wesleyans have the better of us, which may be illustrated by these figures taken from the same return. According to it, the Church has 172 main stations to the Wesleyans' 118; but the Wesleyans are credited with 2,179 out-stations, as compared with 303 belonging to the Church. These figures suggest a serious lack of elasticity in Anglican methods. Her policy is usually a policy of main stations, for which a church, parsonage, resident priest, and salary of 200*l.* a year are all required. This makes her progress slow and cumbrous, like that of a British column in the late war, burdened with its interminable train of ox-waggons. Among the Wesleyans the equipment is lighter. They seem to possess a large number of trustworthy men engaged in secular pursuits, but quite capable of conducting service in small out-stations, under the superintendence of a circuit minister, who may come round and inspect about once a month. The Church ought to be able to do something of the same sort. She ought to be able to find responsible laymen in the smaller villages, who could be appointed readers, and could take service on every Sunday in the month except the one on which an itinerating priest comes to celebrate the Blessed Sacrament. In this way work could be started at a number of places, some of which would naturally grow into main stations later on.

The Dutch Reformed Church, as will be seen from the

Digitized by Google

figures given above, outnumbers the English Church by more than four to one in Cape Colony; until the close of the war it was also the Established Church of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. Its predominant position is illustrated by the stately character of its buildings. The most striking feature of almost every *dorp* in South Africa is the Dutch church, a large and often architecturally fine edifice, standing in an enclosure at the centre of the town. Often, indeed, these churches seem absurdly large for the population of the village. But it must be remembered that they are deliberately built of a size to accommodate the inhabitants of all the outlying Dutch farms, who come in once a quarter to attend the Nachtmahl, or Lord's Supper; during the rest of the year they are more than half empty.

During the war much speculation was hazarded as to the influence which the defeat of the Boers would exercise upon their religion. It was often asserted that their Calvinistic creed was bound up with the idea that they were, in a very special sense, the chosen people of God, and that an issue of the war which dissipated the latter would prove fatal to the former also. But in matter of fact their religion does not seem to have been disturbed; their ministers have returned, churches are being restored, and congregations are flocking back to them. The explanation probably is that defeat has not disabused them of their conviction that they are the chosen race, but has simply suggested to them that, as often happened to the Israelites of old, they are being temporarily chastened for their sins, and must show their repentance by greater loyalty to the God of their fathers. Of course, however, it is quite possible that a few among the more bitter and ardent spirits may have lost their old faith; and it is probable that isolated receptions into the English Church will become rather more numerous than in the past.

This brings us to the last subject on which we have to touch: namely, the Church and education. The Boers have always shown an admirable zeal for denominational religious instruction; here is, in fact, a platform on which Anglicans can heartily co-operate with them. In Cape Colony public education is mostly secular; though even there, through their

Digitized by Google

preponderance on the school committees, the Dutch ministers are able to secure the teaching of their distinctive tenets. But a much more hopeful future is opening out in the new colonies under the enlightened and statesmanlike guidance of Mr. Sargant, the Director of Education in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. In both these colonies denominational instruction may be given in Government schools at the request of the parents; and in such a case the ministers of the various denominations may themselves give such instructions, within school hours, in class-rooms assigned for that purpose. The time allotted for such teaching has been recently defined in an Education Ordinance for the Orange River Colony, as 'not exceeding two hours a week.' The opportunity thus offered to the Church of giving systematic doctrinal teaching to her children is of enormous value and importance. It remains for her to make full use of the liberty thus conceded, and thereby to shew her appreciation of a privilege which the Church in other lands would give almost anything to possess. It is to be hoped that in time a uniform system will prevail in this respect over all South Africa, and that the privileges of the new Colonies will thus be extended to Cape Colony and Natal. Another way in which Mr. Sargant's liberal policy is shown is in the encouragement of *denominational hostels* in connexion with Government schools in the larger centres of population. The idea is that each religious body should have its own boarding house, where the children shall be under the charge of a master (or mistress) of their own denomination, while they attend the Government school for ordinary instruction. Help is given towards the maintenance of such hostels; and the boarding-master, if properly qualified, has his place on the teaching staff of the college. Such a system is well worthy of adoption, especially where the population is not sufficiently great to justify the existence of an independent Church school on a basis of its own. There ought, however, to be room for secondary Church schools, fashioned more or less after the type of English public schools, to be gradually established. Such are St. Andrew's College at Grahamstown, Michaelhouse School in Natal, and the Capetown Diocesan School at Rondebosch. The Church

Digitized by Google

in every diocese ought to have at least one such institution under its own immediate control.

Such, then, are the outlook of the Church in South Africa and the manifold opportunities for development in her work. If she can grasp the opportunities and prosecute her work in a spirit of zeal and common sense and dogged persistence, and, above all, of firm loyalty to the traditions of the past, she may not only train and foster an admirable type of Churchmanship in South Africa, but also strengthen the hands of her brethren who are struggling against great difficulties in other parts of the world.

ART. II.—A PHILOSOPHY OF PHRASES.

The Philosophy of the Christian Religion. By A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D.D., LL.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. (London: Hodder and Stoughton).

I.

DR. FAIRBAIRN'S book has been widely praised, and as a piece of writing it deserves praise, for it is written by a master hand with strong and graceful eloquence. But Dr. Fairbairn comes before us, primarily, not as an artist but as a thinker, and the praise so abundantly given to the book has been given, chiefly, not to the art that it discloses but to the thought that it sets forth. In this praise we are quite unable to take part. Emphatically, the Principal of Mansfield College has not given us the 'philosophy of the Christian Religion,' nor even any considerable contribution to that philosophy. His introductory philosophy, although well expressed, is crude, incomplete, and imaginative—owing more to phrases than to thought. In his later argument we find a similar persuasiveness of art, and a similar incompleteness of thought. He shows, gracefully and well, certain things that are both interesting and serviceable, but, when his argument is finished, the most important things remain beyond it.

Dr. Fairbairn starts, from an avowed faith in Christianity

Digitized by Google

as the religion of the Incarnation, 'to explain religion through Nature and man,' and 'to construe Christianity through religion' (p. vii). His book, he tells us, 'is neither a philosophy nor a history of religion, but it is an endeavour to look at what is at once the central fact and idea of the Christian faith by a mind whose chief labour in life has been to make an attempt at such a philosophy through such a history' (p. x). That religion needs explanation, that it contains mystery which excites our wonder and thereby our philosophy, is to Dr. Fairbairn not in the least surprising.

'To say that the article of faith which the intellect finds the hardest to construe may be the more necessary to the life of the religion, is to state a sober fact, and no paradox. This does not mean that the heart has to be satisfied at the expense of the head; it means the very opposite, viz. that unless religion be an eternal challenge to the reason, it can have no voice for the imagination, and no value for the heart' (p. 5).

'The pure reason has its antinomies, but the very ideas it so describes may be said to be the laws which bind together men and nature, which make a rational experience possible, and which set the personal intellect in the midst of an intelligible system. The faith, therefore, that had no mystery would be an anomaly in a universe like ours, and would suffer from the incurable defects of being a faith without truth, and without the capability of so appealing to reason as to promote man's rational and moral growth' (p. 5).

There is much of truth in this, but Dr. Fairbairn's attitude in the presence of mystery is one of intellectual curiosity, not of trust. He says, indeed, that mystery gives to religion its 'value for the heart,' but apparently religion possesses this value only because 'the problems which most imperiously appeal to the reason for solution,' 'open those glimpses into the secret of the universe that most fascinate the heart and awe the imagination' (p. 5). Religion, through its mystery, so appeals to reason 'as to promote man's rational and moral growth' (p. 5), but Dr. Fairbairn leaves the process of promotion undescribed and unexplained.

Now, if mystery be thus essential to religion as a moral agent; if it excite no surprise to find it most obvious in the most essential article of faith, it would seem natural were we

Digitized by Google

to discover in mystery the characteristic ground and occasion of religion, and to seek for the definition of religion in the soul's characteristic attitude in the presence of mystery. But Dr. Fairbairn does nothing of the sort. According to him, religion does *not* arise out of mystery. It is a *gnosis*, and not a faith. It is, 'subjectively, man's consciousness of relation to supra-sensible Being.' Man, we are told, 'cannot be without thought, and cannot think without affirming Deity' (p. 203), or, in other words, 'without thinking God' (p. 210), and in this inevitable affirmation the consciousness which constitutes religion finds characteristic utterance. It is, then, out of knowledge, and not out of nescience, that religion arises. Dr. Fairbairn, indeed, finds mystery in religion, but the mystery he discovers is not 'the ground and occasion of religion,' it is only a characteristic of this or that particular doctrine.

For instance, 'the doctrine that affirms that Jesus was "God manifest in the flesh," or, in other words, that in Christ the natures of God and man were so united as to form a single and indivisible person,' is, according to Dr. Fairbairn, 'the very apotheosis of the inconceivable' (p. 8).

But what of other religions? According to Dr. Fairbairn there is mystery in each. Have these several mysteries, then, nothing in common except their mystery, or do they arise out of something common to all individual experiences, or, at least, to all individual environments? Dr. Fairbairn does not tell us. He names the Christian mystery, and then contents himself with a passing reference to the antinomies of the pure reason. Yet, from the characteristic mysteries that he leaves unnamed, the non-Christian religions receive whatever power they have 'to promote man's rational and moral growth.' How, then, can a general philosophy of religion be possible, unless there be some common character in the mysteries severally operative in the world's religions, or in their several effects upon the human heart and mind, and, unless we know the mysteries of the non-Christian faiths, how can the philosophy of the Christian religion effectually complete its work by showing the relation of those faiths to the religion of the Incarnation? It may be that Dr. Fairbairn does not feel

Digitized by Google

the pressure of these difficulties, because he conceives knowledge and not mystery to be the ultimate ground of religion. But, even if we grant this, he should surely explain how it is that mystery, although, *ex hypothesi*, not essential to the existence of religion *as such*, is, nevertheless, according to his own reiterated statement, essential to the existence of it *as a moral agent*. Surely, there cannot be an *entirely* non-ethical religion?

Dr. Fairbairn refers us to the antinomies of the pure reason. Apparently, therefore, we might fairly argue that the mystery in religion must be as fundamental in experience as are they. We might, for example, hold that it arises out of the primary fact that man's life has to be lived out in the midst of a world which he can only imperfectly interpret, which only imperfectly seconds his endeavour, and which follows, or seems to follow, ways of its own to ends of its own, independently of human aspiration and purpose. We could then regard the whole of man's active life as a venture of faith, and his religion, on its human side, as the characteristic expression of his trust that this faith is not in vain. We could then find in the Incarnate Life—consummated on Calvary and continued in the Church—the supreme confirmation of that trust, and in the Christian life, quickened by faith, and manifest in charity, the completeness of life—not merely of the religious life, but of the whole of life. Then, in our consciousness of the world, we should find the ground of our science, and in our consciousness of its mystery, the ground of our religion, and our apologetic would take the form of a general philosophy of faith, which would deal with the whole of human experience and with every human purpose. Now, there are those who think that an entirely adequate philosophy of the Christian religion must necessarily take this form, and we frankly confess our agreement with them. Dr. Fairbairn, however, is of a different opinion, for he holds that the initial fact in religion—the initial and constitutive fact—is knowledge and not trust. To us, therefore, Dr. Fairbairn's work—governed as it is by his fundamental gnosticism—appears radically insufficient, and we cannot look to it for more than incidental and contributory help.

Digitized by Google

II.

We have seen that, according to Dr. Fairbairn, the doctrine of the Incarnation is 'the very apotheosis of the inconceivable.' Here he finds the central mystery of our faith. 'The Person of Christ,' he tells us, is exactly the point in the Christian religion where 'the intellect feels overwhelmed by mysteries it cannot resolve, yet where Christian experience finds the factors of its most characteristic qualities and the Church the truth it has lived by, and is bound to live for' (p. 5). This, then, is the starting point of his apologetic. He tells us that it is the 'radical incompatibility' 'of the apostolic doctrine as to the Person of Christ' that constitutes 'the real and initial difficulty' felt by the 'modern mind' in the presence of that doctrine (p. 23). 'It was an easy thing to men who had no conception of natural order or law, and who habitually thought in terms of the miraculous, to say "We believe in a supernatural Person." . . . But the instinctive faith of the modern temper may be expressed in the formula, "I believe in an order that admits no miracle and knows no supernatural"' (p. 23). Dr. Fairbairn, therefore, begins his defence by raising 'the most fundamental of all questions, viz. in what terms must we interpret this order or system' (p. 27)? He asks, 'What does Nature mean and what include? Does man make it, or does it make man? Is thought the product of experience, or is experience made possible by factors which transcend it' (pp. 27, 28)? The issue raised by these questions is, he tells us, really this: 'whether we are to find the ultimate factors of knowledge in personality, or in the impersonal forces we co-ordinate under the phrase "system or order of Nature"' (p. 28).

Dr. Fairbairn's answer to these questions rests upon two thoughts:

(1) That Nature is intelligible;

(2) That the subject in experience, and *not* the object, is the source, not only of the categories involved in experience, but also of the qualities given in experience, and of the conceptions employed by science.

From the second he concludes that man transcends

Digitized by Google

Nature, and cannot be explained by an ultimate Reality in which mind has no place. From the first he reaches the wider conclusion that an 'intelligible' implies 'an intelligence both creative and receptive' (p. 30).

'The real world of the intellect is, of course, the intelligible, and neither would exist without the other, *i.e.* there would be no intellect without an intelligible; no intelligible apart from the intellect. We may expand this proposition into a series of inferences which may be stated thus: (1) since the intellect can interpret Nature, Nature is intelligible; (2) since Nature is intelligible, there must be some correspondence or correlation between its laws and methods and the rational processes in us; (3) since there is this correlation between the intelligible world and the interpretative intellect, they must embody one and the same intelligence' (p. 35).

'So the very fact of the intelligibility of Nature, or the possibility of its interpretation by mind, means that it embodies or expresses intelligence—is the medium or vehicle of ideas which the human intellect can discover and think as if they were its own' (p. 36). Dr. Fairbairn, in fact, concludes with Kepler that 'in reading the secrets of Nature' we 'are thinking the thoughts of God after Him' (p. 37). To this conclusion we, of course, entirely assent, but we cannot assent to the argument by which Dr. Fairbairn arrives at it.

(1) Nature, we are told, is intelligible? But is it? What do we mean when we say that 'Nature is intelligible'?

'There is, indeed,' says Dr. Fairbairn, 'no single idea on which science prides herself which could be received from Nature alone; for even if mind were regarded as a simple receptivity, a mere *tabula rasa* or sheet of white paper, it would be necessary to invest it with the power of reading the things written upon its clean or figured surface; and the power to read implies what we may term the whole grammar of natural intelligence. For the thing written is something which conveys thought to thought, *i.e.* it is a language which one mind speaks and another mind understands' (p. 29).

On a later page he tells us that 'the human intellect could not live unless embosomed by a universe which was in its constitution and contents as rational as itself' (p. 36), and on a much later page he speaks of 'a Nature which is veiled spirit, which speaks of mind to mind, and which, as

Digitized by Google

an intelligible order is a medium of intercourse between the Intelligence it embodies and the intellect by which it is studied' (p. 169). According to Dr. Fairbairn, Nature is created by Intelligence. 'If thought did not make it, thought could never interpret it, for nothing but the work of thought is intelligible to thought' (p. 29).

Now, the characteristic note of intelligence as an agent is this—that it works for ends, and uses appropriate means. Therefore, if we can truly be said to understand or to interpret a given order, fashioned and controlled by intelligence, we must have discerned the purpose governing it, and noted the adaptation of means to ends, and marked their appropriate efficacy. Can we, with this fulness of meaning, truly be said to understand Nature? Can we discern, in it or through it, the end for which it exists, and how its several parts and processes are co-ordinated to that end, and in what way they severally subserve that end? If we can, we understand Nature: Nature is intelligible to us. If we cannot, we do *not* understand Nature: Nature is *not* intelligible to us. Now, it goes without saying, that Nature does not disclose to us a purposed and sovereign end, for the sake of which it exists. We may, indeed, postulate such an end, and attempt to interpret Nature as subordinate to it, but if we do so, can we make our interpretation complete? Many of us do, in fact, postulate a consummating moral end, but we know that we cannot demonstrate it, and are content to walk by faith, not by sight. Indeed, in the fact that the world escapes our grasp—in the fact that we cannot construe it as a moral unity, and cannot interpret it as primarily, or even certainly, ancillary to human life, we find the ground of that dependence (not an *absolute* dependence), which receives characteristic expression in religious faith. Dr. Fairbairn tells us that 'Reason could not live in a world where no reason was' (p. 36), and he asks, 'Could mind,' in the presence of an irrational world, 'maintain its sanity?' (p. 36). Possibly not, but in the extreme forms of pessimism—which are only reactions from failure to interpret the world as helpful or subordinate to human life—men have actually approached or reached insanity. If, then, we use the word 'intelligible' in this completeness of meaning,

Digitized by Google

we cannot accept Dr. Fairbairn's premise that 'Nature is intelligible.' But perhaps Dr. Fairbairn uses the word in another sense. 'The human intellect,' he tells us, 'could not live unless embosomed by a universe which was in its constitution and contents as rational as itself' (p. 36). Now, we have seen that it is not through the category of purpose that Nature becomes intelligible to our thought. In what other way, then, does it disclose a rational character similar to our own? Dr. Fairbairn speaks, by way of hypothetical illustration, of the world becoming 'mad'; of its physical forces as 'now conserved and now destroyed;' of continuity governing 'one day, and accident the next' (p. 76). This suggests that he finds his evidence of the rationality of the world—of that which makes Nature intelligible—in the uniformity of natural sequences. But can we rightly take these uniformities to be indicative of a rational character in the world that exhibits them? Do they imply more than this, that a thing is what it is, and will continue to be what it is, and to act and to react according to its nature, until that nature be changed? But this law—if indeed we can speak of it as a law—is surely not a distinctive law of rational being, but only a law of being as such—a law to which all things that exist must of necessity conform merely because they are existent. It is a law 'regulative' of existing things as *existing* things, and not characteristically of those things only that have a rational nature, and in no case can it be taken, in and by itself, to be an index to such a nature. Dr. Fairbairn's argument from intelligibility to intelligence must therefore be held to fail, because he has not established his premise—he has not shown us that the world is in fact 'intelligible.'

2. But man, says Dr. Fairbairn, is not only the interpreter of Nature (p. 61); he also 'in a sense constitutes it' (p. 30). 'Colour,' for instance, 'does not inhere in things; Nature by herself is without it. It is there because man is there, possessed of the sense by which it is not simply perceived, but, in a sense, constituted' (p. 31). But what is true of colour is no less true of sound (p. 31).

'And we could go from sense to sense, from ear and eye to taste and smell, and by analysis enlarge and confirm the conclusion that

Digitized by Google

the qualities which our senses perceive are not things merely of external Nature; but that either they could not be, or could not seem to be without the constitutive faculty or the interpretative Personality of man. In other words, Nature, in her own right, is, if not a void, yet at most a mere aggregate of mechanical properties; her pomp and beauty, her voice and all her harmonies she owes to Mind. We receive from her what we have given to her, and without us she would not be what she is' (p. 33).

Even the conception of energy, than which no conception is more 'necessary to the modern idea of Nature' (p. 33)—even this conception we derive 'from our own conscious freedom' (p. 34). From 'Personality,' moreover, we derive 'what is even more fundamental' than 'secondary qualities like colour and sound,' or 'special and definite conceptions like causation, whether represented by physics as energy, or by metaphysics as will or cause' (p. 35), for it supplies also 'the forms under which we perceive the phenomena which, we may say, constitute the many-featured face Nature turns towards our senses, and the categories through which it becomes intelligible to our thought' (p. 35). From all this Dr. Fairbairn concludes that 'the Personality which makes Nature was not made by the Nature it makes' (p. 30), or, in other words, that 'since we can conceive Nature only through the forms and categories supplied by the interpretative Personality, we are bound to infer that the Nature which none but a personal Intellect can interpret, none but a personal Intelligence could create (pp. 37, 38).

Now, what is the 'Nature' that man 'in a sense' constitutes? It is through the categories, says Dr. Fairbairn, that Nature 'becomes intelligible to our thought' (p. 35). Nature, however, is intelligible, not because of any activity of our minds, but simply because God has made it intelligible. In our interpretative use of the categories we only *construe* Nature—we do not *constitute* it. Yet the categories are truly constitutive, for by them we construct the world of Thought. The world of Thought, however, is one thing, the world of 'natural' reality, which we resume in thought, is quite another, and, from the mere fact that our minds 'make' the one, we cannot immediately infer

Digitized by Google

that they transcend the other, or could not be derived from it.

It may, perhaps, be urged that the characteristic work of the understanding in building up the world of Thought would, upon analysis, disclose powers that could not be derived from a world of mindless atoms and impersonal forces—powers which we should be constrained to interpret as manifesting the existence of a 'spiritual principle in knowledge.' True, and we all know with what thoroughness and persuasiveness, with what lasting and helpful influence upon English thought, Thomas Hill Green made this analysis. But Dr. Fairbairn does not repeat this analysis, nor does he even directly refer to it. We do, it is true, read that 'the organ through which all natural forces are known cannot be itself a mere unit of force, *i.e.* the co-ordinating genius cannot be one of the co-ordinated atoms' (p. 30), but the passage is an isolated one, and if there be indeed in it a reminiscence of *The Prolegomena to Ethics* it is the reminiscence of a lesson which—seemingly ill-learned or half-forgotten—has been entirely laid aside.

Let us come back to the question 'What is the "Nature" that the mind makes?' We have seen that our minds—or 'Personality,' as Dr. Fairbairn, with convenient but misleading ambiguity, apparently prefers to write—furnish, not only the categories through which Nature 'becomes intelligible to our thought,' but, also, the secondary qualities, such as colour and sound (p. 35), which give to Nature her 'pomp and beauty, her voice, and all her harmonies' (p. 33). But these are only the garb we see it by. Dr. Fairbairn heads one of his pages '*Nature: esse est percipi*,' but apparently he applies the Berkeleyan maxim only to the 'secondary qualities.' Nature, however, besides the æsthetic character which these qualities give to it, has, presumably—at least, so we infer from the limitation of Dr. Fairbairn's argument—a real being of its own, which is not derived from the 'Personality' that is the source of those qualities. The 'Nature,' then, which the mind 'makes' through the secondary qualities is, according to Dr. Fairbairn's argument, only the 'world of appearance'—the phenomenal world. Now, this world is one thing,

Digitized by Google

and the world of 'natural' reality quite another. The two worlds are distinct, and we cannot argue that, because the mind is essential to the existence of the one, it is also essential to the existence of the other, and, therefore, cannot be explained by that other, or derived from it.

Dr. Fairbairn tells us that there is not 'a single idea on which science prides herself which could be received from Nature alone' (p. 29); but this, of course, may illustrate only the relativity of science. He concludes another argument by saying 'Personality thus becomes the very condition through which Nature, as known to science, is, while it is also the factor through which all the sciences which explain Nature have come to be and are able to continue in being' (p. 30). But of what 'Nature' is Dr. Fairbairn here speaking? If of the phenomenal world, his conclusion is irrelevant; if of the *real* world, it is not proven—at least, not by anything in Dr. Fairbairn's book that we have as yet reviewed.

For one who, as Dr. Fairbairn seems to do, admits the existence of a 'real' world other than the world of appearance, the apologetic question 'Does Nature make man?' must, ultimately at least, be understood to mean 'Can man be derived from that world of "natural" reality which is other than the world of appearance?' Dr. Fairbairn argues that the 'work of the mind' is essential to the very existence of this latter world, and that, therefore, the mind cannot be derived from that world. The conclusion is true, but it is obviously irrelevant, and leaves the apologetic question still open.

Now, it would be something, perhaps everything, if Dr. Fairbairn had proven '*Esse est percipi*' for the world of natural reality, as well as for the world of sensuous appearance, or if he had shown that the very idea of natural reality includes elements which we could not conceive to be illustrated in natural fact except by and through the work of 'Personality.' The first demonstration he does not attempt—he is content to leave '*Nature: esse est percipi*' in the dignified isolation of a headline. Nor can he properly be said to attempt the other. He takes the conception of matter—of matter, that is, as the ultimate reality of Nature—and tells

Digitized by Google

us that 'Matter can be represented in no form that does not imply mind' (p. 49), that it cannot be defined save in terms of mind. Of course, it cannot be otherwise defined, nor can anything else be, for definition is an act of the mind, and the predicates whereby we define are part of the furniture of the mind. It is one thing—and a thing irrelevant to the present argument—to ask 'Can there be predicates without mind?' It is quite another to ask 'Can the character indicated by any given predicates be conceived to exist apart from a mind and its work?' The latter question is the one essentially relevant to Dr. Fairbairn's apologetic, but he does not seem even to perceive it.

III.

As we have already seen, Dr. Fairbairn defines or describes Religion as 'consciousness of supra-sensible Being.' But what does Dr. Fairbairn mean by 'consciousness of supra-sensible Being'?

In the second book of *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, Dr. Fairbairn thus summarizes the opening arguments of the first:

'From the correlation of the intellect and the intelligible, or of rational man and an interpretable universe, it was argued that they must have had as their common ground a creative Intelligence, who had used the visual language we call nature to speak to the incarnate reason we call man' (p. 291).

Now, is this 'creative Intelligence' God, or is it some impersonal or hyper-personal Absolute? Dr. Fairbairn tells us that it is God, but his answer is the unreasoned affirmation of one who does not see any alternative. 'We cannot conceive either Nature or its creative work otherwise than through Mind' (p. 55). But how does Dr. Fairbairn make the advance from 'Mind' to 'God.' In characteristic manner—by a phrase.

'To affirm the transcendence of thought is to affirm the priority of spirit, for spirit is but thought made concrete—translated, as it were, into a personal and creative energy: it is mind as opposed to matter, a known as distinguished from an unknown, conceived as the cause of all dependent being. And how can we better express

Digitized by Google

this thought in its highest concrete form than by the ancient name God' (p. 55)?

There are, of course, some who name the name of God but do not believe in the personality of God. Dr. Fairbairn is not of those. He uses the name with the full significance of personal being that Christian faith and thought have always attached to it. Now, in this he is entirely right; but, emphatically he is not right in making the transition from mind to God without a word of explanation or defence. By the doctrine of the personality of God we are brought face to face with some of the most characteristic and important questions of modern philosophy, and we have a right to expect that when one in Dr. Fairbairn's position puts forth a large book on the philosophy of the Christian religion, he will give us some adequate discussion of those questions. If he ignore them, his work is defective in a point of primary importance.

But let us grant to Dr. Fairbairn the transition that he makes *more suo*. We have now to ask—wherein consists man's consciousness of God? Dr. Fairbairn tells us that man 'cannot think without thinking God.' Here, again, we have a piece of effective rhetoric; but it is one in which it is quite impossible to discover any definite meaning. Fortunately, Dr. Fairbairn saves us the trouble of exploration, for he at once tells us what he means by it. He means that man's 'thoughts are beliefs concerning Deity' (p. 210). The explanation is none too clear; but evidently since Dr. Fairbairn stops short at *beliefs* concerning 'supra-sensible Being,' he does not mean to denote *consciousness* of 'supra-sensible Being.'

On a much earlier page, however, there is a passage which Dr. Fairbairn probably intends to set forth the grounds of that unique consciousness.

Here are his words:

'And where there is no knowledge the highest, if not the sole, reality is absent; for what does not know does not really exist; it may have being for another, but has none for itself. It follows that God and man both are, since both are capable of knowing and of being known, *i.e.* each is real both to himself and to the other; but

Digitized by Google

neither is real to the matter which owes all its actuality to mind. Hence the real presence of God must be stated not in physical but in spiritual terms; it belongs to the sphere of rational experience, and not to the field of mechanical energies. The latter may be an arena within which the Divine will may operate; but the former, as accessible to spirit, can receive and feel and realize the Divine presence; in other words, matter may be through God's will and to His reason, but mind is open to Himself. He can feel, possess, and live within it just because He can be for it; and this intercommunal life is the beatitude of God in the creature and of the creature in God' (pp. 57–58).'

Now, it is undoubtedly true that God knows man; but is it true that man knows God—that God is present in human knowledge as object to subject?

Man, indeed, has being not only 'for another,' but also 'for himself.' This being, however, becomes consciously his own in his ordinary experience of his environment. He consciously has being for himself simply because he knows. To know himself as existing it is not necessary that he consciously stand in the presence of God.

But does man, in fact, know God? Dr. Fairbairn replies in the affirmative. We will not ask him by what 'organs of Divine apprehension' he conceives man to have knowledge of God, or to explain how God, who is the Absolute, can be an object in human knowledge; but we are bound to ask—'wherein does man's knowledge of God exist?' Dr. Fairbairn insists that 'we must not forget the God who dwells in consciousness any more than the consciousness which knows of His indwelling' (p. 203), and in the passage already quoted he tells us that 'mind is open' to God that 'He can feel, possess, and live within it,' and that 'the sphere of rational experience can receive and feel and realize the Divine presence.'[1] Man, then, has a real consciousness of the indwelling presence of God. This indwelling presence is declared to be possible simply because God exists not only 'for Himself,' but also for the mind of man. 'He can feel,

[1] We note in passing that Dr. Fairbairn does not explain in what way we can think of mind as 'open' to the presence of God, yet he must have heard of the doctrine that personality is 'impenetrable.'

Digitized by Google

possess, and live within it just because He can be for it; and this intercommunal life is the beatitude of God in the creature and of the creature in God' (p. 58). It appears, therefore, that God possesses the mind of man by filling it with the substantial reality of His present Being—that it is in *this* way that man receives and feels and realizes the Divine presence (p. 57). But in knowledge we have not the communication of substantial being—only the disclosure of a character into which we read substantial being of this or that particular nature. Dr. Fairbairn should have shown us how, out of the conditions of knowledge, there arises, not only knowledge, but also this supra-sensible communication of being, which plays so important a part in his thought. But he has not even tried to do so; he has simply linked two phrases.

One word more. What is the empirical content of this human consciousness of supra-sensible Being? Is it anything more definite than this:

> 'A sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the heart of man?'

But *this* has not always been interpreted theistically, and nowhere in *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*—except, it may be, in the delusive rhetoric of the passages just quoted—have we any attempt to prove that it should be so interpreted.

IV.

The discussion we have partially reviewed started from the question—'What does Nature mean, and what include? Does man make it, or does it make man? Is thought the product of experience, or is experience made possible by factors which transcend it?' (pp. 27–8). Now, according to Dr. Fairbairn,

> 'the action of Nature upon mind represents the action not of mere physical forces or material qualities upon the senses of some more or less passive percipient, but of one reason upon another reason. It

Digitized by Google

is a movement in which the subjective reason which is man, and the objective Spirit which weaves the appearances we see Him by, alike participate. The nature which is visible Mind speaks to the man who is embodied spirit' (p. 182).

He concludes, therefore, 'that so far from the idea of a supernatural Person being incompatible with the modern idea of Nature, it is logically involved in it' (p. 60). But, according to Dr. Fairbairn's argument, man is not less truly supernatural than God. The question, therefore, immediately arises, is the supernatural Person of Christ human or Divine? Is Christ God or is He man, or must we say, in familiar words, 'God and man is one Christ'? Now in the book before us the theology is chiefly historical. We are told that 'by the Evangelists,' 'Jesus is conceived . . . as a mystery that must be read through the Eternal God, and yet as a reason that makes all His mysteries intelligible, credible, lucid, and articulate' (p. 355)—that, to them, 'He is at once the Son of Adam and the Only Begotten of the Father' (p. 355)—that St. Paul conceived Jesus 'not simply as the Messiah, but as the Son of God, not officially or figuratively, but essentially, *i.e.* as Himself divine' (p. 467); and that the apostolic writers 'would not have described as divine any one they did not believe to be essentially God' (p. 474). In these passages, however, we have simply Dr. Fairbairn's judgment as a historian and a critic—not the expression of his individual faith. Now, these historical judgments bring us face to face with two questions of primary importance.

(1) Is the doctrine true?

(2) Upon what grounds do we believe in it?

(1) Dr. Fairbairn leaves us in no doubt as to his own belief. 'Christ was son of God in no figurative or incidental sense, but essentially; and as the moment never had been when there was no Son, so there had never been, and would never be, a moment when there was or should be no Father' (p. 543).

(2) But what leads Dr. Fairbairn to this confession of a true faith?

In this confession Dr. Fairbairn repeats the apostolic teaching concerning the divinity of our Lord (*vide supra*,

Digitized by Google

p. 543), and for this teaching, he tells us, there could be but one source—'the mind of Christ' (p. 475). The Principal of Mansfield College is not a Ritschlian. In the Christology of the Epistles he sees no mere 'judgment of value,' but the apostolical tradition and development of the teaching of Christ; and this development, the Principal tells us, is 'most precise and logical' (p. 475). But how do we know that Jesus spake truly?—that He was in very truth what He claimed to be? To those who 'believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ' His words concerning Himself have, of course, complete and final authority; but when we endeavour, as we do in the exercises of our apologetic, to give a reasonable account of our faith concerning the Person of Christ, we must go behind the recorded words and show why we accept them as authoritative. We may not say that we believe them because they are the words of One who is the Incarnate Word—'very God of very God'—for this conception of the Person of our Lord—or rather the truth of this conception—is the very thing that we are attempting to establish. If His words are the ground of that conception, why do we think them a sufficient ground?—sufficient, not only to explain the historical existence of the doctrine, but to establish its truth? We know that others have made great claims for themselves—why do we reject their claims and admit Christ's?

Dr. Fairbairn closes his book with these words:

'This Christ, then, as He stands in universal history, accomplishing those marvels of the Spirit which we have seen indissolubly associated with His Person and His name, is an effect; and as He is, the Cause of Him must be. Nay, more, is not the effect only as it were the cause embodied, the old force, unspent, persisting in a new form? And how shall we express the idea in this case better than in the evangelical formula, 'the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us'? and how better describe His continuous action through all the centuries of our Christian experience than by the verse, 'We beheld His glory, a glory as of the Only Begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth'? The grandeur which thus comes to His Person transfigures through it all nature and the whole history of man, and may well bid us adopt as our own the words which sum up the faith of an apostle, 'God has been in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself' (pp. 567–568).

Digitized by Google

It is, then, in the work of Christ that Dr. Fairbairn finds the ultimate ground of our faith concerning His Person. Now, what account does Dr. Fairbairn give of that work?[1]

Is there anything in his account to lead us to a reasonable conviction that the worker is divine?

a. As the result of a discussion in the first book of his treatise, Dr. Fairbairn concludes that the three great moral ideas—freedom, right, and duty—cannot be construed as 'creations of experience'; 'that they either represent or are integral elements of human nature, involved in its very idea, and evolved in its evolution' (p. 83). He then continues:

'But that which is integral to man is no less integral to his universe. . . As the intellect implies the intelligible medium in which he lives, so we can conceive a personal conscience only where it can express a universal law, and moral freedom only where there is a supreme ethical Will to govern. Without this correspondence of man's nature with the constitution of the universe in which he lives, moral life would not be possible to him, nor would obedience bring the harmony between personal, will, and imperative law, which is the very notion of beatitude' (p. 84).

The following passages show the chief apologetic result of the chapter in which the argument occurs:

'Since the moral law is immanent in man, and realized by his will, it follows that all moral good is personal in its source, originates with persons, is realized in persons, and is by means of persons incorporated in the laws, institutions, and agencies which protect, preserve, and develop it' (p. 92).

'If, then, man by his moral being touches the skirts of God, and God is enforcing His law for ever, by means of great persons, shaping the life of man to its diviner issues, what would be more consonant, alike with man's nature and God's method of forming or reforming it, than that He should send a supreme Personality as the vehicle of highest good to the race?' (p. 93).

But, once more, how are we to think of this supreme Person? As human or as Divine? 'If,' says Dr. Fairbairn,

[1] Curiously enough, Dr. Fairbairn, when discussing 'Christ's Interpretation of God,' deliberately sets aside the question as to the 'metaphysical reality or philosophical warrant' of that interpretation, and, in effect, asks only, 'Can it be made the ground of an universal religion?' (p. 540).

Digitized by Google

'we find the ideal of the Perfect Man realized, must we not conceive Him in whom it is impersonated as essentially supernatural in quality, and in intrinsic worth of being above anything which nature can produce?' But, apparently, we must so conceive Him only because every man is 'embodied spirit'—is 'essentially supernatural in quality'—only because human nature, as rational and ethical, transcends the merely 'natural.'

Dr. Fairbairn argues that, without a 'supreme Personality as the vehicle of highest good to the race,' 'the moral forces of time would lack unity, and without unity they would be without organization, purpose, or efficiency,' and that if 'a Person has appeared in history who has achieved such a position and fulfilled such functions,' He cannot 'be more fitly described than as the Son of God and the Saviour of man' (p. 93).

But surely the moral forces of the universe receive their unity from the God who created them, and whose purpose they fulfil. The order of the world did not commence to be a moral order at the Incarnation (p. 60).[1]

b. In Dr. Fairbairn's book our Lord appears as the Founder of a new religion, or rather as One who causes a new religion to be founded,[2] and as the Redeemer. Now, did this work in either capacity, according to Dr. Fairbairn's account of it, disclose a nature which we have necessarily to construe as Divine?

1. We are told that the founder of a religion 'must be a

[1] Very much earlier in his book Dr. Fairbairn makes a curious use of the argument from analogy. He asks, 'Would it not be absolutely consistent with the whole past history of the creative action as written in the living forms which have dwelt and struggled on our earth, that the Creator should do for the higher life of man what He has done for the lower—create the first form—*i.e.* first not in the chronological, but in the logical and essential, or typical and nominative sense—the form after and from and through which the higher life may be realized?' (p. 60). Dr. Fairbairn must be privileged to possess either an entirely private and extraordinary biology, or else a unique Christology. His question, of course, rests not upon science, but upon utterly misleading 'pseudo-science'—not upon biology, but upon mythology.

[2] 'In the strict sense Jesus did not so much create the Christian religion as cause it to be created' (p. 305).

Digitized by Google

historical person of creative genius' (p. 262). But what are we to understand by creative genius? 'It means more than intellectual, ethical, or social eminence; it means such a concurrence of local conditions as cannot be explained by the completest inheritance of the past, a personality that so embodies a new ideal as to awaken in man the imitative passion, and the interpretative imagination' (p. 263). Here, however, we have nothing that suggests a nature more than human. In this sense, truly, our Lord was a creative genius, but so also was Buddha. Yet we believe the one to be Divine, and the other human. How does Dr. Fairbairn explain our belief, and how vindicate it?

He tells us that man's 'religion is made up of two constituents (1) the substantive or ideal, *i.e.* the conception of the transcendental, the supernatural, or the divine, which is a product of thought working on the phenomena it perceives; and (2) the formal or real, *i.e.* the terms or vehicles which embody his ideas, the stories, rites, and customs that come out of his own experience, both outer and inner' (p. 212). Here obviously the mode of operation is human. We are told that the 'peculiar creation' of God in the field of human affairs are 'the ideas and ideals that most make for freedom and righteousness' (p. 183); but we are told also that the creation is mediated 'by men that it may be for man.'

'Where God necessitates, but is not necessitated, there must ever exist,' says Dr. Fairbairn, 'the possibility of personalities appearing which He creates and sends to accomplish large things for religion' (pp. 224–5). But those personalities, precisely because created, would not be divine. Even if "an ideal of goodness" were embodied in a "Perfect Man" (p. 91), he who embodied it would as Perfect Man still be human, and not divine. "To be sinless" is, indeed, to be God-like, but why 'to be man and not God'? (p. 379).

Dr. Fairbairn, however, contends, in an interesting and helpful argument, which constitutes, we think, the best part of his book, that no 'founded' or 'personal' religion has been created simply by the teaching of its founder.

'No teacher, simply as a teacher, ever created a new religion, for a religion is made, not by discussions, but by beliefs, not by abstract

Digitized by Google

principles, but by a concrete object of worship ; not by the quickening and cultivation of the intellect, but by the operation of an authority which commands the whole man and organizes his life on a more spiritual basis and according to a higher ideal. It is, then, not simply in what the founder was and did, but in what he was conceived to be, that the forces creative of a new religion lie ; but even though his historical personality be thus transformed, it does not cease to be operative ; on the contrary, it becomes, by being idealized, more potent. For it is made the interpretative and normative term of the highest religious ideas ; the universe, its source and meaning, its course and end, are read in the light of his personality, and God is interpreted through the man' (pp. 263–4).

Even 'the teaching of Jesus, however its qualities may be described or appraised, can never by itself explain the power of Christ, the reign, the diffusion, the continuance, and the achievements of the Christian religion' (p. 304). Jesus is the name of the uninterpreted person, 'but the name of the interpreted person, the Being who exists to thought and for it, is Christ' (p. 438), and in the 'interpretation of Christ's Person' we have 'the source of the main ideas as to God and man that constituted the Christian faith' (p. 437). It is, we read,

'the ideal significance of His person' that 'determines the permanent and essential value of the Founder to man and religion. For as the person is conceived to be supreme in history, in mind, and in the universe of actual being, he is the symbol of all that the universe is on its most real yet mysterious side—the side it turns to man as he seeks to know why he is and for what end' (pp. 287–8).

But, according to Dr. Fairbairn, interpreted character and ideal significance belong to the founders of other religions no less than to Christ. Yet we believe that they were human and that He is divine. Once more, how does Dr. Fairbairn explain our belief, and how vindicate it ?

2. Dr. Fairbairn tells us that religion is a 'mutual relation.' 'The God' man 'thinks of is one who speaks to him as well as one who can be spoken to. The mutual relation is therefore conceived as a mutual activity ; there is reciprocity between the related persons. Man worships, but God hears and sees, and responds' (p. 202). Every religion would appear, therefore,

Digitized by Google

to contain somewhat of divine revelation. Religion is described as 'the greatest of all man's unconscious creations' (p. vii), but we are told too that 'to complete the idea of the factors that work subjectively for the creation of religion, we must not forget the God who dwells in consciousness any more than the consciousness which knows of His indwelling' (p. 203). This Divine activity in religion is, therefore, not distinctive of the Christian religion. It is but the divine side of that 'constant process of intercommunication' (p. 59), of that 'intercommunal' life (p. 58) which, according to Dr. Fairbairn, is the ground of every religion. The constant 'intercommunication' between God and man 'means,' according to Dr. Fairbairn, that the Divine 'beneficence' is 'a universal and continuous activity' (p. 59), and this 'beneficence,' apparently, finds characteristic expression in producing '(1) the ideas creative of human progress and unity, and (2) the persons through whom they come' (p. 293), but there is nothing in Dr. Fairbairn's account of religion to suggest that this 'beneficence' could become complete only in the Incarnation. We are told that 'Christ is more of a response to a nature dissatisfied with its own discoveries and knowledge, than an absolute miracle which violates all nature's laws' (p. 540), but the passage is only an incidental one, and is left uninterpreted. Dr. Fairbairn does not explain either the human dissatisfaction or the nature of the Divine response. Therefore, we cannot tell whether, in this representation of our Lord, we have or have not an index to a nature more than human.

3. In another place Dr. Fairbairn tells us that 'the emancipation of the universal idea' contained in the Hebrew religion, 'and its embodiment in a religion at once universal and missionary, was in a special and peculiar sense the achievement of Jesus Christ' (p. 294). We are, apparently, to find this idea in the thought that the beneficence of God reaches out beyond all natural limitations and embraces all nations of men that dwell on all the face of the earth (pp. 247–257). This thought, we are told, persisted 'in the face of the rigorous tribal consciousness which ever tended to conceive God as Israel's, rather than Israel as God's' (p. 248).

Digitized by Google

Now, how did Christ emancipate this idea? (1) By communicating (!) 'to the Father a universality cognate to the manhood He embodies,' and so making (!) 'the God of the Jews into the God of the whole earth' (p. 350). (2) By becoming, through His death, 'the sole institution for Christian worship' (p. 560). 'The association of worship with His person completely dissociated it from place, and it became possible to approach God anywhere provided He was approached through Him' (p. 555).

(*a*) Our Lord, we are told, has 'colossal existence' (p. 459). This, surely, is the crudest attribution. He is not only 'the personalized ideal of humanity' (p. 507), He is the 'sum of mankind' (p. 459), and 'impersonates the race before God' (p. 531). Here, then, is Dr. Fairbairn's argument: 'If collective man was God's son, it follows that God was man's Father, and so there stepped into the place of the tribal deity the universal Fatherhood' (p. 543). Now, it is easy to say that this argument depends upon an illegitimate use of metaphor. But Dr. Fairbairn is an unflinching realist; he intends his descriptions to be literal, and not metaphorical.

The unexplained 'collectivism' of this Christology is not unique in Dr. Fairbairn's thought. For instance, we are told that the innumerable individuals of the race 'may appear to the Creator as a unity, co-ordinated as a collective mind, or incorporated in the organism of nature and the race' (p. 165). 'In other words,' says Dr. Fairbairn, 'man is to God a whole, a colossal individual, whose days are centuries, whose organs are races, whose being as corporate endures immortal amid the immortality of its constituent unity' (p. 165). With a closely similar phantasy of rhetoric, Dr. Fairbairn tells us on an earlier page, that the past which science recreates for us 'is made in our own image; it is turned into a stupendous man, individualized, personified' (p. 72). Even the unity of the human race is spoken of as a 'substantial' unity (p. 175).

Fortunately we need not linger over this characteristic of Dr. Fairbairn's work—a characteristic which it seems charitable to attribute to the prevailing temptation of his rhetoric, rather than to the constraint of his thought—and

Digitized by Google

we need not ask whether his literally intended metaphors are literally true. The conception of a 'collective' Person is, indeed, not an easy one to construe, and Dr. Fairbairn gives us not the least help to construe it; but, however we interpret that conception, it seems clear that our Lord could be described as the 'sum of mankind' only because of some perfection in His human nature *as such*. But if so, that description does not indicate or suggest the presence of a Divine nature.

(β) Dr. Fairbairn tells us that our Lord universalized the Divine Fatherhood. In what way did He do this? Dr. Fairbairn's argument is in substance as follows:

Christ is eternally the Son of God.

'Thus love and fellowship, affinity and affection, were bound up with the very being of God. He could not be conceived as loveless thought, or as abstract substance, or as almighty energy, so long as the terms Father and Son could be used to denote eternal facts and relations essential to His Deity' (p. 543).

'If by the very constitution of His being God was a Father, man, by the very fact of His creation in Christ was constituted a son' (p. 543).

Obviously this argument presupposes the Godhead of our Lord, and suggests no ground for affirming it. It introduces us, indeed, to the Divine Persons, as eternally and mutually related; but they appear in Dr. Fairbairn's thought as 'crude facts.' No attempt is made to deduce the complexity of the Divine Life from any necessity of the Divine existence as personal. Yet, surely that deduction can be hopefully and helpfully attempted, and Dr. Fairbairn, who professes to put before us a philosophy of our faith, should at least have indicated it.

(γ) Let us now turn to the other aspect of our Lord's work as described by Dr. Fairbairn, and see if we can there discover what we have hitherto failed to find—some conclusive indication of the presence in that work of a Divine worker.

Dr. Fairbairn says that 'Christ is the sole institution for worship which has Divine authority in the Christian religion' (p. 561). Now, what do we mean when we speak of a person

Digitized by Google

as an 'institution.' Dr. Fairbairn tells us. 'It was said that His person was conceived as an institution; and this signified that all the conditions and means needed by man for the perfect worship of God were realized in Him' (p. 560). The thought at once occurs to us that in this perfect realization of the conditions of human worship we have an index to our Lord's perfect manhood, and not an index to His divinity. Presumably, the conditions of human worship can be realized by man—they are not hopelessly beyond the possibilities of his nature. Therefore, if and when we find those conditions perfectly realized, we may, perhaps, infer the presence of a Perfect Man; we have no inevitable inference to God.

'The only institution possible in a universal religion must,' says Dr. Fairbairn, 'be an ideal' (p. 560).

This may be true, but as we have already seen, it does not lead us to the Christian doctrine of our Lord's person.

But, apparently, it was through our Lord's death that His person became the 'only Institution for Christian worship' (p. 560). What, then, does Dr. Fairbairn tell us concerning our Lord's death? He says that Jesus, by His voluntary acceptance of death, 'changed' His death 'from a martyrdom into a sacrifice, *i.e.* from a fate which He suffered to a work which He achieved' (p. 409). 'He was the sole sacrifice needed by man or required by God' (p. 560). He is 'in the strict sense a Redeemer and a Sacrifice, one whose sorrow is curative, who restores our nature to personal and social health, that it may attain individual and collective happiness, personal and general immortality' (p. 483). It was His 'splendid privilege' to give 'Himself "a ransom for many"' (p. 433). His death was not 'a common death,' and our Lord Himself did not 'conceive it simply as suffered "for conscience's sake" but as "for many"' (p. 411): '*ἀντὶ πολλῶν*="in room of many"' (p. 411). We are told that 'He saves by bearing the sin which was not His own' (p. 531). 'As the blameless Brother of a guilty family He bore the family's guilt, so bore it that one might learn of Him how to escape the sin that was sorrow and caused death' (p. 547).

Now, have we here any indication of Divine agency?

Digitized by Google

The answer must be in the negative, for Dr. Fairbairn leaves his theology uninterpreted.[1] He does not tell us what he means by the forgiveness of sins, nor how he conceives it to be brought about. Yet, surely, forgiveness is a describable fact of the inner life and a not wholly undescribable act of God, and surely, too, it is the first duty of the apologist—of anyone who professes to give us 'the philosophy of the Christian religion'—to translate the language of our theology into terms of inner experience and outward history. In many cases, indeed, clear explanation is the most serviceable form of apologetic. But Dr. Fairbairn makes no attempt at explanation. He is content to repeat uninterpreted phrases. 'The doctrine,' as he himself says in one place, 'is neither explained nor defended nor criticized' (p. 507).[2]

V.

Dr. Fairbairn's apologetic, then, discloses no ground that the apologist can make use of to vindicate to the unbelieving or to the doubting our Christian belief that the Person of our Lord is more than human, nor does he in the least help us to

[1] In one passage there is indeed a distinct suggestion that the immediate agency is only human. The death of Christ, we are told, is 'for many.' 'He stands alone, and does what He alone can do. . . . His pre-eminence, therefore, is the secret of His work; He does what is possible to no other, for He transcends all others, and His personality equals, as it were, the personality of collective man. Hence He is able to "give Himself a ransom for many"' (p. 410).

[2] We find the same absence of interpretation when Dr. Fairbairn refers to that union of believers with the Lord whereby they become partakers in the 'benefits of His passion.' 'The man who believes in the Son of God is,' we are told, 'identified with Christ, and when he worships it is as if Jesus worshipped' (p. 555). Christ, we read in another place, 'is the personalized ideal of humanity; what He does or suffers man does and endures' (p. 507). His brethren's sufferings 'are His, and His are theirs; what He endures and what He achieves, man achieves and endures' (p. 417). *His* act of sacrifice is also the act of His disciples; 'in Him they live impersonated' (p. 424).

What do those expressions mean? to what *facts* in history and experience do they point? They appear to be essential in Dr. Fairbairn's account of Christian doctrine, and yet, in Dr. Fairbairn's treatise, they are 'neither explained nor defended nor criticized.'

Digitized by Google

construe the Divine Nature—in accordance with the primary doctrines of our Faith—as at once and eternally a unity and a plurality. There is not, so far as we know, the slightest reference in his work to the suggestive argument that the conception of God as personal involves the thought of eternal differences within the Divine Nature. Yet he entitles his work *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*!

We have given more space to Dr. Fairbairn's book than we had at first intended to give—much more than its philosophical value warrants; but it seemed necessary to settle as conclusively as possible Dr. Fairbairn's true position in the—unfortunately—small company of Christian thinkers. He holds a prominent position and has a great reputation, and many are quite willing to accept him as a representative apologist. A Christian *teacher*—and, happily, one of power and usefulness—he assuredly is, but he is not a philosopher, and he has not given us, and we are disposed to think, cannot give us 'the philosophy of the Christian religion.' In the work now before us he gives no evidence of helpful familiarity with contemporary philosophical thinking, and again and again, in matters vital to his purpose he substitutes unexplained phrases for reasoned thought.

Apart from philosophy, however, there is much in his book that is interesting and suggestive, and not a little that is valuable.

Digitized by Google

ART. III.—THE CRITICISM OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS—THEIR HISTORICAL VALUE.

1. *A Dictionary of the Bible.* Four Vols. Edited by J. HASTINGS. In particular the Article 'Jesus Christ,' by W. SANDAY, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1898–1902.)
2. *The Study of the Gospels.* By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1902.)
3. *The Trustworthiness of the Gospel Narrative.* By the Rev. H. B. SWETE, D.D., in *Critical Questions.* (London: Brown, Langham and Co., 1903.)
4. *Encyclopædia Biblica.* Vols. I.–IV. Edited by T. K. CHEYNE and J. S. BLACK. In particular the Article 'Gospels,' by E. A. ABBOTT and P. W. SCHMIEDEL. (Edinburgh: Black, 1898–1903.)
5. *Die Synoptische Frage.* Von PAUL WERNLE. (Freiburg: Mohr, 1899.)
6. *The Historical New Testament.* By JAMES MOFFATT. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1901.)
7. *What is Christianity?* By ADOLF HARNACK. Translated by T. BAILEY SAUNDERS. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1901.)
8. *A Historic View of the New Testament.* By PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. (London: Black, 1901.)
9. *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century.* By J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903.)

IN a previous article we discussed the structure of the Synoptic Gospels. We saw that from an historical point of view we have to deal, not with three Gospels as so many units, but with eight distinct strata in the mine of Gospel material. We have (1) St. Mark; (2) St. Mark as edited by the writer of the first Gospel; (3) St. Mark as edited by the writer of the third Gospel; (4) Logia sections in St. Matthew; (5) Logia sections in St. Luke; (6) the sections in St. Luke borrowed from his special source; (7) material in St. Matthew

Digitized by Google

drawn, not from the Logia, but from tradition; (8) material in St. Luke drawn, not from the Logia nor from his special source, but from tradition. For our present purpose of estimating the value of the contents of these historical sources we may put aside the secondary forms of St. Mark as presented to us in the later Gospels, because changes made in the arrangement of St. Mark, or in his language, or in slight details, can seldom be regarded as due to more accurate knowledge by the later editors upon points of fact. Thus the second and third of the foregoing headings may be dismissed. The remaining six fall into two groups. The first consists of St. Mark, the Logia as found in St. Matthew and in St. Luke, and St. Luke's special source. By 'Logia' is here meant parables and miracles common to St. Matthew and St. Luke, but not in St. Mark; by 'special source' is meant parables and miracles found only in St. Luke. The second group consists of the sections in the first and third Gospels which cannot be traced either to St. Mark or to the Logia or to the special source of St. Luke. It includes from St. Matthew the narratives of the Infancy, the quotations introduced by the formula 'in order that it might be fulfilled,' and such sections as the dream of Pilate's wife, the setting of the guard and the sealing of the tomb; from St. Luke, the first two chapters and the account of the Ascension. The division of Gospel material into these two groups is based upon a broad distinction in the subject matter of the narratives. It might be urged by an uncritical observer that the division is arbitrary, that the terms 'Logia' and 'special source' are conjectural and misleading, and that a truer division would be into (*a*) St. Mark, (*b*) parts of St. Matthew and St. Luke which are not borrowed from St. Mark, but are drawn from the tradition of the period. But the division suggested above has very real advantages. For even if for 'Logia' and 'special source' we should substitute the single term 'tradition' it would still be desirable to separate this traditional matter of sayings and doings of Christ which were contemporaneous with the period of His life as told by St. Mark, and which bear the same stamp as the Marcan narratives, from that other traditional matter relating to His infancy

Digitized by Google

and post-resurrection life. The latter is exposed, as we shall see, to a searching criticism from which the former is free; and it is very convenient, therefore, to consider the two apart. We return, therefore, to what we may call the primary group of historical documents for the life of the Redeemer, viz. St. Mark, the Logia, and St. Luke's 'special source,' or, as others may prefer to put it, St. Mark and the Church tradition known to St. Matthew and St. Luke as to the period of Christ's life covered by the second Gospel. What do these sources tell us about the life of the Lord? Is there any reason why we should not give them credence?

Of course it is not possible here to summarize the teaching of these sources as to the life of the Saviour of mankind. The important point is to notice that in all three alike He is the *Divine* Saviour. There is no contrariety of representation, no dissonance in the strain, no contradiction in the report. The divine Christ of St. Mark is equally divine in the Logia and not a whit less divine in the 'special source.' Alike in His estimate of His own Person and Work, in His sinless self-consciousness, and in His claim to the supreme moral Kingship in the hearts of men, He is one who passes beyond the limits of human experience. 'No man ever spake like this man.' If in St. Mark He forgives sins, gives His life a ransom for many, and proclaims the universal kingdom, so too in the Logia He makes authoritative pronouncements upon moral principles, and in the 'special source' raises from the dead the son of the widow at Nain. That the three documents of this group are agreed in describing one who claimed by His action and by His teaching an unique position among men cannot be doubted.

Now, in dealing with these three sources we must, of course, treat them in precisely the same way that the trained historian uses any historical documents. First of all comes the criticism which endeavours to give us the best ascertainable text. That is a work of much complexity which is occupying the time and attention of an army of expert scholars. But the amount of possible variation is after all small in comparison with the region where general agreement prevails.

Digitized by Google

And when the textual critic has done his work the historical critic must sift the text thus assured. Where statements about Christ are concerned he will ask himself whether it be possible to trace them further back behind the source in which he finds them. Again he will ask if the statement thus vouched for is or is not consonant with the Person of Christ as we know Him from all the available historical evidence. These three sources treated as a whole present us with the picture of One who was undeniably truly human, and yet transcended human nature. If there were any isolated statement in the early sources with which we are dealing which represented Him as acting in a way which betrayed moral infirmity, there would be at once excellent reason for doubting whether a statement so at variance with the general picture were not unreliable and due to misunderstanding. Again, where sayings of Christ are concerned, the historian will endeavour so far as possible to reconstruct the exact Aramaic words which Christ uttered. He will ask himself whether it be probable that the words as we have them express a meaning other than that in which Christ used them, or again if there be reason to think that they are the creation of the evangelic writer, or of the community which he represented. Lastly, he will ask himself whether they express a truth which is in harmony with that general representation of Christ of which we have spoken. Of course in this, as in all historical study, absolute certainty with regard to details is rarely attainable. But there is attainable a general representation of the Person of Christ which presents itself with a reality which brings conviction to the minds of historians who are not pledged to *a priori* and one-sided views of nature. For the life of Christ is the life of One who was the embodiment of religious convictions and religious truths. He who would understand Him must therefore be capable of appropriating religious truths. Again, it is the life of One who exhibits a hitherto unexperienced blending of human and divine traits. He who would estimate its value must be fettered by no theory of the limitations of human nature as elsewhere experienced. Ritschl rightly complains of Strauss for attempting to write a Life of Christ in which 'the thought

Digitized by Google

of God is completely suspended.' 'Would a man,' he says, 'who regards all music as a disagreeable noise, undertake to write a Life and appreciation of Mozart? That were the true parallel to this atheistic method of writing the history of religion.' These *a priori* critics approach the Gospels with such hasty and immature assumptions as this, that 'miracles do not happen,' or this, that 'Jesus was a man as other men.' They are therefore forced by their theory to invent or create causes which will explain away the whole miraculous element in our sources. Against such treatment of historical documents the scientific historian must raise a vigorous protest. We can only read them, not as isolated witnesses to fact, but as a part of a wider and manifold witness. We can but approach them in the light shed upon them from every part of that consciousness which is the reflection of life as a whole. Our three sources are not the only sources of evidence for the life of the Lord. That evidence is complex and manifold. There are the letters of St. Paul. There is the existence of the Church. There is the consciousness of Christians regarded as individuals, and that same consciousness from the point of view of the collective experience of the Church which finds expression in the Creeds. There is, lastly, the evidence of the sources with which we are dealing. Ritschl cannot be far from right when he says that 'knowledge of Jesus' religious significance depends on one's reckoning oneself part of the community which He founded,' because 'we can discover the full compass of His historical actuality solely from the faith of the Christian community.'

'This religious faith,' he urges, 'does not take an unhistorical view of Jesus, and it is quite possible to read an historical estimate of Him without first divesting oneself of this religious valuation of His person. The opposite view is one of the characteristics which mark that great untruth which exerts a deceptive and confusing influence under the name of an historical "absence of presuppositions."'

This judgment of Ritschl might indeed be more strongly stated. It is psychologically impossible, as it is crudely unscientific, to attempt to dissever Christ as known to us from the historical records of His life from Christ as known to us through His Spirit revealing Him to the consciousness

Digitized by Google

of men, whether as individuals or as members of the society which He founded. The Christ of this manifold evidence is and always has been a divine Christ, transcending human nature. The Christ of the Gospels is a divine Christ; so is Christ as known to St. Paul. So, too, Christ as realized in the consciousness of Christian people. The only Christ who is not divine is the impossible being, alike non-human and non-divine, presented to us by some critical writers when they have suppressed the greater part of the evidence for His divine activity.

In opposition to all such criticism, we shall feel bound to claim fair treatment for the early strata of the Gospels at present under discussion. They must be submitted to every test of historical criticism with a view to obtaining the earliest and most accurate traditional account of Christ's life, free from all later accretions. But of this earliest record we cannot admit the right of critics, who start heavily handicapped with *a priori* theories of nature, to ask, 'Are these facts so obtained probable?' We may answer all such questions with the counter query, Is it so easy to determine what is or is not probable in connexion with a personality like His?

May we, then, assume that the facts recorded in our three sources are substantially true? To this question a negative answer is given by an increasing number of literary critics. Let us ask for their reasons and endeavour to estimate them aright. And for this purpose it may be well to take as a test case a recent book, called *Historical Christianity*, by Professor P. Gardner. The author is a recognized authority upon classical archæology, who is well acquainted with German literature upon the New Testament. The book before us is of the nature of an abridgment of a previous work, and attempts to summarize the bearing of modern criticism upon the facts which underly the growth of the Christian religion. It is written in a spirit of reverence which compels the sympathy and respect of readers who find themselves entirely unable to accept Professor Gardner's conclusions. The Professor's view of the Synoptic Gospels is briefly this: 'The teaching of Jesus is in its main outlines recoverable' (p. 103). But in the case of 'the deeds of the Master' the

Digitized by Google

application of criticism is 'much more destructive' (*ib.*). How destructive we learn a little later.

'Jesus as a healer of disease is historic; and the tales told of His cures, though doubtless deformed by exaggeration and distorted by very imperfect physiological knowledge, rest on a basis of fact. But Jesus as turning water into wine, as feeding multitudes from a few baskets of food, and the like, belongs not to history, but to a perfectly familiar field of pseudo-historic tale and legend' (p. 146).

The tale of the miraculous baptism is an early and somewhat crude attempt of the Christian Church to give embodiment to the great idea of the Incarnation (p. 164). The tale of the resurrection is a result 'of the experience of Christians—moulded by beliefs of the time as to the nature of spirit and its relations to a material body.'

Now upon what is all this based? 'If,' says Professor Gardner, 'we can show that the miracles rest upon no sufficient evidence, and further, that there was every probability that whether actual or not they would be reported, then we do, according to the canons of history, dismiss them from objective existence' (p. 24). There are here stated two quite distinct principles: (*a*) To make a fact credible there must be sufficient evidence. This is just what, as it seems to us, our primary sources give us for most of the facts which they record. The second Gospel, *e.g.*, appears to be quite admirable as an authority for the facts of Christ's life as they are there recorded. Upon what grounds is it to be held insufficient? There seem to be no such grounds until Professor Gardner's second principle is brought into consideration. It is this: (*b*) 'If we can show that whether actual or not the miracles would have been ascribed to Christ, we destroy the value of the evidence for them.' Against such judgments as this, which seem to us to vitiate the work of a large number of writers upon New Testament subjects, plain students of history must protest. How do we know that it is probable that miracles would have been ascribed to Christ? Why should such a probability have any weight against the evidence? If we are going to allow subjective fancies of this sort to tamper with evidence, we may no doubt re-write history to our pleasure. Underlying all this argumentation

Digitized by Google

lies the real objection to the Gospel narratives. Miracles do not happen; therefore any fancied cause of the origin of the miracles ascribed to Christ is better than the belief in their credibility to which the evidence would incline us. But, as we have already urged, the miraculous element in the Gospels, attested by first-rate evidence, cannot on *a priori* grounds be said to be inconsistent with the Christ of history and of experience.

And when we examine into the suggested causes we do not find them any the more satisfactory. It is urged that the Gospels come to us from a time in which the marvellous was something of daily occurrence. Prophets, magicians, sorcerers, wise men, all alike were supposed to be possessed of some miraculous powers. It was therefore inevitable that miraculous energy should be ascribed to Christ, whether He performed miracles or whether He did not. The premiss may or may not be true; the conclusion may or may not be true; but even if we admit the truth of both there is no reason for inferring that therefore the miracles recorded in the Gospel were not wrought by Christ. The fact that the people of that age were ready to believe in miracles can be no reason why He should not have wrought them. Objections of this kind are really aimed at the whole conception of an Incarnation of God at any period of the world's history under the conditions of that period. Because the idea of Incarnation is in some form or another ancient and pagan, are we to suppose that God *could* not become incarnate in order to reveal Himself to man? Or, to pass for a moment outside the limitations of our subject, because stories of birth from a virgin are ancient and widespread, are we to hold that God must by that very fact have been restrained from choosing this method of entry upon the sphere of human things? Such attempts to fetter the Divine Being are intolerably distasteful to Christian thinkers. Is it not more reasonable to suppose that the ancient stories of incarnation and virgin-birth were alike intended to prepare men's minds for the true Incarnation of God in history? And with regard to the latter, is it not fitting that God should enter into the world under conditions which, while not absolutely inconceivable to human

Digitized by Google

thought, but rather familiar to men's conceptions, should effect a break in the continuity of human descent? Or, in the case of miracles, is not the popular readiness to believe in miracle, so far from being prejudicial to the very strong documentary evidence in favour of the miracles of the Gospel, rather its ally? For it would be fitting that in this as in all other respects the Incarnate Son of God should make use of the intellectual methods of thought current during this earthly life, to serve as expressions of His divine moral nature.

It is said, however, that the fabrication of the Gospel miracles is undoubted, because we can see them growing before our eyes in the records. A statement like this, which can be tested by reference to the Gospels, deserves every consideration. In an earlier part of this paper we have taken special pains to point out details in which the writer of the first Gospel seems to have heightened the miraculous element of some of St. Mark's stories, that readers may have the facts before them. For an argument of this kind very often loses half its apparent weight when the facts upon which it is based are ruthlessly dragged into the light of day. Now let it be observed that the objection to the credibility of the Gospel miracles consists of these two propositions: (*a*) in the later Gospels the miracles of the earlier Gospel have become more miraculous; (*b*) therefore even in the earlier Gospel they are not in an original form, but are miraculous stories of events which historically were unmiraculous. Of course, the second of these is purely conjectural. In so far as it is intended to be an inference from the heightening of the miraculous element in the later Gospels, it seems to us to be a very improbable inference. For even when these stories have been patiently read and re-read in the pages of a synopsis, the amount of such heightening of the miraculous that can be detected is very slight. It is due, probably, to the unconscious influence of years of patient thought about Christ finding expression in a more careful choice of language about Him, and in a more reverential terminology. But the effect must not be over-exaggerated any more than the cause. The picture of Christ as drawn by St. Matthew in the sections

Digitized by Google

parallel to St. Mark is not more divine than that presented to us in the second Gospel. That the changes of which we are speaking are largely unconscious and literary rather than purposely introduced with dogmatic intention is shewn by the fact that, if intended to heighten the miraculous element in Christ's life, they are very inadequate to the purpose. It is certain that the average reader, after perusing St. Mark and the parallel sections in St. Matthew, is not conscious of any striking difference in the Person and character of the Saviour as depicted by the two writers. In both He works miracles which are not less extraordinary if the process was gradual than if it was instantaneous. Some of the examples brought forward to illustrate 'the miraculous element growing under our eyes' are very misleading and need careful sifting. Professor Gardner quotes two. In St. Matthew xii. 39–41 'the preaching of Jonah,' he says, 'is spoken of as a sign to the Jews. But into the midst of this statement the evangelist, or an interpolator, has thrust a prophecy that as Jonah lay for three days and nights in the body of the sea-monster, so Jesus should lie for three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.' But the professor's exegesis is very questionable. Weiss[1] denies the possibility of interpreting the sign of Jonah by his preaching. So does Zahn, who is probably right when he says that by the sign of Jonah Christ meant to refer to something in the history of the prophet which every reader of the book would understand, and that this can be nothing else but the miraculous preservation which preceded his preaching, and which made him a sign to the Ninevites.[2] If so, St. Matthew xii. 40, whether it be an interpolation into Christ's words or not, is a right expansion of the lesson which He intended to convey. The parallelism between the three days and three nights in either case may be dropped, as possibly due to the Evangelist, without weakening the significance of the parallel. The miraculous preservation of the prophet made him a sign to the men of Nineveh. Christ's resurrection would constitute Him a sign to the men of His generation. It was the only sign which should be given to them.

[1] Meyer-Weiss, *Matthäus*, 8th edn. p. 239; *Lucas*, 9th edn. p. 471.

[2] *Das Evangelium des Matthäus* (1903), p. 468.

Digitized by Google

The professor's second example is equally precarious.

'A still clearer case of the intrusion of the miraculous will appear if we compare the directions for preparing the Last Supper in Matthew and in Mark. Matthew writes, "He said, Go into the city to such a man, and say unto him, The Master saith, My time is at hand; I will keep the passover at thy house with my disciples." Here there is no marvel; no second sight. But Mark's version is, "He sendeth two of His disciples, and saith unto them, Go into the city, and there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water: follow him; and wheresoever he shall enter in, say to the goodman of the house,' &c. We have here a most instructive glance into the minds of the early disciples, and see how a simple tale might grow under their hands.'

Professor Gardner clearly means us to understand that St. Matthew's is the earlier version, and that St. Mark has re-written it in order to portray Christ as one who had a miraculous foresight into minute details of the near future. Almost every point in this view of the two narratives is questionable. In the first place, very few critical writers are willing to admit that St. Mark is here dependent upon St. Matthew. B. Weiss of course maintains the priority of St. Mark; so does Holtzmann. And Johannes Weiss is unwillingly driven to the conclusion that St. Matthew has shortened St. Mark.[1] Secondly, the motive suggested for the alleged expansion of St. Matthew by St. Mark is very questionable. B. Weiss will not hear of it. And, indeed, the explanation of St. Mark's detailed command by a reference to Christ's 'superhuman knowledge of circumstances as yet unrealized' (Swete *in loc.*) is conjectural, and possibly quite unnecessary. The details given by St. Mark perhaps explain why Judas could not effect the arrest of Christ during the meal. (So Weiss, Holtzmann.) And Menzies[2] is very possibly not far wrong in describing St. Mark xiv. 13–14 as the carrying out of 'a preconcerted arrangement made by Christ, and not communicated to His disciples.' (*Cf.* also Meyer-Weiss, 9th edn., *in loc.*) The proper conclusion, as it seems to the present writer, to draw from the stories as they lie

[1] *Das Älteste Evangelium*, p. 289.
[2] *The Earliest Gospel*, p. 249.

Digitized by Google

before us in the Gospels is not that they have passed through so long and chequered a career of careless repetition by oral teachers, and uncritical handling by editors of Gospels, that from simple tales of natural events they have developed into the splendid flashes of the supernatural that they now are, but rather that they have been preserved with such care and accuracy that we have them in respect of content much as they came from the mouth of the apostles who were first privileged to remember and to tell them to their hearers.

Moreover, it may very properly be urged that no sort of proof can be adduced that the first disciples or their contemporaries, from whom the mass of these stories must ultimately have come, were the sort of people who would have invented miracles. The miraculous element goes back into our earliest Gospel sources, St. Mark's Gospel, the Logia, and St. Luke's 'special source.' These writings cannot be later than the year 70 A.D. Indeed, the bulk of the miraculous element must be very much earlier. For the life and teaching of St. Paul and the growth of the early Church presuppose the kind of facts in connexion with Christ which St. Mark records. St. Paul nowhere speaks of Christ's miracles, but he frequently appeals to His resurrection and ascension. But the resurrection implies a character of unique moral power and holiness expressing itself in acts of power and holiness. If St. Mark's record be historically accurate, and if Christ acted and spoke as He is described in the Gospel, St. Paul's teaching about Him is natural and intelligible. But if Christ was as other men, and did no miraculous acts of power, the doctrine of St. Paul has no basis in history, and becomes a very remarkable creation *ex nihilo*.

It follows from what has been said that we must carry back the main contents of St. Mark, in written or in oral form, to the period when St. Paul began to preach. Between this date and the crucifixion is a period of about sixteen years. Is it conceivable that within the Christian community in Palestine during this period, governed as it was by those who had been the intimate friends of Christ, any serious modification of this life should have taken place? There may possibly have been accretions. But when the second Gospel tells us

Digitized by Google

that Christ fed a large multitude in a miraculous way, it seems to us absurd to suggest that the central point of the narrative, the miraculous expansion of the small stock of provisions, is not an original and essential part of the story, and based upon actual historical fact. Once again the theory of the gradual growth of the miraculous breaks down hopelessly in respect of time. From the death of Christ to the publication of St. Mark not more than forty years can be allowed, and in the year 70 A.D. there would have been eyewitnesses living who would have corrected any serious departure from historical accuracy. And of course the forty years must be diminished. Neither St. Mark's Gospel, nor the Logia, nor St. Luke's 'source' can have sprung into existence, about the year 65 A.D., out of nothing. As we have shown, the main contents of the facts here recorded go back to the time of St. Paul's conversion. Where, then, is room for the development of which the critics speak? And here some of the writers whom we have in view are ready with an immediate answer. Professor Schmiedel, after arriving at the conclusion that the stories of the miracles are not historical, and that the statements about the empty grave in the Gospels are to be rejected, gravely assures us that—

'even if our Gospels could be shown to have been written from 50 A.D. onwards, or even earlier, we should not be under any necessity to withdraw our conclusions as to their contents; we should, on the contrary, only have to say that the indubitable transformation in the original tradition had taken place much more rapidly than one might have been ready to suppose. The credibility of the Gospel history cannot be established by an earlier dating of the Gospels themselves in any higher degree than that in which it has already been shown to exist, especially as we know that even in the lifetime of Jesus miracles of every sort were attributed to Him in the most confident manner.'

This most astonishing statement displays at once the writer's strength and his weakness—his strength of dogmatic assertion, his weakness of historic judgment. It is just because we have reason to believe that miracles were not only attributed to Christ in His lifetime, but were also wrought by Him, that we are willing to give them credence. And it is because the

Digitized by Google

record of these miracles goes back to so early a date, and comes to us through so trustworthy a channel, that we are prepared to believe them. Professor Schmiedel's suggestion that before the year 50 A.D. a great part of the Gospel miracles could have run their course of development, from the figurative saying or the Old Testament parallel, which he supposes to have originated them, into the finished miracle as we have it, is quite incredible. The parallels of such rapid growth of legend brought forward by some critical writers are most fallacious. We are told that miracles were ascribed to St. Thomas of Canterbury and to St. Francis either during their lifetime or very shortly after their death, and we are invited to draw the conclusion that, as these miracles are clearly legendary, the miracles of Christ fall into the same category. But these cases are quite beside the point, and ought not to have been cited. For centuries the halo of ecclesiastical miracle had been formed ready to be fitted to the head of any saint who should be found worthy of it. If immediately preceding Christ there had been a long succession of false Messiahs all claiming to do the kind of miracles recorded in the Gospels, then the argument that His disciples would inevitably have ascribed miracles to Him might have some weight. At present it is simply a conjecture, and a very improbable one. As applied to the Jewish Messiah, such a conjecture is especially out of place. The Gospels in their present form were no doubt intended for Greek readers. But there is reason to think that the sources behind them all have a Palestinian origin. The entire substratum of St. Mark is Jewish. The country, the people, the customs, and the atmosphere of thought are all described with an unaffected accuracy and simplicity of detail impossible in a Greek writer, unless he were recording narratives which had been handed down to him from a Palestinian fount. And what is true of St. Mark applies in a special degree to the Logia, and almost certainly to St. Luke's 'special source.' Now we have a striking illustration of the way in which a Jewish Messiah was treated in the history of Barcochba in the second century. So far from there being a tendency to describe him as a miraculous wonder-worker

Digitized by Google

of supernatural origin and undying life, no miracles at all were ascribed to him. Why? Because he made no such claim. But what then becomes of the argument that miracles must have been ascribed to Christ in any case? The simple explanation is that they were so ascribed to Him because He claimed to work them, and supported His claim by His action.

But the whole question of the credibility of the stories of the miracles in the Gospels is of course only a part of the larger question as to the historical character of the resurrection. It does not fall within the scope of this article to attempt to set forth the evidence for that fact. We may rather confine ourselves to St. Mark's narrative of the open grave, with its implied statement that Christ had risen from the tomb. How far is this credible? In the first place, it is only a statement of a fact which had been believed in Christian circles for many years. The evidence of St. Paul carries back the fact of the belief to a very early date. Why should we not suppose that St. Mark is giving a simple description of actual fact? The evidence is early. It agrees well with all that we know of the beliefs of the Christian communities for many years back. Upon what grounds should we doubt it? Professor Gardner (p. 165) argues that for the fact 'that the Spirit of Christ remained with His followers and dwelt among them we have an enormous volume of testimony. And to people of that country and age this spiritual presence would seem illusive unless the body also rose from the grave.' In other words, the disciples, knowing that the Spirit of Christ dwelt among them, inferred that He must have been raised from the dead, and invented the Gospel stories to give expression to this belief. But much of this is purely conjectural. Is it so certain that to the people of that age the spiritual presence of Christ after death must necessarily have involved the idea of the resurrection of His body? And why account for the story of the empty grave in such a circuitous manner instead of accepting it as the simple statement of a fact? It is impossible to resist the conviction which forces itself upon the patient reader of much modern criticism that the real difficulty in the

Digitized by Google

question to the mind of the critic is, not that the evidence is hopelessly inadequate, but that the fact attested is unacceptable. If Christ cannot have been raised from the dead, then plainly the stories of the empty grave must be products of the imagination, no matter what the particular forces that have contributed to their making. Against this *a priori* reading of history in the light of what is supposed to be possible or impossible we must vigorously protest, and that on behalf of the science of history. We have early evidence that the Christians believed Christ to be present among them, 'an enormous volume of testimony,' according to Professor Gardner. We have early evidence that the ground of this belief lay in the sight of the empty grave. Why should we set this aside? Because it is impossible that the grave should have been empty? But why impossible? Because men do not rise from the graves when the last rites have been accomplished and the stone rolled to its place. But then in this case the conditions are unusual. We are speaking of One who makes Himself felt as a present factor in human affairs, who reveals Himself to men as One whose personality, truly human as He is, yet transcends ordinary human experience. We believe that He once lived a man in human form. How do we know that there may not be a divine necessity by which the final separation of His spirit and body is altogether inconceivable? Or, from the other point of view, have we any ground at all for saying that the resurrection of His body is a thing impossible? 'Impossible' is an ugly word to use in connexion with Him. Thus, in the light of what we believe to be the facts of life, we find ourselves face to face with St. Mark's story of the empty grave. It is incredible, says the critic. And we can but ask, why? Why incredible or improbable? The evidence is good, the fact not, so far as we know, unnatural in connexion with a personality so unique.

The line of argument just stated may, of course, be infinitely abused. We claim that the evidence of our documents, when they have been critically sifted, must not be set aside on *a priori* views of what is possible or impossible, because in connexion with the person of Christ we are not

Digitized by Google

in a position to say that anything is impossible. But this must not be perverted into a factor for the probability of any historical event. It is one thing to say that a well-attested fact is not impossible in connexion with His personality, it is quite another thing to say that because a fact is not impossible in connexion with Him, therefore it happened. Whether or not it happened must be decided on historic grounds, and the weight of evidence will not always be uniform. Here we are only concerned to urge that for the miracles (including the resurrection) which are found in St. Mark and in the Logia source used by the writers of the first and third Gospels, and in St. Luke's 'special source,' the evidence is very good, and that there is no reason why it should not be accepted. Whether the facts recorded in the second group of authorities rest upon equally convincing evidence must be discussed in a third article.

ART IV.—MONOTHEISM IN SEMITIC RELIGIONS.

1. *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia.* By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D. (London: S.P.C.K., 1902.)
2. *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia.* The Gifford Lectures on the ancient Egyptian and Babylonian conception of the Divine. By A. H. SAYCE, D.D. LL.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902.)
3. *Babel and Bible.* By FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH. Edited, with an introduction, by C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1903.)
4. *Primitive Semitic Religion to-day.* By S. I. CURTISS, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.)

THE Assyriologists have been remarkably successful in the work of popularization. If at times they have been tempted to be not merely popular but sensational, we can forgive it; they have made themselves the possessors of a potent secret which gives them a well-earned advantage over the ignorant

Digitized by Google

multitude. Sometimes, too, they have indulged in extensive generalizations founded upon slight and uncertain evidence. In dealing with the Bible not long ago they came forward as the champions of their literal accuracy, as against the critics. Quite recently the parts have been inverted; the monuments have been enlisted in the service of the most destructive criticism; and the cry has reached us from Germany that '*Panbabylismus* has laid its strong hand upon the Old Testament.' When a study is still at the pioneer stage some extravagances are to be expected; but these must not be allowed to blind us to the solid results which are steadily accumulating. Nothing sensational or extravagant, however, is to be found in Dr. Pinches' sober pages. He does not write with the imaginative brilliance of Professor Sayce, nor does he give us stimulating novelties like Professor Hommel. He has collected the Babylonian and Assyrian documents which bear upon the Old Testament, most of them already familiar to students, and he has presented them, as he modestly puts it, 'in a new dress.' Dr. Pinches' high position as an Assyriologist gives a special value to his translations, and on all that has to do with Assyriology we gladly accept his authority. Few people who have not tried their hand at it can imagine the difficulties which beset the decipherment of the tablets, and the immense amount of patient labour which the work requires. While we appreciate to the full the value of Dr. Pinches' special learning, we must confess that we are a little disappointed with the way in which he applies it to the Old Testament. There are plenty of books which show how the cuneiform records illustrate or confirm the narratives of the Bible; the characteristic contrasts, the relative merits of both have been pointed out repeatedly; but with advancing study the relations between the two have raised fresh problems which are only beginning to be explored. The difference between the third and the second editions of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* shews the difference between the earlier stage and the new, and of this Dr. Pinches seems scarcely to take account. It is not his purpose to explain how the Biblical narratives arose; he takes them simply as

Digitized by Google

they stand, and illustrates them from Babylonian sources; 'the higher criticism has been left altogether aside.' This is surely a pity. He does not, for example, so much as hint that there are two accounts of the Deluge, and that the version of P is more Babylonian in character than the version of J, a fact which raises more than one interesting question. On the origin of the early Hebrew narratives Dr. Pinches does not give us the help which we might expect. They represent, it must be remembered, the ancient manner of writing history, as may be illustrated from other sources. A remarkable instance is to be found in the account given by Sargon of Agadè, one of the most ancient Sumerian kings, of his own early history; how his mother, a priestess or vestal, bare him in secret, laid him in a basket of reeds, closed it up with pitch, and set it afloat on the Euphrates; how the stream brought him to Akki, the water-carrier, who adopted him as a son, and ultimately made him his gardener; how Ishtar grew fond of him, &c. The way in which the tale is told naturally at first suggested the opinion that it was all pure mythology, until the discovery of the actual seal of this ancient king proved him to be an historical person. This instance is valuable for the light which it throws on ancient methods of composition, while it warns us that what we are to look for in the ancient Hebrew legends is neither pure legend nor pure history, but a subtle interweaving of both. Dr. Pinches does not notice this venerable document, nor the obvious parallel which it offers to the story of Moses. When he comes to the history of the Assyrian kings he expounds with great care and detail their dealings with the land of Israel; but again we regret that he has not availed himself of the results of historical criticism. His guidance, therefore, is apt to be misleading, as for example when he states (p. 379) that the narrative of 2 Kings xviii. 13-xix. 37 implies that Sennacherib made two campaigns against Jerusalem; a close examination of the passage reveals, not two campaigns, but two separate accounts of one.[1] We venture to add that in the next edition references to standard collections of the texts, a more frequent insertion of dates, and a map would

[1] See Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings*, pp. 339 *sq.*

Digitized by Google

increase the value of a book which, in spite of some deficiencies, will be of great service in familiarizing Biblical students with the cuneiform records.

Professor Sayce has long ago secured a large audience for all that he has to say on his own subject; Professor Delitzsch, hitherto known only to scholars, lately awaked to find himself famous all over Europe. The lectures on *Babel und Bibel*, excellent as they are, would hardly have aroused such general attention if they had not been delivered before the Kaiser and his court. In themselves they are not of great importance; but they are well calculated to excite popular interest, and we are glad to have them in an English form under the auspices of so high an authority as Mr. Johns. Happily we are not concerned with the extraordinary controversy which has sprung up in Germany round these lectures. No doubt Professor Delitzsch has stated his case with some exaggeration; he has quite unnecessarily imparted his private opinions on the subject of revelation; but the world at large need not take too seriously a certain amount of sensationalism intended to impress a recondite subject upon a popular audience in a lecture-room. Professor Sayce's discourses are on a different level, and partake of the nature of a systematic treatise. They represent the author's mature thought, and are written with his well-known attractiveness, and without his usual fling at the Old Testament critics. Few but Professor Sayce could range over such a vast subject as the religions of Egypt and Babylonia with so much knowledge and with such sureness of touch. Sometimes one is inclined to doubt whether he is not too sure. We shall have occasion to refer to this work later on. In the meanwhile there are two points which specially bear on the subject of this article. In dealing with the religion of Egypt Professor Sayce draws attention to the difference between the official beliefs and practices of priests, princes, and the educated classes generally, and those of the unlettered multitude. While the former worshipped the great gods, and attached to them conceptions more or less exalted, to the latter the names of the state gods were names only, and received an interpretation very different from the official one.

Digitized by Google

The popular religion was of the crudest kind; its distinguishing feature was animal-worship, and that not merely the worship of gods in the form of animals; there are also traces of worship paid to trees and springs. The other point which we will mention now is the religious reformation inaugurated by the Pharaoh Khu-n-Aten, otherwise Amon-hotep IV., about 1400 B.C. Professor Sayce expounds 'the doctrine' of this heretic king with much sympathy. It was founded upon a new and purified conception of the supreme divinity Ra, the sun-god, a conception summed up in the new title Aten, 'the solar disc,' or Aten-Ra, 'the disc of the sun.' The God whose visible symbol was the solar disc was the supreme Creator, the one true living God; all other gods were false. At the same time the monotheism of Khu-n-Aten was pantheistic; Aten was in the things which he created, the living one in whom all life was contained. What is most remarkable about this theology is the fact that Aten was not regarded merely as a national or tribal God, for not only Egypt but 'all lands' and all peoples are called upon to adore him. 'For the first time in history, so far as we know,' says Professor Sayce, 'the doctrine was proclaimed that the Supreme Being was the God of all mankind.' The religion of the Hebrews did not reach this stage till many centuries later, as we shall show further on; but it is significant that 'the doctrine' of Khu-n-Aten was not a native development; it came from Asia; its characteristic and central feature is Semitic. And it never took root in the uncongenial soil of Egypt; with the Asiatic officials who surrounded the Asiatic Pharaoh it was banished from Egypt in the national reaction which ended in the rise of the nineteenth dynasty.

The last work mentioned at the head of this article is a fresh and interesting contribution to the study of primitive Semitic religion, based not upon researches into antiquity but upon the observation of modern Semitic life. On the principle that the earliest records are not necessarily the best, or the only, authorities for the earliest form of religion, Dr. Curtiss has been making investigations, with the aid of experienced missionaries, among the peasants and Bedouin of Syria and Sinai. These modern Semites are in many respects

Digitized by Google

still at the primitive stage; they have been but little influenced by the Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism with which they have come in contact; and, with the tenacious conservatism of the East, they have preserved beliefs and customs which go back to primitive times, the survivals of a religion 'which was in existence before the ancient Babylonian Empire began to be.' Dr. Curtiss has been wonderfully successful in extracting information. The peasant, as a rule, is shy of revealing his private practices to the intelligent stranger, but the Syrian peasant is, we have reason to believe, less reticent than most, and, if properly managed, is very willing to talk. By cross-questioning and careful observation, Dr. Curtiss has found that in the Syria of to-day exist such characteristic features of primitive religion as sacred trees, wells, and stones, rude altars at local shrines, 'high-places' or sanctuaries to be seen (and overlooked by most travellers) on nearly every hilltop throughout the land. Sacrifice is still offered, not so often to God as to the weli or saint, on behalf of the dead, in fulfilment of a vow, for the expiation of sins, to propitiate the *jinn*, at the inauguration of a new house or public works. The modern Semites, including the sects of the Druzes, the Nusairiyeh, and the Ismailiyeh, are nominally Moslems, and therefore monotheists; but the institutions and practices just mentioned are either forbidden or discouraged by Islam, and the popular monotheism is of a strange order. Among the ignorant fellahin God is regarded with little awe, in a vague, unethical way—in fact, 'as an enlarged edition of a Bedouin sheikh.' The modern Semite does not reason about religious matters; his ideas about God are pictures left upon his mind by the facts of his experience. He has never known a governor who is not bribable, arbitrary, oppressive, occasionally beneficent, and the character of the earthly governor is transferred to the Divine Being. Moreover, 'God is so far away that the consciousness of Him seems to be lost as a force in life,' says Dr. Curtiss. Hence while vaguely professing a belief in one God, the fellahin, Bedouin, and many others, including multitudes of women, believe far more firmly in the weli, the local saint or departed spirit, to whom they turn for help in trouble. The weli is

Digitized by Google

nothing more or less than a deified man. No difficulty is felt about deification; the ignorant mind makes no clear distinction between the divine powers of God and those of the saint; and while theoretically the welis are worshipped in connexion with God, practically they are the deities whom the people fear. We are not prepared to say that this low conception of God and the superstitions connected with the influence of departed spirits are characteristic of primitive religion. It seems to us that Dr. Curtiss has not sufficiently taken into account the effect upon popular beliefs of the moral deterioration of an isolated and unprogressive race.

The books which we have been considering suggest a brief inquiry into the range and degree of monotheistic faith so far as it existed in the early Semitic religions. The most obvious feature of all these religions as we know them in Babylonia, Assyria, Phœnicia, Arabia, is their deeply ingrained and excessive polytheism. There is, of course, one significant exception; and the survival and development of the religion of Israel amid the decay of all the others was due to the fact of its being an exception. Yet we can trace now and again, even among those who worshipped many gods, an effort, perhaps only an aspiration, after a supreme and single object of faith. Is this to be partly accounted for by the influence of some attenuated tradition of a primitive creed? An attractive theory has been put forward recently that the great religious centres of Western Asia were the cradles of an early monotheism, and that even the faith which in Israel was bound up with the name of Yahweh derived its ancestry from them.[1] We hesitate, however, to accept this, because at present the evidence is hardly decisive. It is safer to regard the traces of monotheism to which we allude as the expressions of an individual faith which rose above the level of the popular religion. The belief in one supreme object of worship implies an intensity of devotion and a purification of current superstitions which must have been peculiarly difficult to attain in an atmosphere saturated with the worship of many gods. We have no reason to deny that spiritual elevation was possible in the ancient religions;

[1] Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften und das A.T.*, Dritte Auflage, p. 210.

Digitized by Google

where it appeared it naturally expressed itself in the language of monotheism. But such expressions are the exception, not the rule, for the simple reason that the thoughtful and devout are generally in the minority.

There can be little doubt that the germ or the possibility of a belief in one God lay in the fact that the Semites had one name for God, El or Il. Whatever be the idea originally conveyed by the name, whether 'goal,' 'direction,' 'the point at which the eye aims,'[1] or less probably perhaps 'strength,'[2] it is the designation universally used to denote the Divine Being. We find it in the earliest period, when the Northern Semites (probably Canaanites) immigrated into Babylonia, and settled among the non-Semitic Sumerians *circ.* 2500 B.C. Hammurabi, for instance, one of the kings of the first Semitic dynasty, begins his famous code with the words, 'Thus saith the supreme God' (*ilu sîru*); and it is at this period, *circ.* 2300 B.C., that proper names containing *ilu* in composition occur with remarkable frequency, *e.g. Ilu-ittia*, 'God with me,' *Ilu-abi*, 'God is my father,' *Ilu-milki*, 'God is my counsel,' *Ilûma-ilu*, 'God is God,' &c. In these cases *ilu* is certainly a proper name; in others it has an appellative meaning, *i.e.* it denotes, not a divinity, but the attribute of divinity. We may take for examples the following remarkable personal names which also belong to the age of Hammurabi: they are thus transcribed by Professor Delitzsch, *Ia-a'-ve-ilu*, *Ia-ve-ilu*, *Ia-ú-um-ilu*, *i.e.* 'Yahweh is God.' The occurrence of the name of the God of Israel at this period was first pointed out by Professor Sayce, and it has been accepted and further supported by Professor Hommel; other scholars, however. are less convinced as to the right interpretation of the names.[3] But the point which concerns us is that *ilu* here is used in the appellative sense, which became the predominant one in

[1] Lagarde, *Bildung der Nomina*, pp. 162–170; Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, pp. 69 *sq.* 125 *sqq.*; Lagrange, *Études sur les Religions Sémitiques*, p. 79 *sq.*

[2] See Lagarde, *l.c.*

[3] *E.g.* Zimmern, *Die Keilinschr. und das A.T.* p. 468, thinks that *Ja-um* is not improbably a divine name, and possibly = *Jahu*, *Jahwe*; the other forms are more uncertain. But see Delitzsch, *l.c.* pp. 71, 136 *sq.*; Sayce, *Gifford Lectures*, p. 484.

Digitized by Google

Babylonian and the other Semitic tongues. Nevertheless El continues to be found as a proper name, denoting a distinct deity; as such it was used by the Canaanite, Aramaic, and Arab races,[1] and this usage, rather than the other, seems to have been the original one. But the nature of the faith which the early Semites connected with the worship of El we cannot certainly define. In the time of Hammurabi it was not expressly monotheistic, for besides Ilu, the king certainly acknowledged Šamaš, the Sun-god, who is represented as delivering the code of laws; in the names just mentioned we find another god *Iave*; moreover, in early times the feminine *iltu* makes its appearance beside *ilu* as the female counterpart of the Deity. But if the worship of El was not in the strict sense monotheistic, it contained the germ of monotheism. Unlike Baal, El was not as a rule connected with a place, but with a person or attribute, as is seen in the ancient names quoted above, 'God is with me,' 'God is my counsel,' &c. These names had their origin in ideas which differed widely from the polytheistic modes of thought indigenous in Babylonia. They imply a conception of Deity essentially elevated; the associations of the Deity are personal rather than local; the Being described as *ilu* contains all that partakes of divinity; the divine nature is unique; only one name, and that the same name, is used to distinguish the divine from all other forms of existence. The Semitic ideas about God at the earliest stage known to us are as far as possible removed from the debased animism or fetish-worship in which they are sometimes supposed to have had their origin.

But the conceptions of God brought to Babylon by the early Semitic immigration were not able to hold their own against the native polytheism; in the subsequent ages, when Sumerian and Semite were mingled, the religion of Babylonia was of a grossly polytheistic character. It is sufficient to refer to Dr. Pinches' translation of the Epics of the Creation and Deluge in proof of this. The Creation Epic, however, reveals a tendency in the opposite direction. After the

[1] For examples, see Lagrange, l.c. p. 71 *sq.*; *Rev. Biblique*, July 1903, p. 262 *sqq.*; Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 165, 361.

Digitized by Google

defeat of Tiâmat, the Dragon of Chaos, Marduk the conqueror is welcomed with grateful acclamations by the rest of the gods; though the youngest deity, he is raised to the rank of chief, and endowed with all the names and all the attributes of the gods of Babylon. Dr. Pinches sees in this piece of mythology the symbol 'of a great struggle in early days between polytheism and monotheism—for the masses the former, for the more learned and thoughtful the latter' (p. 47). In the remarkable text first published by Dr. Pinches in 1895 Marduk is described as absorbing all, or at least the highest deities; the text belongs to the neo-Babylonian period, but it appears to be copied from a much earlier document:

> 'Ninip is Marduk of the garden,
> Nergal is Marduk of war,
> Zagaga is Marduk of battle,
> Bel is Marduk of worship and dominion,
> Nebo is Marduk of wealth,
> Sin is Marduk, the illuminator of the night,
> Šamaš is Marduk of truth,
> Rimmon is Marduk of rain'—

and so on: Ninip, Nergal, and the rest are only different manifestations of the one god Marduk, or different ways of describing him.[1] The same tendency to assimilation can be illustrated from the history of several deities: Ishtar, for instance, was apt to absorb other goddesses; Nebo was not only combined with Nusku, but, while still keeping his independent personality, was placed in a subordinate position.[2] Another way in which a monotheistic faith was striving for expression may be seen in a group of Assyrian proper names in which the names of different deities are compounded with *Aa*, e.g. *Aššur-Aa*, *Ninip-Aa*, *Bel-Aa*, *Nergal-Aa*, &c.; others

[1] *Cf.* the text in Winckler's *Himmels- und Welten-bild der Babylonier*, p. 10, 'When the star of Marduk (*i.e.* Jupiter) is rising it is Nebo, when it stands high for two hours it is Marduk, when it stands high it is Nibiru'; also St. Augustine *De Civ. Dei*, iv. 10, Jupiter has different names according to the different spheres of his activity: in heaven he is called Jupiter, in air Luna, in water Neptune, in fire Vulcan, under earth Pluto, &c.

[2] Sayce, *l.c.* p. 364 *sq.*

Digitized by Google

are compounded with *Ya*, *Ya'u*, or *Au*, *e.g. Bel-Ya'u*, *Nabu-Ya*, *Aḫi-Ya'u*, even *Au-Aa*. Dr. Pinches is prepared to connect both *Aa* and *Ya* etymologically with the Hebrew *Ya*, *Yahweh*; other authorities dispute the connexion;[1] but whatever the truth may be, these names indicate a process of syncretism similar to that which we have noticed in the case of Marduk. The loftiest expression of monotheistic belief appears in the prayers and hymns addressed to a single supreme deity, such as the prayers of Nabuchadnezzar addressed to Marduk, or the following ancient bilingual hymn to the moon-god at Ur, which we quote in Professor Sayce's translation:

'Father, long-suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholds the life of all mankind,
Lord, thy divinity, like the far-off heaven, fills the wide sea with fear. . . .
In heaven, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!
On earth, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!
As for thee, thy will is made known in heaven, and the angels bow their faces.
As for thee, thy will is made known on earth, and the spirits below kiss the ground.
As for thee, thy will is blown on high like the wind; the stall and the fold are quickened.
As for thee, thy will is done on the earth, and the herb grows green.'[2]

We must be careful not to set such expressions as we have noticed in too strong a light, or imagine that they tempered in any degree the all-powerful spirit of polytheism. At the most they are the expressions of an esoteric religion which regarded the different gods as emanations or revelations of the one godhead; they prove that even in Babylon and Nineveh men were here and there seeking God, 'if haply

[1] *E.g.* Zimmern, *KAT*, p. 467 *sq.*

[2] *Giff. Lect.* p. 316. Professor Sayce regards the well-known episode of the removal of images from the various shrines to Babylon by Nabonidus in the last days of the Babylonian kingdom as an effort towards the centralization of worship in the interests of a monotheistic creed. We are inclined to doubt whether the documents themselves admit of this interpretation.

Digitized by Google

they might feel after Him and find Him.' In some cases no doubt the higher faith was the outcome of higher spiritual aspirations; in others it may have been due to the difficulty of finding separate jurisdictions for all the gods; there would be the desire not to omit any, or provoke jealousy by honouring one more than another. With Marduk, who was considered by many to be the supreme God, his close connexion with Babylon, of which he was deemed the founder and tutelary, led naturally to his exaltation; as the city grew in power, the God of the city became more and more supreme. Such undoubtedly was the case with Aššur, the national God who represented and, it would seem, deified the Assyrian state. Whatever were the reasons which encouraged them, such monotheistic tendencies as can be traced among the Babylonians and Assyrians never went beyond an individual private belief; they never reached anything like the level of the faith of Israel.

Among the Phœnicians and Aramæans of a later age the traces we are in search of rarely appear. The characteristic title of the deity is Baal, with the feminine Baalath, meaning primarily *owner, possessor*, and then *lord*; the main idea of the word when applied to divine beings was probably *domination*. In contrast to the name El, Baal could be applied to men as well as to gods, and the associations of the title were with places rather than with persons. No particular god was called Baal; the title was used in connexion with the name of a place or function, the actual name of the god not being pronounced. It is only rarely that we know what it was; the Baal of Tyre was Melḳarth, the Baalath of Gebal was Ashtart, the Baal of Harran was Sin. This connexion of the title with various towns and sanctuaries led the Old Testament writers to speak of Baalim, denoting by the plural the different local Baals. Within his special domain the Baal of the place was supreme; but the thought of one god supreme over all the local deities was foreign to the native religion. And yet even among the Phœnicians the occurrence of the name *Baal-shamem, i.e.* 'Baal of the heavens,' seems to mark a heightening of ordinary conceptions. It implies an extension of the divine agency beyond the city or shrine

Digitized by Google

which bounded the influence of the local god. The Baal of the heavens, it is natural to suppose, owned a dominion universal and in a certain sense supreme. Yet we must be careful not to read too much into the name. In the earliest text where it has been found, an Assyrian document of the seventh century B.C., recording a treaty between Asarhaddon and Baal, king of Tyre, Baal-shamem is invoked, along with Baal-milki (?) and Baal-saphon, among the gods of Tyre, and in a few lines further on Melḳarth and Eshmun are mentioned.[1] After this we do not meet with Baal-shamem till the third century B.C., and, as it happens, in Punic texts; from this time the cult is widely spread, though comparatively rare. We have evidence for it among the. Phœnicians on the Syrian coast, the Nabatæans of Hauran, in the Safâ inscriptions from the district north of Jebel ed-Druz, and at Palmyra.[2] At this later period it is not improbable that monotheistic ideas were attached to the deity; the fact that by Greeks he was identified with Zeus (see 2 Macc. vi. 2 in Syriac and Greek) and by Romans with Jupiter shews that he was regarded as supreme. At Palmyra, in dedications dated 114 and 134 A.D., the epithet 'lord of eternity' is added to the name of the god.[3] We seem to catch here an echo of Jewish phraseology; it may be that, at any rate in this later age, the cult reflected the influence of the Jewish Dispersion. The worship of 'the lord of the heavens' never seems to have become popular. The dedications addressed to him come from private persons, and are few in number; among the Nabatæans he never dispossessed the national god Dushara; at Palmyra he was never reckoned among the *πατρῷοι θεοί*. The title itself was probably not a native product, but imported from outside, though its origin is a matter of speculation.[4] We find then a

[1] Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, ii. 12 *sq.*; Zimmern, *KAT*, p. 357.

[2] Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 45 *sq.*, where, however, the statement as to the antiquity of the title requires to be modified in the light of the Assyrian text referred to above.

[3] Cooke, *l.c.* p. 296 *sq.*

[4] Lidzbarski notes that 'the lord of the heaven' is mentioned in the treaty between Ramses II. and Ḫetasira, the Hittite chief. It was therefore a very ancient title known to the Hittites, and from them may

Digitized by Google

slight trace of a monotheistic tendency among the Phœnicians and Aramæans; so far as it existed at all it belonged to the religion of the few, just as it did among the Babylonians and Assyrians.

We have hinted at the influence of the Jewish Diaspora; it was stronger than is generally supposed. As early as the middle of the second century B.C. the Jewish author of the third book of the Sibylline oracles could thus address the chosen nation: 'Every land is full of thee, and every sea' (*Orac. Sib.* iii. 271); at the time the words contained some exaggeration, but a century later they became true. Wherever the Jewish communities were settled, proselytes in large numbers attached themselves to the synagogue; for North Syria, especially Damascus and Antioch, we have the evidence of Josephus (B. J. ii. 20, 2, vii. 3, 3), for Asia Minor that of the Acts. The growth of the Jewish population in Egypt, Cyrene, and Cyprus can only be accounted for by a large infusion of Gentile blood. There is, in fact, abundant evidence to attest the extensive and permeating influence of the Jewish creed upon the heathen among whom it had found a home. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to discover at Palmyra inscriptions written in terms which seem to be more or less directly traceable to the influence of the Jews who formed a considerable colony there. A formula which occurs frequently in Palmyrene dedications runs as follows: 'To him whose name is blessed for ever, the good and the compassionate' (*cf.* Ps. lxxii. 19, cxiii. 2, Dan. ii. 20).[1] The deity thus addressed was most likely the chief god of Palmyra, the sun-god Bel; the title implies that he was the supreme object of worship. In the Greek versions of the Palmyrene texts (second to third centuries A.D.) the unnamed God 'whose name is blessed for ever' is designated *Ζεὺς ὕψιστος*. The rendering suggests at once a connexion with the worship of *Ζεὺς ὕψιστος* or *Θεὸς ὕψιστος*, which makes its appearance here and there in heathen circles from the first century A.D. onwards. In some quarters religious associations were

have made its way to their nearest Semitic neighbours, the Aramæans, and so to the West: *Ephemeris f. sem. Epigraphik*, ii. 122.

[1] Cooke, *l.c.* p. 296 *sq.*

Digitized by Google

formed for the cult of Zeus Most High; interesting memorials of them have survived in Greek inscriptions from the kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosporus. Of these the most curious come from Tanais, on the north-east corner of the Sea of Azoff. They mention the sacred guilds, and style the members 'adopted brethren, worshippers of God most high' (*εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι Θεὸν ὕψιστον*). The term *σεβόμενοι* is a technical one; it is used by Josephus and the writer of the Acts for heathen who had been attracted to the Jewish faith and had more or less attached themselves to it (*Ant.* xiv. 7, 2, Acts xiii. 43, 50, *cf.* x. 2, 22, &c.). There can be little doubt that the Jewish propaganda in Asia Minor and Syria helped to produce these curious combinations of Jewish and Hellenic ideas. We are not, of course, to imagine that the sacred guilds at Tanais were penetrated by the inner spirit of monotheism to the same extent as the Jewish communities; and other Oriental religions, those of Persia, Asia Minor, and Egypt, probably contributed their influences. But native Greek religion by itself did not tend to produce the exclusive worship of *Θεὸς ὕψιστος*, and of the external influences which brought it about the most powerful was that of Judaism.[1]

How was it that Judaism thus came to exercise a purifying influence upon the heathen? How did Israel, which possessed so many religious ideas and customs in common with its neighbours, rise so far above them, maintain its distinctive creed, and prepare the way for the richer and

[1] For these inscriptions see Schürer, *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.* 1887, p. 201 *sqq.*; *Geschichte d. Jüd. Volkes*,[3] iii. 124. Another illustration is worth mentioning from a different region. Wellhausen has shown that among the heathen Arabs the break up of polytheism had begun even before Mohammed. The gods of the various tribes had sunk to the same level, and were regarded as equivalents; hence, by a process of syncretism, Allah emerged as the chief deity. In the Quran, Mohammed says that in real danger the heathen Arabs turn to Allah, and when he has given them favours they forget him and set up rivals beside him . . . But ask them, who created the world? and they will say, Allah (Sura xxxix.) This pre-Islamic monotheism probably owed not a little to Jewish and Christian influences, which had penetrated Arabia everywhere. See Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidenthums*,[2] p. 217; Lagrange, *Rel. Sém.* p. 75.

Digitized by Google

completer faith? It remains for us to attempt a brief answer to this question.

There was a tradition in Israel that the fathers of the race had served strange gods beyond the River (Josh. xxiv. 2, 14 E). The Elohist who relates it evidently has a theory of the progress of religion from this early stage of polytheism up to the revelation of the name of Yahweh to Moses (Gen. xxxi. 19, xxxv. 2–4, Ex. iii. 14 *sq.* E).[1] The Jehovist, however, takes a different view; according to him the worship of Yahweh is primæval (Gen. iv. 26), and was practised by the patriarchs; Abraham, for instance, knew and used the name (Gen. xv. 6–8). Both views probably contain an element of historical fact. It may be taken for granted that the Aramæan ancestors of Israel worshipped the gods of the country in Mesopotamia; and if, as we have shown reason to believe is the case, a god Jahu was known to the Semites in Babylonia as early as 2300 B.C., then the Jehovist has preserved a recollection of the antiquity of the name. When the Elohist, therefore, relates that Yahweh was revealed for the first time to Moses, we must conclude that the significance of the revelation lay not in the newness of the name—had it been a strange one Moses could hardly have appealed to the people with any effect in the name of their fathers' God—but in the newness of the interpretation which henceforward it was to bear. Henceforward the one God Yahweh became the national God of Israel, and Israel became the people of Yahweh, and of no other god. It was with this momentous fact that the great events of this epoch, the exodus from Egypt, the work of Moses, the theophany at Sinai, were ever afterwards associated: 'I am Yahweh thy God from the land of Egypt' (Hos. xiii. 4). At the period, then, when Israel enters upon the stage of history as a nation, or rather as a nation in embryo, it appears as the people of one God. The

[1] Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, 105 f., sees traces of polytheism in Gen. i. 26 P, iii. 22 J. We believe that Dr. Pinches is right in denying this. It is inconceivable that the Priestly writer could have used the language of polytheism (see i. 27); in i. 26 the plural is either that of majesty, or, as in iii. 22 J, it may reflect the old idea of Yahweh and His court of supernatural beings, *cf.* Is. vi. 8, 1 Kings xxii. 19 *sqq.*, Ps. lxxxii. 1, &c.

Digitized by Google

relation on the one side implied watchful care and discipline, on the other an exclusive service. Yahweh fights for Israel; He marches at the head of Israel; His presence, whether in the Ark or in the Angel, is in the midst of Israel, and, therefore, no other god must be worshipped (Ex. xxxiv. 14, xx. 3). But the monotheism of Israel's creed was only relative at this stage. It went along with strangely crude and anthropomorphic conceptions of the divine nature;[1] the old mythology, which one is tempted to believe clung to the heritage of the Jahu religion, a heritage from ages long before Moses, was by no means extinct. While Yahweh was served as the God of Israel, it was not denied that the gods of the nations round were real divinities (*e.g.* Jud. xi. 24); the borders of Israel marked the borders of Yahweh's influence; outside lay the dominion of other gods (1 Sam. xxvi. 19, Hos. ix. 3).

And Israel's creed was not maintained without continuous struggle. The popular instinct tended inevitably to identify Yahweh with the local Baals whose sanctuaries were scattered throughout the land. In time there came a crisis, when the very existence of the national faith was at stake. It was averted by the heroic protest of Elijah, a protest which was typical of the prophetic activity in the following age. To recall Israel to the service of the national God, to purify and develop the national religion, was the task taken up by the great prophets of the eighth century. They deepen the current conceptions of the divine nature; they insist on the moral claims involved in the relation between Yahweh and Israel, and the need of moral reformation. Though they do not make any direct monotheistic statement, their monotheism has advanced beyond the relative stage. So far as the gods of the heathen are noticed at all, they are regarded as non-entities (Is. xix. 1–3). To Isaiah as to Hosea the image and the god were identical; the image was lifeless, the

[1] *E.g.* Gen. xi. 5, xviii. 21, xxxii. 24, 28, Ex. iv. 24 *sqq.* xix. 11, 18, 20, Num. x. 35 *sq.* &c. The conception of the 'Angel' (Gen. xvi. 7 *sq.* xxiv. 7, 40, Ex. iii. 2, Num. xxii. 22 *sqq.* Josh. v. 13–15, all J), who takes the place of Yahweh when His direct presence and agency might be expected, seems to have been intended to soften the crudity of the older beliefs; it comes between these and the more spiritual view of Yahweh's nature and abode in heaven, which belongs to a later time.

Digitized by Google

god, therefore, did not exist. Again, one striking characteristic of the prophets was the range of their outlook. They viewed the nations as the instruments of Yahweh's purpose, or as the objects of His wrath. His activity was not limited to Israel. We find here the first teaching of 'the doctrine, so strange to antiquity, that the single God of one people might become the One God of all.'[1]

In the following century, which received the instruction of Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and the Second Isaiah, the doctrine of monotheism was not merely implied but emphatically stated. It arrived at the absolute stage. The higher teaching about God is still accompanied by the summons to a higher type of service; the work of moral reformation still remained to be done. 'Hear, O Israel, Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one; and thou shalt *love* Yahweh thy God' (Deut. vi. 4 *sq.*); 'Know, therefore, this day, and lay it to thine heart, that Yahweh he is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath: there is none else' (iv. 39). The prophet of the Return, who saw Babylon, the chief stronghold of polytheism, succumb before Cyrus, is the most vigorous in his mocking of the idols of the heathen, and the most impassioned in his assertion of the unique divinity of Israel's God (Is. xliv. 6–17, xlv. 5–7, xlvi. 1 *sq.* 6 *sq.* 9).

Finally, in the promulgation of the Priestly Law, we see a lofty effort to accomplish the ideal of Judaism—a nation not only professing the belief in one God, but organized throughout on the basis of it as the holy people of a holy God. The doctrine of Yahweh's holiness was no new one, but the organized application of it was the aim of the new legislation. Once realized as supremely holy, Yahweh could never have a rival; there can be only one holy God. The highest spiritual conception of Deity possible before the New Testament was attached to Israel's God; and it was the ideal of Judaism to make the same quality applicable in degree to God's people.

Thus the creed with which Israel started historically was maintained and developed. It was only by a continuous process of effort and purification that Israel was enabled to rise above the level of its neighbours; its distinctive creed

[1] Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 156.

Digitized by Google

grew in clearness and elevation, not by intellectual speculation, but by moral discipline and reformation; its religion was never the esoteric secret of the few, the whole nation was the people of God. In this we recognize the hand of God shaping circumstances to preserve and vivify faith, and the Spirit of God illuminating reformer, prophet, lawgiver, to know and to teach the truth, and thus to prepare the way for the crowning revelation.

ART. V.—A JESUIT PHILANTHROPIST.

FRIEDRICH VON SPEE AND THE WÜRZBURG WITCHES.

1. *Cautio Criminalis, sive de processu contra sagas liber.* Anon. (FRIEDRICH VON SPEE). 4to. (Rinteln, 1631.)
2. *Trutznachtigall.* Von FRIEDRICH VON SPEE. Ed. BALKE. 8vo. (Leipzig, 1879.)
3. *Güldenes Tugendbuch.* Von FRIEDRICH VON SPEE. (Coloniae, 1649, &c.)
4. *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse.* Von W. G. SOLDAN. 2 vols. 8vo. (Stuttgart, 1843 and 1880. [1])
5. *Malleus Maleficarum.* 4to. (Coloniae, 1487, &c.)

IN the month of May 1487 there appeared before the assembled Theological Faculty of the University of Cologne, armed with a Bull of Pope Innocent VIII., with a patent of the newly-elected King of the Romans, Maximilian, and with a book of their own composing, for which they sought the formal approbation of the university, the two Inquisitors of Germany, Heinrich Institor and Jakob Sprenger.[2] They were

[1] These two, nominally editions of the same book, differ so widely that they are cited below as Soldan (A) and Soldan (B).

[2] The question of authorship is further discussed by J. Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprocess im Mittelalter und die Entstehung der grossen Hexenverfolgung* (Munich, 1900), and *Quellen u. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1901), where it is assigned to Institor rather than Sprenger.

Digitized by Google

not popular persons. On the one hand the bishops, especially those of princely family, had regarded with dislike the infringement of their judicial privileges by low-born Inquisitors, and on the other hand the more enlightened spirits of the Church had begun to look askance altogether on the work of the Holy Office, and in particular on its dealings with witchcraft, to which the book in question referred. As to the people, their belief in the very existence of sorcery was slumbering, if not dead. Yet in two years Sprenger and Institor had burned, in the diocese of Constance (almost the only one where their presence was tolerated) no fewer than forty-eight wretched creatures accused of witchcraft. It was no wonder that the University hesitated before lending its countenance to a book which was intended to sanction and codify the whole system of witch-trial and witch-murder. But the two Dominicans at length succeeded in obtaining a qualified approbation of the work, which under the title of *Hexenhammer—Malleus Maleficarum*—'Hammer of Witches'—was to obtain a worldwide celebrity of evil.

It is not difficult to trace in the mania which received as it were its final sanction in this hideous book, a distinct rise and fall, corresponding at first with the prevalence and diminution of war and pestilence in Europe. Brought face to face in their sufferings, as they imagined, with tangible powers of evil, some men sought to propitiate them even by a fancied alliance with them and support of their designs against mankind, while others eagerly seized upon the chance of defeating them in the person of their suspected or (strange to say) even professed agents. To this twofold madness we may ascribe at once the horrible fantasies of the self-accused witches of the South of France in the time of the so-called crusade against the Albigenses, and also the equanimity with which the people and even the temporal magistrates saw the Inquisitors, whose proceedings against heresy, accompanied as they were by wholesale confiscations of property, had made them obnoxious, seize upon this new sphere of activity. Heretics pure and simple had become scarce game; but of sorcerers—even professed sorcerers—there was no lack. It is true that at first an ordinance of Pope Alexander IV.

Digitized by Google

(1254–61) restricted the Inquisitors to dealing with cases in which heresy was combined with sorcery; but this simply induced them to confuse the two in every possible manner. There was even evolved out of the diseased imagination of mankind a *sect* of sorcerers, which was credited with dogmas, ceremonial, and even an ecclesiastical constitution of its own.[1] Up to this time suspected witches had been dealt with by the ordinary penitential methods of the Church; but the great 'Act of Faith' at Toulouse in 1275 presents probably the first[2] authentic example of burning for such a crime in the case of Angela, Lady of Labarthe, who confessed to having had a child by the devil, with a wolf's head and a snake's tail, to feed which she had every night to steal young children from their beds. From that time forward burning became a common punishment for witchcraft.

Supported by the nervous terrors of a Pope (John XXII.) who conceived himself the victim of enchantments effected by waxen images, the Inquisition continued, especially in France, to maintain its hold upon this portion of its jurisdiction, and the trials[3] of the Knights Templars for alleged crimes in which sorcery was prominent at least increased popular belief in its reality; this belief was further encouraged by the horrors of the English wars and the ravages of the Free Companies. But with the peace of Bretigny a notable diminution in witch-trials set in, and when in 1398 a resolution of the Parliament of Paris transferred jurisdiction in such cases to temporal judges, their cool investigations soon discredited the whole system of persecution—judicial at least. The charges of witchcraft brought against Joan of Arc were plainly found to be not in accordance with public opinion, and were practically dropped, while a terrible outbreak of superstition at Arras in 1460, which involved the judicial murder of six persons (and to the proceedings in which we owe the first circumstantial account of the 'Witches' Sabbath'), ended in the disgrace and punishment of all concerned,

[1] Soldan (A.), p. 160, quoting Nicolaus Jaquier.

[2] The *Histoire de Languedoc* (iv. p. 17) speaks of a woman being burned at Carcassonne in 1274.

[3] Görres, *Christ. Mystik*, iv. (2) p. 512.

Digitized by Google

including the Bishop of Arras. Even the Duke of Burgundy, for abetting the proceedings, was nominally at least fined by the Parliament of Paris.

But the 'moral influenza,' as its Romanist historian, Görres, calls it, did but quit one country for another. It was reserved for the period of the Renaissance—for the very decade which is often regarded as ending the Middle Ages—to revive and arm both in practice and theory the worst tyranny of the darker centuries. All the gifts which the end of the fifteenth century brought to mankind seemed poisoned and corrupted by this newly revived plague. The printing-press itself was made its slave: during the first century of the existence of the great invention it is to be doubted whether many secular books were so multiplied by the press as the *Hammer of Witches*.[1] The discovery of America and of the new highway to India did but open to the Inquisition new fields for its hateful activity—the first return that Europe made for the wealth of the Indies, East and West. The enlightenment of the Reformation was not proof against this superstition; good men and great divines passionately defended it; it became rooted in the laws of the Empire; and it extended its deadly influence to the freest and most law-abiding nations of Europe. Even the isolation of the English colonies in America served but to render them more independent to cultivate the plague. So far as Germany is concerned, it dates its existence from the Bull of an ignorant and immoral Pope, and the confused and self-contradictory book of a couple of Dominican friars.

This work requires some further notice. The title shows that it was directed specially against women, and this is explained by the authors. 'Women,' they say, are more liable to be tempted of the devil; for 'femina' is derived from *fe*, apparently a contraction of *fide* (faith) and *minus* (less),[2]

[1] There were four undated editions, certainly before 1489: one (dated) at Cologne 1487, another 1489, another 1494; Nürnberg 1494, 1496, Cologne 1511, 1520; and very many later editions.

[2] The unhappy Waldenses were the victims of a similar etymology—'a valle densa,' because they wandered in the dark vale of heresy. Soldan (A), p. 149. For a Romanist view of the *Malleus* see Görres, iv. (2) 585.

Digitized by Google

because she has always less faith. The treatise itself—a perfect armoury of judicial murder—is divided into three parts. In the first, which is professedly theological and scholastic, the permission granted by the Deity to the powers of evil is treated of in a way which might have brought a charge of heresy upon anyone but an Inquisitor; in the second every imaginable form of fable as to the doings of witches is repeated as acknowledged truth and supported by authority; and in the third are laid down the principles on which judicial inquiries into cases of witchcraft are to be based. The compilers first somewhat disingenuously exclude from consideration all cases which do not involve heresy. How nugatory such a restriction was we have already seen; but it disarmed the bishops, who feared for their jurisdiction, and also gave the Inquisitors the power of declining dangerous cases. The spectre of half a dozen murdered colleagues and predecessors, including the notorious (and probably insane) Conrad of Marburg, assassinated so far back as 1233, may well have been present to their mental vision. Of the three forms of investigation invented by witch finders—accusation, denunciation, inquisition—the first, which involved the public appearance of the accuser, they altogether reject. The second and third, which were based on secret information or 'common repute,' they adopt. But further, as the actual operations of witchcraft were by hypothesis invisible, and only the effect apparent, the agent had to be discovered from the effect. The result of this reasoning was appalling. If there was a hailstorm, what old woman had been seen in the fields? If a man was sick, who had lately parted from him in anger? They were the guilty agents. 'Injury threatened, and following the threat,' as a ground of prosecution, was sufficient to burn most men, and almost any woman. The rules for torture and for hearing of witnesses are, under a mask of legal exactness, confused beyond description. One point only comes out with clearness: namely, that the names of the accusing witnesses are to be withheld both from the prisoner and the defending counsel, if there be any; so that the one protection which the law had always given to the alleged heretic—the right to prove deadly enmity on the part of the accuser—was removed.

Digitized by Google

Nay, should it by any chance be urged as a plea, the *Hammer* lays down the maxim that violent enmity does not amount to deadly enmity: indeed, that to have violent enemies is a fresh proof of the bad character of the accused. But the climax of iniquity is reached when torture is declared to be useless, 'unless Divine compulsion, acting through a holy angel, assist to remove the curse of silence' from the victim. Blasphemous cruelty can go no further. Yet such was the book which for two centuries formed the basis of judicial procedure in cases of sorcery—at least throughout the vast extent of the Holy Roman Empire.

Armed with this weapon the Inquisitors raged through Germany. It is hard to account for the sudden recrudescence of the mania which attended their activity; but as to its prevalence and effects there can be no doubt. 'They left behind them,' says Soldan, the classic authority for the history of the "witch-process," 'devastated homes and piles of charred human bones.' Nor is this an exaggeration: in Brunswick one place of execution was so crowded with stakes where witches had been burned that it was like a forest. The frenzy of the people was fanned by every device possible. Private revenge was gratified by the death of an enemy in torment; avarice was glutted with the confiscated property of the victims; and he was, we are told, but a poor judge or torturer who could not extract from the 'voluntary' confessions of one culprit (any confession extorted without actual application of the torture was called voluntary) enough matter for a dozen fresh inquisitions. So hasty were the trials, so absurd the condemnations, that in some instances the very executioners, hardened as they were, refused their office, and the poor wretches escaped altogether.[1]

Nor did the Reformation avail to stem the flood. On the contrary, the miseries produced by the Peasants' and the Religious wars had the same effect as in France three centuries before, and increased the mania. The Reformers were deeply committed to that belief in the personal activity of the devil which Luther held so strongly, and which was one of the few points in common between Romanist and Protestant. They

[1] Soldan (A), p. 255. (Spee) *Cautio Criminalis*, xx. § 10.

Digitized by Google

were unwilling to disbelieve any alleged manifestation of his power; and it must be added that few of them were men of sufficient character to resist a popular delusion. The theologians indeed no longer sat as judges in Protestant Germany, but they exercised no mitigating influence on the decisions of those who did. And so the evil grew till amid the moral and material degradation of the Thirty Years' War it reached its culminating point.

It must not be supposed, however, that either the principles or the practice of the persecutors remained unassailed. Ulrich Molitor,[1] of Constance, had ventured in 1489, only two years after the publication of the *Hammer*, to attack the very possibility of sorcery, and to set out the untrustworthiness of confessions extorted by torture. A greater than he, Cornelius Agrippa himself,[2] not only attacked the theory of witchcraft, but as Advocate-General at Metz gave a practical illustration of his views, by defending and saving from the flames an old woman accused as a witch. His account of his dialogue with the Inquisitor is piquant, and displays the knowledge of theological dispute which was familiar to the educated layman of the day, but it brought upon himself a charge of sorcery which even his great name was hardly sufficient to rebut. Far more general interest was aroused at the end of the sixteenth century by the writings of Johann Weyer, physician to William of Cleves, who boldly assailed the motives of the Inquisitors—their stupidity, superstition, and avarice. Nor were his efforts entirely fruitless; both in the Duchy of Cleves and in the Palatinate the trials were reduced to strict legal form, and in Würtemburg torture was forbidden until *after* full legal investigation. Nearly at the same time Reginald Scot in England was manfully upholding the cause of right reason. But on the Lower Rhine a sad fate befell two bold reformers, Cornelius Loos of Gouda and his friend Dr. Hade. They adventured themselves into the enemy's country at Trier, and both died what we may truly call a martyr's death—Loos in prison and Hade on the scaffold (1589). The snake was scotched perhaps; certainly

[1] Haubar (*Bibliotheca Magica*) analyses the work of Molitor and all the others referred to.

[2] Soldan (B), i. p. 463.

Digitized by Google

very far from killed. Immediately after there appeared the second *Hammer*—the *Disquisitiones Magicae* of Martin del Rio, a Jesuit, who endeavoured, with only too great success, to re-establish upon a scholastic and dialectic basis the dogmas of Sprenger. The chief feature of his book is its fearful and apparently well-attested examples of sorcery and its effects. But when one remembers that so considerable a person as Sandoval had actually asserted, in his *Life of Charles V.*, that in 1527 accused witches in Navarre had executed a flight through the air in the presence of their judges, one knows roughly how to class such witness.

From the very bosom of this same Society of Jesus arose the man who, by his unquenchable zeal for the right, by his masterly eloquence, and by his appeals to his experience, of which it might well be said, as of a greater one, 'Eccovi! this man has been in hell!' smote and slew the hundred-headed monster. Friedrich von Spee of Langenfeld was the man to whom suffering humanity owed its deliverance from holocausts of men, of women, and even of innocent babes. To attempt to assign to the whole Order, as Romanist writers have done, the merits of a single half-rebellious member is folly.[1] The efforts of the Jesuits in general were devoted rather to the propagation than the suppression of the horrible mania.[2] They had recognized, as it appears, in the witch-trial a new engine of the Counter-Reformation. In theory at least no sorcerer could be tried for sorcery pure and simple unaccompanied by heresy; and in practice it was found that the destruction of sorcerers for some reason also marvellously diminished the number of Protestants. More than this: the evidence of the accused was pressed into the service of dogma. The devil was said to demand as a condition of his service the rejection of the worship of saints and of auricular confession; the Host which the wretches alleged they had smuggled away from Mass in their mouths to be used in their unholy orgies was said to have bled when pierced by the hand of the fiend. At Ellwangen, a little ecclesiastical principality

[1] Jarcke, quoted by Soldan (B) ii. p. 203.

[2] There were, however, other noteworthy exceptions, *e.g.* Tanner and Laymann, *infra*, p. 328.

Digitized by Google

or provost-ship in Swabia, where the Order settled in 1611, the provosts had for half a century striven without success to eradicate Protestantism. Three hundred sorcerers were executed, and heresy disappeared. But Würzburg was the centre of the persecution. In that state the Reformed actually equalled, or perhaps outnumbered, the Romanists until the reign of the philanthropic Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, founder of the great Hospital (died 1617), whose policy reversed the proportions. His successor, Philip Adolphus of Ehrenberg, was warned by the Emperor Ferdinand to check the persecution of Protestants, and therefore betook himself with greater zeal to the harrying of witches, of whom no less than nine hundred were put to death in his reign. We have for the years 1627–9, the names[1] of one hundred and fifty-seven persons either burned alive in the city or else first beheaded and then burned. The roll includes three canons, fourteen assistant clergy, the widow of a chancellor, several city councillors, 'des Rathvogts klein Söhnlein,' and a pitiful list of nameless children of twelve years old and less. To tend these unfortunates and comfort them on their last journey Friedrich von Spee was summoned from his missionary duties on the Lower Rhine.

Born[2] in 1591, of a noble family, more distinguished for loyalty to their lords, the Electors of Cologne, than for wealth, the lad early distinguished himself in his studies, and on September 22, 1610, he was admitted into the Society of Jesus. Presently we find him employed as lecturer in Philosophy and Moral Theology at Cologne, but in 1624 he was somewhat suddenly transferred to the cathedral at Paderborn as a missionary preacher. Nor are the reasons for this removal far to seek. The theology of Spee, as shown in his writings, exhibits a theory of the immediate influence of God's love upon the human soul, apart from all ecclesiastical[3] ordinances and means of grace, which the Roman Church did not indeed regard as heretical, but which she might well

[1] Contemporary tracts in Soldan (A), p. 381.

[2] Balke, in his edition of the *Trutz-Nachtigall*, has enumerated (Introd. p. liii.) all the authorities as to Spee's early life. They are very few.

[3] Leibnitz (*Théodicée*, ii. § 96) certainly interpreted some of his expressions in the *Güldenes Tugendbuch* thus.

Digitized by Google

consider better adapted to the character of a missionary than to that of a theological lecturer. Accordingly Spee was sent to take his place in the ranks of the emissaries of the Counter-Reformation; and a very striking part he played. Animated by an irresistible love of his fellow-men, and convinced that their only hope of safety was in the haven of the Roman Church, it was no wonder that his great natural eloquence proved persuasive. It was particularly the nobility to whom his efforts were directed. Their grandfathers had found their interest in the ranks of the Reformers; but that interest was apparently secured, and the growing formalism of the Lutheran worship disgusted them. It was an easy task for a golden-mouthed orator like Spee to win them back. A letter of his, still preserved, to a Westphalian noble, Heinrich Dietrich of Niehusen, gives a good idea of his powers of persuasion. But from this congenial sphere of activity he was summoned, in 1627, to take the post of Professor at Würzburg, and also to act as confessor to the unhappy wretches condemned to death for witchcraft.

The beautiful episcopal city on the Stein was indeed a veritable slaughter-house. Every fortnight or so, men, women and innocent babes were being burned, dead or alive, in batches of five or six. The Bishop himself, an honest stupid man, seems to have been completely possessed by the mania; and it was not till a cadet of his own house had been sacrificed under the most shocking circumstances, and he himself, with his Chancellor, had been denounced as accomplices by some of the tortured wretches, that he came to his senses, stopped the executions, and even instituted memorial Masses for the victims.

A man of Spee's ardent temperament was not likely to be a willing instrument in the hands of the Inquisitors; he quickly came to the conclusion that they were either knaves or fools, and they seem to have reciprocated his dislike. He saw that no conscientious or sensible priest was allowed to have access to the prisoners.[1] He himself tried on one

[1] *Cautio Criminalis*, Dub. li. § 33. Spee implies that Jesuits were particularly excluded. His translator, Schmidt, dishonestly suppresses the passage.

Digitized by Google

occasion[1] to show the judges the absolute illegality of their procedure, and was rewarded by at all events temporary exclusion from the prisons. He tells us that in one instance[2] a poor woman, only as yet suspected of witchcraft, came to him and told him that she feared she might, under torture, confess things untrue. In the event she actually did so, was condemned on that ground and executed; but the priest who accompanied her to her death learned from the Inquisitor that the real reason of her condemnation was the visit she had paid to Spee, which was taken to prove a guilty conscience. Over and over again he found that the confessions made under torture were retracted by the penitents when they found in him a real friend and a confessor anxious only that if they must leave the world they should not do so with a lie on their lips. John Philip of Schönborn, afterwards Bishop of Würzburg and Elector of Mainz, was then a young canon of the cathedral; he knew Spee well, and as he told the story to Leibnitz many years after,[3] he asked him once why so early in life his hair was so white. Spee answered that the horror of helping to their death hundreds of men and women of the guilt of not one of whom he was convinced had made him grey before his time. The words sank into the young man's heart, and he was the first ecclesiastical prince of Germany who practically abolished the persecution in his dominions.

Spee left Würzburg in 1628 or early in 1629. In 1631 appeared at the Protestant university town of Rinteln, and at the university press, anonymously, the book on which his reputation as a champion of right is based—the *Cautio Criminalis, sive de processu contra sagas liber*—an attack on the whole theory and practice of the Inquisitors. Preceding writers—Tanner, a professor at Ingoldstadt, and Paul Laymann of Innsbruck, both Jesuits, had timidly arraigned the justice and reasonableness of the proceedings. Yet in Tanner's

[1] *Cautio*, Dub. xviii. § 9. [2] *Ibid.* xxviii.

[3] Leibnitz (*Théodicée*, §§ 96, 97) and a letter in the *Deutsche Acta Eruditorum* (iv. p. 140) are always referred to for this story; but they do not contain the statement as to his grey hairs, though they speak of John Philip.

Digitized by Google

case this had been sufficient to bring down upon him the wrath of the Inquisitors, and even after his death he was pursued by suspicion. He died on a journey at a village called Unken. After his death his peasant hosts discovered among his effects a hairy, long-clawed monster in a glass case—clearly a bottled fiend. They were about to cast the poor professor's body out to the birds and beasts, when luckily the village pastor intervened, pronounced the alleged demon a fly under a microscope, and secured Christian burial for the supposed sorcerer. Spee tells us plainly that his book had been written long before it was printed, but that the way in which Tanner had been treated had deterred him from publishing it. But the whole tone of the work shows that it was written while the events were fresh in the writer's mind. The book is cast in a more or less scholastic form with Doubts, Replies, and Corollaries to the Replies, which practically exhaust and defeat every plea which can be brought forward to justify the prosecutions. But these divisions are at times formal only: the writer is carried away by a fiery indignation which seems almost inspired. He does not directly deny the existence of witches; to do so would have prevented his book from reaching many for whom it was intended; but he inveighs in no measured terms against the baselessness, the cruelty, and the evil motives of the prosecutions.

'Who are they,' he asks,[1] 'who prompt these trials? the Theologians who never stir outside their studies and do not know what the stench of a prison is; the good old greybeards who have never dreamt that one man can accuse another and bring him to a death of torment for malice and malice only; the knavish lawyers for the sake of gain; the swinish multitude for envy and revenge; the currish crowd who fear for themselves and so accuse others. Alas! dear saints and pious men! well do ye mean and for the common good; but did ye but know what cruelty and brutal ignorance they show whose livelihood these processes provide, ye would at least cry out with your Master Christ, "Let both grow together till the harvest."'

Most striking of all is his description in the very end of his book of the actual process.[2] The wretched woman is

[1] *Cautio*, Dub. xv. [2] *Ibid.* li.

Digitized by Google

first denounced by neighbour or enemy: has she lived an evil life? it is of course a presumption against her; has she been blameless? she is the worse hypocrite. Is she frightened when arrested? that shows a guilty conscience; is she fearless in her innocence? then it is the devil who lends her strength. She is allowed no defender at first; but she may contradict the testimonies, and if she does she is sent back to prison: and what a prison it was Spee tells us elsewhere.[1] 'Oh God! what justice is this! and if there be a man who would or could [comfort the accused] he may not enter. But those poor souls for whom Christ died must lie and pine away there in their own filth and stench, in pain of body and of soul!' Next day the woman was brought back to be tortured. The preliminaries to that torture included the removal of all clothing, and also of everything in which the devil might be supposed to conceal some protective charm. In some cases the hair was even burnt off with a torch. The unutterable brutality of the process may be imagined. Spee had seen it, and does not spare his words. Then come the everlasting horns of the dilemma: if she confesses in mere fear of torture it is a 'voluntary' confession, and she is condemned forthwith. If she holds out against the torture it matters not; it is an 'excepted crime,' and she may be tortured again and again till she does confess. If she keeps her eyes open under the torture she is looking for her demon-lover; if she faints he has put her to sleep. If she dies, the evil one has broken her neck to save her sufferings, and she is buried under the gallows; and so on, and so on. No wonder the good father exclaims, 'O foolish woman! why wilt thou die so often? Thou mightest at once have paid all with thy death! follow my counsel: say thou art a witch and die.'

Such is the character of the work. It is no scholastic dissertation upon the probability or improbability of the existence of witchcraft—no learned exposition of irregularities in procedure. It is the burning oratory of a man who had seen the 'Stankloch'; who had looked on at torture; who had seen the miserable women and children pleading and

[1] *Güldenes Tugendbuch*, Theil iii. Kap. 13 § 2.

Digitized by Google

struggling with their executioners till even those hard hearts were at times melted. It was no wonder that the book made a profound impression. In Protestant countries particularly it was welcomed—little as those countries had done to check the plague. The first edition was gone in a year. Next year there were two—at Cologne and Frankfort. A Swedish army-chaplain, Johann Seiffert, partly translated and published it at Bremen. But by far the best German rendering of it was by Hermann Schmidt, a councillor of the Count of Katzenellenbogen, whose vernacular is almost as forcible as Spee's Latin. He only ventured to produce his book in 1648, years after it had been written, and there can be no doubt that it would have been dangerous for Spee at any time to acknowledge the authorship of the original. By the rules of the Order he had been guilty of sin in publishing a book without the permission of his superiors.[1]

In 1628 Spee is said to have been back at Cologne (the date seems doubtful and too early), exerting his eloquence in the work of reconversion, especially in the case of the three co-heiresses of the lordship of Stein, his correspondence with whom is preserved. But he was presently to be employed in a wider sphere. The history of the little Lower Saxon town of Peine is one typical of the times. Bishop John IV. of Hildesheim, to whose see it belonged, had pawned it to the Hildesheimers for their help against Brandenburg. Frederick of Holstein, the first Lutheran bishop, redeemed it, but calmly treated it as a secular possession, and bequeathed it like an ordinary chattel to Duke Adolf of Holstein, who introduced Protestant worship there. Then Ernest of Cologne bought it, promising to respect the Augsburg Confession ; but his successor in the Electorate, Ferdinand, made light of this, and using to the full the so-called *jus reformandi* given him by

[1] Jarcke, quoted by Soldan (B), ii. p. 204, calmly claims for the Order at large the merit of the work of Tanner and Spee. His words are worth quoting : 'Der Jesuitenorden (denn man kann füglich annehmen dass die Schriften von Tanner und Spee nicht ohne Veranlassung oder wenigstens nicht ohne ausdrückliche Genehmigung der Oberen erschienen sind) erklärte sich zuerst gegen das blutige Unwesen, und deckte schonungslos die Gebrechen der damaligen Strafjustiz aus.'

Digitized by Google

treaty, directed the appointment of a new Town Council entirely composed of Romanists, the deposition of all Protestant ministers, and the employment of missionaries for the conversion of the obstinate. For this purpose Spee and a lay-brother named Theodotus Dynand were selected, and took up their abode in Peine in November 1628. The town was taxed to pay for their maintenance, but they gave in alms well-nigh all they received. They met with little overt opposition: the Imperialists were then in the full tide of their victories, and the Lutheran worship had but little real hold on the affections of the people. Even the ejected Protestant clergy were not unfriendly, and one even, known by the name of 'Mad Tyle,' became Spee's fast friend. As for the peasants, their only doubt, we are told, was whether the new order of things would entail higher fees for baptisms and burials. The four great trade-guilds of the town professed a corporate conversion, and at length Spee's eloquent sermons won over even the women, who had held out longest. But a terrible experience was before him.[1] Early on the morning of April 29, 1629, he was riding out to a village called Woltorp for early Mass, when a horseman appeared suddenly from a side-path and fired point-blank at him. Fortunately he missed, and Spee rode for his life, only to be overtaken and horribly battered about the head by his unknown assailant. With six wounds on the head and two on the shoulder he yet contrived to reach Woltorp, where he was received and assisted by his friend Tyle. In spite of his grievous condition he insisted on saying Mass, but fainted in the middle of the Gospel (the 'Good Shepherd'), and had to be carried out of church. He was conveyed to Hildesheim, where for eleven weeks he lay between life and death. But in September 1629 he was back in Peine, again active in conversions. His health, however, had permanently broken down, and in a few months he was compelled to retire to the woodland village of Falkenhagen, near Corvey, where in all probability he composed the work which, in the opinion of many, constitutes his claim to remembrance, the *Trutz-Nachtigall*, or *Spite-Nightingale*: a

[1] The authorities for this incident are quoted by Balke, Introduction, p. xxiv.

Digitized by Google

singular title, which he himself explains as meaning that his songs were written, poor as they were, in disregard of the rivalry of the woodland singers. They might celebrate their forest loves and joys: he had a nobler theme—the praises of the Creator.

Were it not for the prevailing tone of sadness which pervades even its most jubilant hymns, and which is easily to be explained by the terrible experiences of the writer, the *Truts-Nachtigall* might well have served as a model for German church-song. In version or imitation Spee's thoughts have again and again reappeared in Christian hymnody. The celebration of the ever-recurring wonders of the Creation; the fresh delight in the reappearance of each commonest sign of nature's resurrection in early spring; the varying tone of thought as affected by the changing seasons of the year: all these mark the writer as a true poet of nature. Unfortunately, there rules in many of the poems the singular half-erotic tone which mars so many of the best productions of the later German mystics.[1] Such images as that of Christ robbing Cupid of his bow and arrows, and still more that of the bride awaking beneath a forest tree to find her heavenly bridegroom near her and pursue him with lover-like caresses, are revolting in their realism. But no such considerations can blind our eyes to the real poetic worth and devotional tone of the hymns.

Years after Spee's death, the first edition of this, his offering to the glory of God, as the *Cautio* had been his offering to the cause of suffering humanity, appeared at Cologne (1649)[2] under the reverent care of his friend and pupil Wilhelm Friessern, who in the same year published also the *Güldenes Tugendbuch*, a devotional manual written for the use of one of his penitents: far, however, removed from the ordinary hortatory tone of such treatises, and carrying in its burning words the impress of the character of the man who had seen the funeral-pyres of Würzburg and gazed on the

[1] *Truts-Nachtigall* (ed. Balke), Lied 2. 51; compare also 4. 14, 18. 40, 7. 15, 5. 21.

[2] Subsequent editions are very numerous; see Balke, Introduction, pp. li–lii.

Digitized by Google

assassin's pistol at Peine. The popularity of both books was very great, and the *Golden Book of Virtues* was many times translated—even into Bohemian.

The actual influence of Spee's writings has been variously estimated. The fact remains that he was the one writer who, at a time when such opinions might mean and did mean disgrace and even death, attacked the very roots of the hateful 'Hexenprocess'; that no other learned man for thirty years before or, for that matter, for thirty years after, dared to do the like; and that with the appearance of the *Cautio* the persecutions came almost to a sudden end. After Leibnitz' express testimony we cannot doubt that at least one great prince—John Philip of Schönborn—was influenced in his determination to put down such horrors by his intercourse with Spee. And, for whatever reason, the reaction throughout Germany became general. At Bamberg mere depopulation and actual failure of taxpayers induced the bishop to hold his hand. Christina of Sweden forbade all such prosecutions in her new German dominions as soon as she was in possession of them (January 1649), and Swedish commandants had already done so on their own responsibility in the towns of Lower Saxony. In 1657 the General Congregation of the Inquisition at Rome greatly modified the rules of procedure, and in 1672 Louis XIV., against the will of the Parliament of Rouen, peremptorily stopped certain prosecutions for witchcraft in Normandy. By 1690 the whole process had fallen into desuetude if not into discredit in all the civilized states of Europe. One or two hide-bound jurists (Carpzovius is particularly mentioned for his efforts) had done their best to revive the technical procedure; but the whole subject was now translated to the level of a juridical discussion, and the treatises of Thomasius (about 1700), who assailed the whole fabric of superstition, though convincing enough in themselves, were no longer attacks on a furious and revengeful monster, as Tanner and Spee had known it. The writings of Thomasius, however, had their immediate effect in the case of Prussia, where Frederick I. interfered with a high hand in the case of a girl of fifteen who was actually put to death by a baron in the Mark for (self-confessed) criminal intercourse

Digitized by Google

with the devil. In 1714 his successor, Frederick William I., practically abolished the whole procedure.

One of the last and most terrible outbreaks of the mania had already taken place in Sweden in 1669.[1] Scores of the children of Mora and Elfdal in that country accused themselves and one another of participation in a 'Witches' Sabbath,' of a kind familiar to all who have read the sickening records of the witch-trial. So exactly did their statements correspond that there seems no avoiding the conclusion that suggestion was employed by the judges—a supposition which, if admitted, would at once explain the difficulty which assails our reason in so many of the trials of adults: namely, the unanimity independent of confession in matters plainly incredible and absurd. Nevertheless, of these unhappy children fifteen were burned alive and thirty-six publicly whipped every week for a whole year. Later still came the witch-trials of Salem in New England, where nineteen persons in all were executed (1692) with the approbation of the Puritan preachers, and even dogs were in the popular frenzy killed as enchanters or enchanted. But to trace the last spasmodic eruptions of the hideous superstition is a thankless task. Würzburg once more justified its evil repute so late as 1749 by the execution, under dreadful circumstances, of a nun named Maria Renata, and the historians of human error can point with pride to the fact that even in 1874 a woman and her son were burned to death as sorcerers in the Mexican state of Sinaloa.

Let us rather return to the man to whom the monster owed its deathblow. Broken in health by the murderous attack upon him, Spee was finally relieved of his missionary duties and recalled to Cologne, where he resumed his functions as Professor of Moral Philosophy, lecturing with great success, and inducing many of his pupils to join the Order. To this period of his life probably belong two traditions preserved in a publication of the end of the eighteenth century.[2] The first relates to his influence over a lady of light manners, under whose windows he caused a serenade to be performed consisting of hymns so moving in their numbers that her

[1] Soldan (B), ii. p. 176.

[2] Weddingen, *Westfälische Magazin*, 1787.

Digitized by Google

conscience was aroused and she resolved to lead a new life. The second must be quoted with considerable caution: it states that Spee being desirous of converting a criminal could find no other way of doing so than by promising to make over to him his own good works. The man accepted the offer and reformed his ways. Thereupon Spee, finding himself destitute of merits, besought Heaven to turn against him the hearts of his superiors, in order that he might by patiently bearing obloquy accumulate fresh deserts. His request was granted: he became hated of all, and by his saintly endurance he heaped up to himself fresh stores of merit: 'alone he fought and conquered,' says the recounter of the story.

His death was to be, like his life, one of self-sacrifice. In 1633 Philip Christopher, Elector of Trier, gave over the city to the French, who suspected the Jesuits as Imperialists, and were about to expel them with Spee, who happened to be in the city, among them, when the defeat at Nördlingen suddenly changed the whole situation. The Cardinal Infant burst upon the Rhine with overwhelming forces, and his lieutenant, Count Ritterberg, surprised Trier on the night of March 25, 1635. Desperate street-fighting ensued, in the midst of which Spee was unwearied in his care for and consolation of the wounded and dying. He even induced Ritterberg to allow some of the wounded to return to their homes. Nor did his exertions cease with the capture of the city: he tended the wounded in the hospitals, and when a virulent fever broke out among them he refused to quit his post. He was attacked by the disease, and, enfeebled by his exertions and his previous sickness, he succumbed and died on August 7, 1635. His coffin is in the vault of the former Jesuit church at Trier, and his one known portrait in the Marcellus-Gymnasium at Cologne.

The Continental theologians of the Reformation and post-Reformation periods, to whatever Church they belong, range themselves naturally in two opposing camps—that of dogma and that of sentiment. With the former class, doctrine obscured all consideration of humanity and its wrongs. With the latter, Romanist or Protestant, the bettering of the world so far as it was capable of amendment with the scanty means

Digitized by Google

at their disposal occupied their whole energies, and when such amendment seemed impossible, only too often they retired into themselves and lived to the glory of God, as they deemed it, in a cloud of mystic speculation. To a few only, as to Friedrich von Spee, it was given by courage, by eloquence, and by unshaken faith, in a cause more than unpopular, to leave their mark in history as friends of suffering humanity.

ART. VI.—CHARLOTTE MARY YONGE.

1. *Charlotte Mary Yonge: Her Life and Letters.* By CHRISTABEL COLERIDGE. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903.)
2. Personal unpublished Recollections of Contemporaries.
3. *The Heir of Redclyffe.* By CHARLOTTE MARY YONGE. (London: Parker and Son, 1853.)
4. *The Daisy Chain, or Aspirations: a Family Chronicle.* By CHARLOTTE MARY YONGE. (London: Parker and Son, 1856.)
5. *The Monthly Packet.* Edited by CHARLOTTE MARY YONGE. (London: Mozley, 1851–1899.)

And very numerous other works published 1844–1901.

WHEN the time comes for the critical history of the Oxford Movement to be given to our descendants, it is doubtful whether, on its roll-call of tractarians, theologians, hymn-writers, missioners, founders of religious communities and societies, artists and musicians, the names of the authors of *Amy Herbert* and of *The Heir of Redclyffe* will be found; although their appointed sphere of influence in connexion with the Movement covered as wide a field as that of its famous leaders. The difference lay in the occupiers of the fields. In that of Miss Sewell and Miss Yonge stood thousands of quiet homes, full of cultured women and carefully educated children, upon whom the effect of these writers' influence was manifest, but not in ways which need attract the notice of future historians.

Digitized by Google

Not the least important among the hidden facts relating to the development of opinion is the part played by the race of troubadours, minstrels, romance-writers, dramatists and novel-writers. That their share has always been weighty in moulding, in purifying, or in degrading national ideals, is unquestionable; but we have no gauge to measure that weight or to accord it the due amount of corresponding responsibility. We must remain content with vague speculations as to the actual results of the teaching by Rousseau, in his *Émile* and other romances, that French fathers and mothers should find their noblest duties in their homes and in the training of their children's characters; and of the teaching by Miss Yonge in her great volume of writings, that English wives and daughters should find glory and beauty in the daily routine of their home lives, when sanctified by dutiful service to their Church and to their poorer neighbours. It may sound grotesque to couple Jean-Jacques Rousseau's and Charlotte Mary Yonge's names together; but to both, albeit from very different points of view, it was given to show to their readers, forgotten primary truths of duty, service, and self-sacrifice.

Of the work done by Miss Yonge for her generation, her biographer speaks with enthusiastic discrimination. Of her most famous book, *The Heir of Redclyffe*, she says:—'It embodied the spirit of the Oxford Movement in its purest and sweetest form, and in Guy it created a new type of hero. . . . Trying to be very good was made interesting and romantic to thousands of good girls. The interesting note in a hero was no longer wickedness but goodness. . . .' Her *Langley School* 'set a whole generation of girls to work at village school teaching. . . .' Ethel May in *The Daisy Chain* was to an unknown number of girls 'an inspiring example of conscientious usefulness. . . . She made girls want to do parish work, and to do it from its highest motives.' *The Monthly Packet*, the magazine created and edited by Miss Yonge for close on fifty years, 'became a maiden's manual, and the strength and depth of its influence . . . would form a curious study.' Its papers of Church teaching 'formed the ideas of many young ladies since grown

Digitized by Google

into hearty workers in the cause of religious education.' The reviewer remembers, when fifteen years' old, being struck by the emphatic pronouncement of a shrewd, well-known Church worker of forty years ago:—'The lower middle-class girls owe an untold debt to Miss Yonge, who has taught them the meaning of true refinement. Her services to thousands of pupil-teachers and shop-girls, in providing them with pure ideals, is immeasurable.' English womanhood may well echo the sentiments of the little American girl, who crossed the Atlantic to come to Otterbourne to assure Miss Yonge of her nation's gratitude:—'I came to thank you for writing so much for the Church. We value that so in America!' In England we, too, value her services for their national importance, on account of the part taken by her in guiding the aspirations and forming the characters of the mothers of this generation. It is not for their daughters to belittle her influence, because their sympathies do not vibrate as readily as did their mothers' to her touch.

It is obvious that Miss Yonge's greatest audience and most enthusiastic troop of admirers were drawn from the young womanhood of half a century ago; but what strikes present-day readers as so remarkable about her books, is the large number of men of light, learning, and youthful aspirations who helped to swell that troop. The names of Tennyson, Kingsley, Morris, and Rossetti among the poets; of Selwyn, Coleridge, Patteson, and Palmer among the judges; of Keble, Neale, Church, Butler, Selwyn, Bright, Moberly, Wilberforce, and Stubbs among the Church leaders, head a list which includes great statesmen, learned students, famous officers, young undergraduates and soldiers, who all eagerly read and discussed her books, and spoke of them in enthusiastic strains, such as that sounded in Charles Kingsley's letter to the publisher of *Heartsease*:—'I think it is the most delightful and wholesome novel I ever read. . . . The book is wise and human and noble as well as Christian, and will surely become a standard book for aye and a day.'

Forty-eight years have passed since this prediction was uttered; and thirty-eight, since the *Saturday Review* sounded a premature knell over Miss Yonge's popularity having

Digitized by Google

'lived her day'; yet her admirers exist in sufficiently large numbers to ensure a warm welcome to Miss Coleridge's biography in all lands where English is spoken and where the Church of England is loved. The ominous symptom, which threatens to falsify Kingsley's prophecy, appears in the assertion that Miss Yonge's readers of this generation are children, not young women. We ventured to inquire on this point of a young sibyl of nineteen, who holds her oracle in a highly-educated, highly-placed section of London society. Her reply was that few girls nowadays read Miss Yonge's stories, because they consider them too sentimental, priggish, unnatural, and pointing a moral in and out of season—(apparently Jane Austen and George Eliot fall under the same condemnation). 'Eleven-year and twelve-year old girls adore *The Heir of Redclyffe*. After twelve they don't care for Miss Yonge nowadays,' pronounced the oracle. It was consoling, however, to learn that this same sibyl and her friends were as fervent lovers of Sir Walter Scott as Miss Yonge herself used to be, for, in her own words, 'her prime literary affection was ever for Sir Walter!' Evidently, therefore, the daughters' neglect of the loved and favourite author of their mothers' day does not arise from a perverse craving for problem and lurid novels. What can be the cause of their indifference to character-drawing not long ago acknowledged to be vivid, life-like sketches, but now disregarded as faded, unrecognisable daguerreotypes?

The two causes are probably those of circumstance. The special conditions under which Miss Yonge wrote gained for her books an astonishing and immediate success. When those circumstances altered, the books ceased to reflect the peculiar tints of the landscape, and passed into the stage trying alike to the popularity of novels and of clothes and customs—'they become antiquated before attaining the dignity of becoming antique.'

It has been well said that 'Miss Yonge's books were written to illustrate the Christian Year.' As Miss Coleridge remarks, 'She had those greatest joys of high-minded and enthusiastic youth, hero-worship and the sense of being in the van of one of the great movements of the day.' Her

Digitized by Google

boat of triumph floated into its destined port on the flowing tide, and she had her full share of

'the lofty enthusiasms for the newly discovered or newly accentuated truths which filled the young men and women of that generation with ardent zeal. Charlotte believed that she received everything and gave nothing from her own personality, but I cannot but think that her delight in and value of religious knowledge, her strong sense of the paramount importance of doing right in every particular, did a great deal to spread "that sober standard of feeling in religious matters" in her own generation, which it was the object of her Master—as she loved to call Mr. Keble—to inculcate.'

So speaks her biographer of the spirit in which she took part in the pioneer work of the movement. Her books are saturated with this eager spirit of hope. Her readers were joyously infected with it. The present generation has grown up surrounded with the visible results of the movement. They were born within the Land of Promise, and they find the Canaanite still in the land. Daily services, restored churches, ecclesiastical art, devoted church missions in London slums and African slave markets, have not yet converted the world, or stayed all religious strife, or removed all heathen indifference, or turned all the worldlings into saints. New difficulties and enemies have arisen, and in the ebb-tide which we seem at present to be called on to resist, the books which proclaimed the Golden Age of awakened Church life, may appear inappropriate and inadequate to modern wrestlers with Christian Social Union problems. Nevertheless those books did their work. It is no blame to them or to the new generation, that they contain no answer to present-day questions.

The second circumstance may be due to the rarity of Miss Yonge's contact with the outer world, which unavoidably betrayed itself in her writings. It has seldom been the lot of an author exerting the widely spread influence that she exerted, to live such a stay-at-home, restricted life. Her life lacked four ingredients, of which one at least rarely fails in these days to add richness to the flavour of the experiences of able and cultivated women. The first was the entire absence of 'moving incidents' in Miss Yonge's life.

Digitized by Google

It was an eventless pastoral, lived among the tranquil downs and woods of Hampshire, not a surging drama acted on a glaring public stage. 'On January 31, 1830, came the greatest event of my life: my only brother was born,' said Miss Yonge. On that day she was six and a half years old. This absence of sensational experiences in her seventy-eight years of life, betrays itself occasionally in her books when we compare them with those of her contemporaries—George Eliot, Mrs. Gaskell, and Mrs. Oliphant—who were all rich with ripe knowledge of life.

Miss Yonge's second peculiarity was that she never travelled. She did not know the sensations of that mental expander, a foreign tour. Her visit to M. Guizot was the unique occasion of her leaving her own country. Although she set occasional brilliant little snapshots and impressionist outlines of Swiss, Italian, or African scenery in the framework of her stories, they were never the result of her own keen study of nature, but were obtained from the descriptions of her more fortunate correspondents abroad. And, thirdly, till the latter years of her life Miss Yonge never took an active part in any of the women's movements or philanthropic societies, the development of which forms a prominent feature nowadays in the busy life of earnest women. Parish work and eager service to Foreign Missions seem to have absorbed her social sympathies, until the Girls' Friendly Society, the Higher Religious Education Society, and the Mothers' Union drew her on to their councils, and in her old age gave her the stirring interest of working with other kindred women souls, cultured and, like herself, interested in all that makes life worth living.

And, lastly, from the beginning to the end of her life she had no experience of intercourse with minds whose point of view differed materially from her own. Her pilgrim's path never led her through Vanity Fair, where she would probably have come across modern research, or religious opinions antagonistic to her Church, or nineteenth-century paganism; where she might have looked into the political arena, or tried to rescue the degraded victims of the materialism of luxury and sweated poverty. She lived

Digitized by Google

always and entirely in the company of a chosen band of noble, cultivated, devout men and women. Miss Yonge explained in one of the letters given in the biography that the good men of her books were not ideals, 'but I had really known their equals (and superiors) in reality.' And again, 'I have been a "companion of the saints," whatever I am myself'; and again, 'It was no small advantage and responsibility to have grown up among good men and women; and to their influence and, in earlier times, their actual criticism, all that is best in my work is owing.' Like Fra Giovanni Angelico, she could only paint sweet, pure natures; when she wanted contrast, she had to draw on an imagination which could not imagine anything foul or evil and was embarrassed by the effort.

These four-square boundaries enshrined Miss Yonge in a peaceful habitation built on many of the lines of Little Gidding, where Mary and Anna Collett lived and served. In a kindred spirit of quiet content with her noble group of intimates, with her teaching in the school, with her frequent Church services, and with her tender care for her poorer neighbours, Miss Yonge passed her long life. She thought out her stories among the daffodils of the Dell Copse and the foxgloves and Solomon's seal of Hursley Woods or on the breezy Downs, or in the delightful Elderfield drawing-room, never invaded by an interviewer but full of welcome to her friends. It was a long low upstairs room, with windows looking on to the village road with views of meadow and copse. One window, bowered in roses, looked up the hill. Her writing-table stood near it, a table made of Norfolk Island woods, inlaid and made for her by Norfolk Islanders and greatly prized by her. Over the table hung that picture of Albert Dürer's of the 'Knight and Death,' which we associate with Sintram. The room was full of pictures: a landscape of Paul Potter, S. Augustine and his Mother, two Apostles' heads, which had belonged to Bishop Moberly, Lord Seaton's, Mrs. Yonge's, and other family portraits and photographs, S. Augustine of Canterbury Landing in England, and, over the fireplace, her father's portrait by Richmond. The old-fashioned large round table was covered with books in

Digitized by Google

heaps; it had a big vase of flowers in the centre and a plate filled with curiosities and old treasures to be turned over by childish visitors. Books abounded everywhere, from the inside of her ottoman, where they took the form of scrap-books for hospitals, with boxes of pictures cut out and illustrated papers waiting to be cut out, to the outside where the ottoman was piled with missionary magazines, news-papers, and books, to the bookcases which lined the whole length and end of the room and climbed up to the ceiling. At the further end stood a reading-desk with a large Bible from the old church on it, used at family prayers. This gave an ecclesiastical effect to the room. It was from these haunts of peace that Miss Yonge sent forth into the English-speaking world a stream of ennobling, vivifying influence, which undoubtedly refreshed and delighted thousands of readers forty years ago, whether or no those of the present-day prefer to slake their thirst at other sources.

The cloistered Ferrars and Colletts filled no such mission to the world without. Only very rare souls could thus be hermit and leader at once; and this woman, to whom such unique power was given, was by that unique power shewn to possess character of a very high order.

Miss Coleridge sets forth that character with real success in her Biography. Her task was not an easy one. A sketch in luminous greys without sharp contrasts of light and shadow requires great delicacy of gradation and crispness of touch to make it effective; happily Miss Coleridge had the right touch, so that she was able to show us her friend in her true environment. We see her (like one of Miss Burney's heroines) always surrounded by devoted, loving friends and kinsfolk, in daily intercourse with the Kebles, Wilsons, Heathcotes, and Moberlys, in close touch with Mr. Keble's world of missionaries and Churchmen, and with her own family circle of Coleridges, Pattesons, and Yonges, and of an ever-increasing number of literary friends. We see her full of interest and enjoyment in her human relationship to her neighbours, rich and poor, saint and dullard. We see her engrossed and rapt in her literary work. And through

Digitized by Google

these various phases we see her noble character shining out in everything she says and does.

Miss Coleridge does not attempt to give us in this book a critique of Miss Yonge's works. She gives us certain details and comments on them during the time when they were in process of production. The book stands as the Life of a busy, enthusiastic, happy, devout daughter of the Church, a book to place in the hands of self-conscious, discontented women to shame them into better ways.

The first three chapters are filled with Miss Yonge's reminiscences, which abound in interesting allusions to bygone ways and habits. They show us on one side the lonely childhood, when little Charlotte learnt to amuse herself by herself and 'how to be alone,' and the stern military discipline of her devoted father, with its wise lessons in self-control, abstemiousness, and conscientiousness, qualities nowadays too often conspicuous by absence in children's upbringing. 'To her contemporaries,' we are told, 'her training appeared strict, and even severe. Her father was her ideal, her mother her closest friend, but a less loyal and loving nature might have found the criticism and repression hard.' On the other side, we see the exuberant enjoyment which gushes out of these childish remembrances, in intercourse with the troops of cousins, whose pedigrees are as difficult to decipher as those of Miss Yonge's creations. One of these cousins, older than herself, recalls how she always felt that 'there was something remarkable about Charlotte, and that her visits were always the greatest delight.' We hear of the lifelong friendships formed among them, founded by her who knew how to be alone, on a very different foundation from those over which Maeterlinck mourns in sinister wonder: 'Of how many ordinary friendships may it not be said that their foundation is the common hatred of silence!' The reminiscences tell us how in early girlhood, when she was thirteen years old, there was granted to her the glorious crown of all her friendships, in the coming of Mr. Keble and his wife to Hursley. 'The fatherly kindness and the delightful sympathy I received there, never failed, through all the years of happy intercourse between our two houses. My Master

Digitized by Google

he was in every way, and there was no one like Mrs. Keble for bright, tender kindness,' says Miss Yonge. Mr. Keble prepared her for confirmation, and formed what she speaks of as 'the great *conscious* influence of my life.' The double death, twenty-eight years later, 'brought her youth to an end.' Other great friendships grew up beside this surpassing one, friendships with the families already mentioned, with the Dysons and Butlers, with Warden Barter, with M. Guizot, with Miss Walter, and many others. Are they not written in the letters given in the Biography? In her younger days there were always many animals about, and always some big dog who was formally recognized as one of the family. The scheme of her days in early life was not different from that of old age. Once, when an old lady, this seemed to strike her. 'How strange!' she exclaimed. 'What I am doing to-day, I was doing sixteen years ago.' She might as truly have said, fifty or sixty years ago. It was this unchangeableness that made her biographer wind up the childish recollections with these words: 'The story of childhood is specially important in her case, because the child was so entirely the mother of the woman; what she was at fifteen, that she was, with modifications, at fifty. . . . . The rules of childhood became the habits, not to say the principles, of after life, and before the point when she declares her childhood ended, we have all the elements of her future life—deep conscientiousness, loyal love for authority, warm friendship and kinship, industry, eager interest in school-children and in nature, and, though by no means precociously developed, the beginning of the story-weaving, the character creation, which was the main occupation of her after life.' The story-weaving (of which we shall speak later) had but one disadvantage pertaining to it; it increased her absence of mind, and thus intensified her appearance of clumsiness and shyness, which often rendered her very formidable to acquaintances and strangers. Marian Arundel, the heroine of one of her earliest books, *The Two Guardians*, is a study from life of her distressing awkwardness in society. Even to the end of Miss Yonge's life, a word of praise spoken to her by a well-meaning admirer, about her books, would cause her instantly

Digitized by Google

to put up her shield of shy reserve, behind which the unfortunate visitor would seek in vain to penetrate. Miss Yonge mentions in a letter about *The Christian Year*, that she knew how Mr. Keble disliked in his 'selflessness' to have conversation about the book, and she may have felt that his example was one for her to follow. The sensitive shrinking, like that of a nerve in pain, when light or profane criticism dared to touch her innermost or most sacred treasures, showed itself in flaming emotion in defence of her reverenced ideals, whether of Church or of leaders, and heroes, and saints of the past or present. The writer will not easily forget the misery unwittingly caused to Miss Yonge by showing her a Froudean skit in a number of *Punch*, called 'History Re-viewed,' by Whyte-Washcher, on 'Oliver Cromwell, the Monarchy's Defender,' which touched lightly on Charles I.'s execution. It was not with her a question of taste, but of sacrilege, for she had inherited Mr. Keble's love and tender veneration for him whom he calls 'Our Royal Saint.' Her writings betray this intense personal feeling in numerous instances; horror of Radicalism, Dissent, perversion to the Roman Church, German Biblical criticism, are knit with strong, glaring colours into her many-hued material. A letter from her to Miss Barnett says, 'I wish someone (not a woman) would put it with authority, that it is frightful that we "whose souls are lighted" by the inspired tradition of thousands of years, should listen to the German critics who have no Church, even if they believe at all.'

Her terror of intellectual pride and of its iconoclast spirit, renders her absolutely cruel in the relentless way in which she crushes, under tons of avenging disaster, any of her capable heroines who venture on to modern lines. Albinia Kendal, with her restless energies, Rachel Curtis, the foe of Curatolatry, Janet Brownlow, with her 'new-womanism,' and other sufferers learn, in stricken confusion and tragedy, how dangerous it is to leave the old paths; while Lady Temple, Amy Edmondstone, Mary Ponsonby, and Violet Martindale are all glorified for their perfect womanliness, not tainted with the intellectual pride or modern desires which make their victims lust after strange meats. The truth was, that,

Digitized by Google

at no period of her life, did Miss Yonge's loyalty feel any friction possible between the position of a daughter at home and of a famous popular author. As Miss Coleridge remarks, in many cases such a position would have led to young people finding themselves 'in discord with their elders and in severance from home interests; in Charlotte's case, authority, family ties, faculty and aspiration all flowed in the same full and powerful stream, and for her the newest, *youngest* thing, was to do home and family duties more perfectly. . . . The fact was the keynote of her character, and produced that atmosphere of mingled ardour and submission in which she lived all her life, while all other contemporary and contending aspirations were so entirely outside her ken, that she did not so much oppose them as remain in ignorance almost of their existence, and certainly of their force.' The limitations thus created 'she easily accepted, limitations social, intellectual, and practical, regarding them as safeguards rather than hindrances.'

Of course she was out of touch with modern problems; at Little Gidding they were also, doubtless, 'terribly behind the age.' Miss Yonge's kinship to those gentle souls likewise showed itself in her austerity and devotions. 'She never shrank from what was duty,' her cousin testified. 'She practised definitely and on purpose many self-denials of which she never spoke, and which only gradually became obvious to her friends. . . . It was a revelation to a careless girl,' writes her biographer, 'to find that twelve o'clock was always marked by her as an hour of prayer, and her love for the daily matins and evensong was so unbroken and so genuine that they were an integral part of her life.' . . . 'She was never too busy to go to church, and she always said that breaking off her occupations for this, and for the daily teaching in school, kept up the freshness of her interest, and prevented her energy from flagging.'

The humility, self-distrust, and entire absence of vanity, which were always such winning traits in her character, made Mr. Keble's warning to her 'against too much talk and discussion of Church matters, especially doctrines,' one which harmonized with her own feelings. Emotional talk

Digitized by Google

upon sacred things and arguments upon religious difficulties, whether Roman, critical, or agnostic, were utterly alien to her. She was possessed with the marked characteristic of the Oxford Leaders: intense reverence and reticence on religious emotions and experiences. 'I do think,' wrote she, 'that a woman produces more effect by what she *is* than by a thousand talks and arguments.'

And this was absolutely true of her personal influence. A character built up on these noble lines, undeviatingly 'true to the kindred points of Heaven and Home,' could not fail to be felt as a force in whatever directions her energies were bent. Who can measure the effect of her example as loyal sister, as faithful friend, or as devoted Church worker, whether in happily tiding over a financial crisis by her ungrudging sacrifice of a cherished scheme for the endowment of Otterbourne Church, by giving her earnings instead, to help her brother? or in turning her busy home into a hospital for an invalid friend, and in bearing for twenty-four years, with unfailing cheerfulness, the strain and inconveniences inevitable in the presence of such a crippled sufferer? or in teaching regularly for seventy-one years in the Otterbourne Schools, weekdays and Sundays? (In her old age she loved to describe herself by the title of 'Veteran Sunday School Teacher.' *Doyen* would have been the correct title of a teacher who, in 1893, mustered 300 Sunday Scholars of all ages ranging from seventy-two to five years!): or in firing young Church people of her own school of thought with her burning enthusiasm for Foreign Missions—Missions which she gloried in as 'a splendid romance, a crusade in which subjects were won to Christendom as well as souls to Christ'? She was 'in a very true sense a Champion of Christendom, for she was the first High Church leader, to quote her own words, who 'thought of popularizing interest in mission work among the orthodox.' Her biographer says, with truth, 'So consistent, so harmonious a life has surely never been described and rarely been lived. . . . No inconsistent nor disappointing record has, or ever can, leap to light where she was concerned.'

Such a personality must inevitably have been a power for

Digitized by Google

good, had Miss Yonge never written a single book, and had simply lived among men. But her call was twofold, to teach by precept as well as by example; and the ardour with which she followed her vocation can be best measured by the marvellous amount of work accomplished. She wrote between 1844 and 1901, *i.e.* from her twenty-second to her seventy-ninth year. During that long period she regularly published two, three, four, five, or six books a year; altogether about 170 original compositions. In addition, she edited thirteen translations of French works, and wrote prefaces to, and edited, ten other books. She also edited three periodicals, viz., *The Monthly Paper of Sunday Teaching* for fifteen years, *The Monthly Packet* for forty-eight years, and *Mothers in Council* for over ten years. Never was there such a willing Pegasus in harness! This extraordinary industry was not stimulated by the sordid urgency of producing *pot-boilers*. All the pots boiled on her hearth were earmarked: 'Holiness unto the Lord of Hosts.' '*Pro Ecclesia et Deo*,' her favourite motto, was the motive that inspired her fertile brain; and what she said of the work accomplished at Wantage may in truth be said of her own: 'Certainly prayer and grind do turn the wheels!'

The tale of bricks produced by Charles Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, Charles Lever, Anthony Trollope, Mrs. Henry Wood, Miss Braddon, and other contemporary novel-writers, whom the world considers prolific, dwindles into insignificance beside Miss Yonge's record. The actual number of books published by Mrs. Oliphant (her only serious rival), falls short of Miss Yonge's by fifty-one. These two authors bravely drove their four-in-hand year after year through the fifties till the end of the nineties. Disraeli, Thackeray, the Brontës, Mrs. Gaskell, Mayne Reid, Charles Reade, George Eliot, and Miss Mulock may also be mentioned as writing at the time when Miss Yonge first made her mark. The most cursory glance at their books shows us how absolutely untouched was her special field of work, and how unique a place she fills among them.

A special characteristic of Miss Yonge sets her also in contrast to the rest of this great group. While many of

Digitized by Google

them, pre-eminently Thackeray and Anthony Trollope, were deeply interested in their creations, and talked with paternal garrulity about their characters; while Mrs. Oliphant wished to 'forget it all, to wipe out all her books,' and 'was,' she said, 'no more interested in her own characters than she was in Jeannie Deans, and did not remember them half so well'—Miss Yonge never thought of her characters as characters at all. She literally realized them so vividly, that they became real persons to her: 'a company of friends,' she called them. This charming idiosyncrasy shows itself in letter after letter in her Life, as in her naïve wish that 'Guy could only have seen Mr. Keble to-day, how he would have enjoyed it!' in her curious remarks about her mother on the occasion of her father's death, 'Mamma is too like Amy, excited with thankfulness'; or on the occasion of a subscription to a mission school, which she calls 'that money of Guy's.' At five years old, she began to live in a garden arbour with a gigantic make-believe family, who became her imaginary playmates, and she lived with them and her other characters all her life. The crowd grew, intermarried, had children and grandchildren, but she knew and loved them all; and, taught by the experiences gained among her great clan of cousins, followed the individual fortunes of the numerous descendants (who flourish in the series of stories begun in 1881) as keenly as those of their original ancestors. Many of the characters owed their existence to the cousinhood. The soldier type, neat-fingered Jenny Mohun, Dr. May, Mary May, Countess Kate, and Miss Yonge's obvious partiality for cripple heroines, presented in Mrs. Dusautoy, Ermine Williams and Geraldine Underwood, may all be traced by traits of likeness to various relations and friends. Mrs. Keble was the unconscious sponsor to all her clergymen's wives; while Mr. Keble and Mr. Wilson set the high standard for her parish priests. Dicky May was a youthful photograph of Bishop John Selwyn; and the Otterbourne schoolchildren reappeared in *Langley School* and its sequels. While most of Miss Yonge's contemporary novelists drew their material from personal adventures at home and abroad, and from London political and social experiences, which ranged from

Digitized by Google

the heights of luxury and fashion to the depths of crime and misery, she gathered hers from her history shelf and from her domestic circle, and painted her backgrounds from the dewy landscapes and grey old towns of Hampshire and Devon. The result is remarkable on account of its truthfulness to Nature, of its never-failing atmosphere of religious wholesome refinement, and of the high level of merit maintained in the great mass of her writings. These may be roughly classified under four heads :—

1. Novels and tales, sixty-five; historical romances, thirty.

2. Educational works, chiefly history, thirty-eight.

3. Biographies and recollections, seventeen.

4. Missionary and religious works, chiefly series of lessons on different portions of the Prayer Book and Holy Scriptures, twenty-eight.

There was also the editing of the three magazines. Obviously no reviewer can deal with such an output. One or two points of interest only can be noted.

'For at least twelve or fifteen years,' Miss Yonge tells us in her *Musings on the Christian Year*, 'I never did any literary work without talking it over with Mr. and Mrs. Keble, referring difficulties to them, and generally showing the MS., which,' she adds, 'underwent diligent revision.' We also know from the Biography what a keen critic her father was, and how watchful an eye this Board of Advisers kept on everything that fell short of their standard, in language or idea. Miss Yonge says that at Hursley Vicarage '"whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely," was the guide of taste; and the unlovely, whether rude, coarse, derisive, or over-fanciful, was put aside.' Mr. Keble was always on the watch that no suggestion in her books should 'leave a stumbling-block,' therefore the scissors inexorably cut away descriptions of drunkenness, or of fear of insanity, or of morbidity. Nowadays too many stories leave a taste in the mouth, and taint the thoughts imperceptibly through suggestion rather than statement. Miss Yonge conveys a subtle effect of an exactly opposite nature, an impalpable impression of transparent single-mindedness and white purity.

Digitized by Google

Some of her Old World stories especially are exquisite in the delicate impression they leave on the mind. *The Dove in the Eagle's Nest* and *Unknown to History* may be given as instances. We are compelled to own that her history books are not conspicuous for their accuracy; but is not this fault atoned for by the vivid impressions which their picturesque touches produce on childish readers? Numerous historical students owe their present keen interest in research to the love of the past and to the feeling of personal acquaintance with its worthies and heroes, which the *Landmarks* and *Cameos* aroused in their minds in early youth.

Again, critical teachers may nowadays reject Miss Yonge's *Scripture and Prayer Book Lessons* and *Questions* in favour of modern books on the same lines, written in better English, with more exact definitions; but the valuable work done by them at the period of their publication should not therefore be depreciated. Only two years ago an earnest desire for their reprint was expressed by a Missionary Bishop and Mission Priest working in Australasia and Africa, on the ground that their simple language was exactly what was wanted for the use of Native catechists.

These religious Lessons, with their definite Church teaching, represent but a part of Miss Yonge's share in the work of the Oxford Movement. She began to write at a moment which she describes as: 'the prime interest and blossom of *Tracts for the Times*.' Her stories were quickly recognized by the Tractarian leaders as contributions to the literature of the great Church movement. In her *Musings*, and in a touching letter to her friend Miss Dyson, Miss Yonge tells how Mr. Keble gave her joy and peace on the wonderful first success of *The Heir of Redclyffe*. 'He showed me how work (even of this sort) might be dedicated.' 'When I asked for the blessing, he said, "You shall have it, such as it is"; and then he took the words he never used with me before: "Prosper Thou her handiwork," which seemed to seal a daily prayer, and make all bearable and not vain.' Overshadowed by that benediction, she devoted herself to producing, for childish and full-grown readers, stories and novels pervaded with a natural healthy Church tone, as

Digitized by Google

available alternatives to the Sunday tales which, in those days, with hardly an exception, were of the Calvinistic school of thought. A large number of her stories appeared originally in *The Monthly Packet*, and Mr. Mozley, her publisher, used to tell how, whenever an interval occurred between her stories, the sale of the magazine fell immediately to a low level, but rose again directly a new serial by the Editor appeared. And this popularity continued to the end, in spite of a new generation having grown up with whom she was not popular. A friend of Miss Yonge's, twenty years her junior, and actively engaged in the great world, used to stay frequently with her during her last years. As the latter-day stories came out, she owns to feeling troubled at their frequent failures in attempts to describe present-day life, present-day young womanhood, and the altered position of women; and before each visit she would brace herself to try to persuade Miss Yonge to desist from attempting such wrong perspective. But every time her resolutions were put to flight by the sight of the letters which poured in by every post, from all parts of England, America, and the Colonies, from servant-girls, schoolmistresses, and simple-minded women, telling Miss Yonge of their deep gratitude for her books, of the real religious influence which they exerted everywhere, and of the diffusion of interest of the very best kind which they accomplished. The guest was tongue-tied, for she found that her aged hostess was linked to a much larger world than any with which she had touch!

Of course widespread popularity and valuable influence can co-exist with obvious defects of style and composition. Miss Yonge's grammar is faulty; her sentences are slipshod; her situations repeat themselves; many of her plots become open secrets in the first chapters; the catastrophes are too obviously led up to by conversations acting as signposts in very big capitals—marked instances of the latter may be noticed in *Scenes and Characters*, *The Trial*, and *The Young Stepmother*. Her old-fashioned touches, which make her speak of her girls as 'the young ladies,' and mention among the advantages of a vicarage the fact that it 'afforded no

Digitized by Google

periodical novel, no slang tales of low life, no manuals of sporting,' may seem nowadays more prim than pleasing. Her mannerisms are monotonous. We listen in vain for the last blow to fall from her scourge on the bent backs of her worldly characters. Justice is never appeased. We invariably leave them at the end of the story still in the executioner's hands. By a perverse twist, with hardly an exception, she always makes the *second* daughter of her families a spiritual blackamoor! On account of her own tethered life, she paints the lives of her characters among quiet surroundings, beside still backwaters, very unlike the restless seas across which so many of her readers have to voyage. It is when she attempts to introduce glimpses of that big world, with its passions, its pleasures, its vanities, that the sketch is out of drawing from being studied through unaccustomed spectacles. A mannerism of her early works, amusingly contrasting with Miss Yonge's personal habits, may be pointed out in illustration of this. Her disregard for dress, for arrangement of colour and taste, her almost unfortunate absence of vanity, were notorious among her friends; but she might have been a dressmaker from the hours which she compels her heroines to spend over their toilettes! The brutality with which the authors of *Pickwick* and *The Wide Wide World* insist on their characters drinking and gorging at all hours of night and day, is moderation itself compared with Miss Yonge's gown excesses! In *The Two Guardians* she makes the unfortunate Marian dress publicly for dinner fourteen times! and, as a lady's maid would add, 'with nothing to show for it!' Miss Yonge's attempts at descriptions of smart costumes would do credit to no womanly imagination save that of a cloistered nun. She alone could regard without shuddering the appearance of Lucilla Sandbrook as 'a fairy vision in a double-watered silk bordered with fishing flies' at a ball, with a 'coronal' of flies on her head, and waistband, bracelets, anklets of hooks and flies! (think of the lacerated partners!), or of Bessie Keith floating by in a polka in a white ball-dress, 'her dark hair turned back and fastened by a snood of scarlet ribbon, an eagle's feather clasped in it by a large emerald,' or of

Digitized by Google

Gillian Merrifield in her white tarlatan, made available for her début by Mrs. Grinstead's 'painting it and its ribbons with exquisite blue nemophilas too lovely for anything so fleeting'—painted tarlatan lovely! as appropriate as painted cotton wool! To realize how primitive these conceptions are, a student of sartorial art might profitably compare them with the wonderful ball-dress and other gowns in Mrs. Hodgson Burnett's clothes-pervaded novel, *In One Administration.* And Miss Yonge is as much astray in her descriptions of the 'World of Fashion' as of the 'World of Dress.'

But we have already wasted too many words on these futilities. Rather let our criticisms of her stories compel our admiration for the absolute truthfulness to nature and the vivid touches with which Miss Yonge can paint familiar scenes. Her minute domestic details are always worked in with careful subordination to the groups of which they form the setting, with the harmonious arrangement of a master of the Dutch School. An unpublished instance of her appreciation of environment may be given in the graphic description she was fond of sketching, of a comic tragical situation which ought some day to be used and which would appeal to all lovers of realism. The heroine in a supreme crisis retiring to her room to be alone and finding it in the hands of the enemy. The furniture on the landing, the curtains and bed-vallances pinned up, tea-leaves lying in moist confusion all over the floor and a sentinel housemaid armed with her broom on guard to eject intruders! She had also a most happy gift for seizing the special characteristics of the social life of country towns and watering-places with the keenness of Miss Austen or Mrs. Gaskell. If her men are too often marionettes, her children and girls are instinct with eager natural life. Countess Kate, and little Owen and Lucilla in *Hopes and Fears*, show in many delicate touches and hints what a wonderfully understanding insight she had with regard to children's minds. Above all, her presentation of the school-girl ephemeral stage of growth, so exceedingly difficult to catch, so perpetually caricatured and falsely rendered, is in Miss Yonge's books always absolutely true to life. She

Digitized by Google

paints her 'jeune fille' as nobody before or since has ever done, with photographic exactness and charming touches of real young, foolish, restless life. In that one great speciality her fame as a true portrait-painter might well be content to rest.

No space is left to speak of the numerous letters given in the Biography. The selection does not strike us as invariably judicious, and we could wish that more care had been given to the docketing, as on page 324, where the wrong name is placed at the heading of the letter instead of that of Miss Annie Cazenove.

Our only serious quarrel with a Biography full of charm and beauty is, that it does not contain either the words of the address presented with the subscription to Miss Yonge on her seventieth birthday, or the list of signatures, among which some of England's most honoured names were to be found; and that the account of the last sixteen years of Miss Yonge's life, in which she took a more active and public part in the work of certain Church societies, is dismissed with a few words. As we believe that other readers may share our regret for this shortcoming, we may add a sketch of a day spent at Elderfield with its aged mistress, which has been supplied by one whose recollections of Miss Yonge's last days of health and activity are full of tender interest. We give the sketch in her friend's own words:

'Prayers punctually at eight o'clock, at which a few verses of the Bible were read standing, followed by a short commentary, then the prayers. A rather long interval succeeded, before breakfast, during which letters were eagerly discussed. Charlotte's correspondence was long, and constantly included letters from perfect strangers asking all sorts of amusing questions about her books. Without any intermission throughout the year, excepting in the school holidays, at nine o'clock Charlotte went across the road to the village school to take the religious hour's teaching, going on from there to the daily service in the church, at which she was constantly the whole congregation. By half-past ten she had settled down to her writing, answering her letters first with great punctuality and rapidity, devoting the rest of the time until one o'clock to her own compositions. The alternations of complete silence with times of gay talking were marked features of the day at Otterbourne. During one of

Digitized by Google

these morning writings, I have seen her write a "Cameo" on the French Revolution without a pause or correction, only once going to the bookshelf to look out a date; it was written straight off out of the fulness of her own knowledge, which seemed to need no refreshing.

'After lunch and another post came the walk, during which no unusual flower or bird escaped her quick eye and ready interest. If a villager passed her, the conversation that ensued shewed her intimate knowledge of the concerns of the families among whom she had grown up, and the confidence felt in her friendship. The walks were not various in themselves, but whether they were in the meadows or woods or by the waterside, they afforded her an infinite variety of interest. Sometimes the colours of toadstools attracted, at other times mosses were collected; an idle walk was almost unheard of, and specimens were constantly taken home to be verified.

'Charlotte used to *hurry* out after lunch, saying, "If we do not go soon we shall be caught!" This referred to the possibility of strangers coming to look at her and talk of her books, which she greatly disliked, but which happened very often indeed in the summer. Sometimes she would be followed down the lane by a party of Americans, who declared they had come across the Atlantic to see her, &c. She tried to be gracious, jerking out little sentences: "Thank you very much! I hope you had a good journey; when are you going back?" Canon Bright told me that once on calling Miss Yonge received him with appalling frigidity; suddenly she recognized him and said in a changed voice: "Oh, it is only *you!* I thought it was an American." He rejoined that it was a wonder any American came if *that* was the greeting awaiting him!

'The walk was followed by tea, when perhaps a friend from Winchester or the neighbourhood would drop in. If it was a familiar friend a full account of her adventures would be related, with much appreciation of anything especially ludicrous in the situation. To please her guest a drive into Winchester would sometimes be substituted for the walk, and then a little shopping or visit to the Bank would be combined with a walk round the Cathedral, or she would make one of her rare calls on a friend.

'After tea another hour or more of total silence followed, dedicated to the reading of other people's manuscripts, for Charlotte's kindness to young or inexperienced authors gave her a great deal of continuous labour. If the afternoon was too wet to go out, the big cupboard in the drawing-room was opened. It was full of story-books sent her for reviewing purposes, of which she did a great deal. Anything very ridiculous or very delightful in these books was always shared with whoever was in the room, and greatly laughed over.

Digitized by Google

'Evensong came at six o'clock. Never was there any question of being late. Charlotte was always ready and waiting in the churchyard for the Vicar, and her hearty responses revealed her deep interest in Psalms, Lessons, and Creed. Her "*I believe*" or "*the life everlasting, Amen*, rang out with ever fresh-fervour, and can never be forgotten by those who heard it.

'Dinner at seven o'clock was the merriest of all the merry meals in the day. Books were discussed or historical events described as though they had been matters of personal experience. Every allusion open to question was then and there looked up and verified, and this habit of years was no doubt partly responsible for the enormous knowledge of details stored up in her capacious memory. Historical personages and facts connected with them were her special delight. They were to her actual friends, and we used to declare that we should never be surprised if the Emperor Maximilian had come one day to tea, he was so constantly spoken of and realized as if still living.

'The long busy day of joyous energy was not yet over. After dinner the village schoolmistress came for an hour's reading of French or History, or one of the maids came up to learn something. This habit had converted one discontented little maid, who was restless to leave the country, into a most devoted and happy servant. She said: "I am never tired of thinking of all those kings and queens of England now when I am sweeping!" Charlotte was a born teacher, and filled her pupils with her own enthusiasm. When these scholars were gone came the time for reading aloud, whether it was a Waverley Novel or more solid reading. Charlotte was never idle for a moment. If she was not reading aloud herself, she was pasting pictures into a scrapbook, weaving them into an illustrated version of nursery rhymes, with endless cleverness of arrangement and invention.

'Her glass of milk at ten o'clock was fully earned, but even after she had gone to her room for the night her visitor could hear her voice reading something suitable aloud to her maid as her hair was being brushed; this was her habit morning and evening, and probably had lasted over fifty years.'

One last point, and a very important one in the eyes of most authors, remains to be mentioned with regard to Miss Yonge's publications, viz. the profits which they produced and the use to which she put these profits. She was accustomed to tell how, before she published her first book, a family council was held, which decided that she should not

Digitized by Google

herself take money for it, but that it should be used for some good work, 'it being thought unladylike to benefit by one's own writings.' This early dedication of her profits bore magnificent fruit in Religious Education and in the Home and Foreign Mission field. She counted it the crown and glory of her life to pour her gains into the Lord's treasury; and a great deal of this money was given in ways that cannot be traced; yet it is known that *The Heir of Redclyffe* fitted up 'The Southern Cross Ship' for the Melanesian Mission, and provided a mission-room in a hamlet of Hursley; *The Daisy Chain* endowed a Missionary College at Auckland, New Zealand, and all its proceeds were given to the Melanesian Mission; while those of *New Ground* went to the Mackenzie Memorial Mission in Zululand.

Death came to this dear saint of God on the eve of Lady Day, 1901, and her funeral took place on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the death of 'her Master,' Mr. Keble.

May God's blessing rest on them both in Paradise, where they 'rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.'

Art. VII.—THE HOLY EUCHARIST: AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY.

Part IX.

To the lists of books prefixed to Parts I.–VIII. add the following:

64. *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* (London, 1735.)
65. *Remarks on a Book lately published entituled A Plain Account, &c.* (London, 1735.)
66. *A Defence of the Plain Account, &c.* (London, 1735.)
67. *A Second Letter to the Author of a Book entituled A Plain Account, &c.* (London, 1735.)
68. *An Apologetical Defence, or a Demonstration of the Usefulness and Expediency of a late Book entituled A Plain Account, &c.* (London, 1735.)

Digitized by Google

69. *The Winchester Converts, or a full and true Discovery of the real Usefulness and Design of a late right seasonable and religious Treatise entitled A Plain Account, &c.* (Oxford, 1735.)
70. *A Proper Answer to a late abusive pamphlet entitled The Winchester Converts.* By a Member of the University. (Oxford, 1735.)
71. *The Sacrament of the Altar: or the Doctrine of a Representative Sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist vindicated.* (London, 1735.)
72. *A True Scripture Account of the Nature and Benefits of the Holy Eucharist.* By THOMAS BRETT, LL.D. (London, 1735.)
73. *The Works of the Rev. Daniel Waterland, D.D.* By WILLIAM VAN MILDERT, Lord Bishop of Llandaff. Second edition. (Oxford, 1843.)
74. *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiae Orientalis.* Collegit, edidit, et illustravit E. J. KIMMEL. (Jenae, 1850.)
75. *Die Geschichte des Messopfer-Begriffs.* Von Dr. F. S. RENZ. II. Band. (Freising, 1902.)
76. *An Eucharistic Eirenicon.* By the Rev. W. R. CARSON. (London, 1902.)
77. *Sacrificial Worship.* By W. J. GOLD, S.T.D. (New York, 1903.)

XXIV. The second quarter of the eighteenth century opened a new chapter in the history of Eucharistic doctrine in the Church of England. Hitherto, as we have seen, the wide differences of opinion found to exist were kept within the limits laid down in the Thirty-nine Articles—that is to say, there are no traces of an assertion of the doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament amounting to Transubstantiation, or of denials on the part of writers of any authority in the English Church of a connexion between the elements and the presence of Christ which amount to Zwinglianism. With the time just named a new era begins.

In 1735 a book was published entitled *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* It was anonymous, but was understood to be the work of

Digitized by Google

Benjamin Hoadly. Hoadly had been appointed Bishop of Bangor in 1716, Bishop of Hereford in 1721, Bishop of Salisbury in 1723, and Bishop of Winchester in 1734. He was a prominent member of the Latitudinarian party which had now become influential in the Church of England. There is little room for doubt that the *Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* was written by him. The main object of the book was practical. Its aim was to shew that an exaggerated stress was laid by many on the need of preparation and devotion in connexion with Communion, and that scruples which held back those who might otherwise communicate were unnecessary and groundless. In maintaining this thesis the writer stated his view of the doctrine of the Sacrament. He rejected any assertion of the presence of Christ or of a gift of grace. He advocated the purely Zwinglian position that our Lord's words at the institution of the Sacrament were wholly figurative, that an act done in remembrance of Christ required the bodily absence of Christ, and that a memorial could not be a sacrifice. He asserted that the Lord's Supper was a token and pledge of the promises of Christ and of the duties and privileges of Christians, and denied that it was anything more. Among the statements about doctrine which the book contained were the following:

'This remembrance of Christ, during the time of His bodily absence, was by Himself and His Apostles declared to be the end of this positive institution.'[1]

'The very essence of this institution being remembrance of a past transaction, and this remembrance necessarily excluding the corporal presence of what is remembered, it follows that, as the only sacrifice and the only sacrificer in the Christian dispensation are remembered, and therefore not present in the Lord's Supper, so the only Christian altar (the Cross upon which Christ suffered) being also by consequence to be remembered, it cannot be present in this rite, because that presence would destroy the very notion of remembrance.'[2]

'Christians, meeting together for religious worship, and eating

[1] *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, p. 30.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 54.

Digitized by Google

bread and drinking wine in remembrance of Christ's Body and Blood, and in honour of Him, do hereby publicly acknowledge Him to be their Master, and themselves to be His disciples; and by doing this in an assembly own themselves, with all other Christians, to be one body or society under Him the Head; and consequently profess themselves to be under His governance and influence, to have communion or fellowship with Him as Head, and with all their brethren as fellow-members of that same body of which He is the Head.'[1]

'As bread and wine, taken at an ordinary meal, are the food of our bodies, so this bread and wine, taken in a serious and religious remembrance of Christ as our Master, may (in a figurative, spiritual, or religious sense) be styled the food of our souls, or the nourishment of us considered as Christians; as the receiving them duly implies in it our believing and receiving the whole doctrine of Christ, which is the food of the Christian life; and leads our thoughts to all such obligations and engagements on our part, and all such promises on God's part, as are most useful and sufficient for our improvement in all that is worthy of a Christian. And Almighty God on His part requiring and accepting our due performance of this part of our duty, does by this assure us who come to profess ourselves the disciples of Christ that we are in His favour. Or, in other words, the Lord's Supper, being instituted as the memorial of His goodness towards us in Christ Jesus, may justly be looked upon as a token and pledge to assure us of what it calls to our remembrance—viz. that God is ready to pardon and bless us upon the terms proposed by His Son; and consequently that we are received by Him as the disciples of Christ, members of His body the Church, and heirs of His heavenly kingdom; in a word, as persons entitled to all the happiness promised to Christians, if we be not wanting to ourselves in other parts of our duty.'[2]

'This bread and wine, considered and taken as memorials of the body and blood of Christ our Master, lead us by their peculiar tendency to all such thoughts and practices as are indeed the improvement and health of our souls.'[3]

The publication of this book was followed by a vigorous controversy. We have prefixed to this article the names of a few of the more important of the numerous pamphlets which appeared in attack on and in defence of the *Plain Account.* Much of the controversy had to do with the practical questions which the writer of the *Plain Account* had raised, or with the

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 58. [2] *Op. cit.* pp. 130, 131. [3] *Op. cit.* p. 162.

Digitized by Google

allegations of disbelief in the doctrines of the Atonement and of the deity of our Lord which were brought against him; and it is often difficult to ascertain the opinions of those who took part in it with regard to the doctrine of the Eucharist. Several of the pamphleteers who attacked the *Plain Account* asserted with greater or less definiteness a gift in Communion. At any rate two of them took up a position practically the same as that of John Johnson.[1]

The writer of *Remarks on a Book lately published entituled A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* is one of the opponents of the *Plain Account* whose doctrinal views are expressed with little definiteness. In his first pamphlet just mentioned he has the sentence:

'It is true the Blood of Christ is not itself present, but there is that present which is appointed by Christ to represent it, and which He Himself calls His Blood.'[2]

In his *A Second Letter* he implies that the elements become 'the representative Body and Blood of Christ' when 'the Eucharistical Prayer' is said over them,[3] and calls them 'the representatives of the great Christian sacrifice.'[4]

A differently expressed explanation of the gift in Communion is given by the author of *A Letter to a Lord in Answer to his late Book entitled A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*

'The assistance of God's Spirit,' he says, 'is annexed by the promise of our Lord to the due partaking of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This is grounded on (St. John vi. 56) "He that eateth My Body and drinketh My Blood dwelleth in Me, and I in him." "And hereby," saith the same St. John (explaining these his words in another place), (1 Ep. iv. 13), "Hereby know we that we dwell in Him, and He in us, by His Spirit which He hath given us."

[1] See Part VIII. of this article, *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1903, pp. 75–78.

[2] *Remarks on a Book lately published entituled A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, p. 33.

[3] *A Second Letter to the Author of a Book entituled A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, p. 37.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 51.

Digitized by Google

Here the Evangelist plainly tells us that by those His words (viz.) "our dwelling in Christ and Christ in us," we are to understand God's Spirit united to our spirit; or, which is the same thing, as we are told by the great Apostle (Rom. viii. 9), "the Spirit of Christ" (united to our souls) "which if any man want, he is none of His." "For know ye not," saith the same Apostle (1 Cor. iii. 16), "that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" And (2 Cor. xiii. 5) "Know ye not that Jesus Christ is in you, unless you be reprobates?" But I suggested that something more (if possible) is promised to us by our Lord in this passage of St. John's Gospel; and is it not plainly affirmed in it by our Lord, and by those first Christian writers which we cited, interpreting His words, that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper produces in us the principles of immortality? Is not this plainly and fairly inferred from these words (verse 54), "He that eateth My Body and drinketh My Blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day"? Is it not plainly affirmed that the Eucharist duly received is the medicine of immortality, the antidote against eternal death, that will make us live alway in God through Jesus Christ? For, as the great Apostle speaks to the Romans (viii. 11), "If the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you."'[1]

In the first of the three dialogues entitled *The Winchester Converts*, published as a satirical attack on the *Plain Account*, the position of the writer of the dialogues is evidently stated when the Eucharist is described as

'an awful and tremendous institution designed not only for a bare remembrance of the death of Christ, but also for a seal of that pardon which God hath promised to repenting sinners, and a renewal of that covenant which He first made with them in Baptism, and a means of conveying to them that spiritual grace and assistance which was the thing covenanted to be granted, and which the Church in all ages has declared the very best of men to stand in need of and must necessarily obtain before they can offer up to God any sacrifice that will be truly acceptable';[2]

and as the means through which 'sins' are 'blotted out by' the

[1] *A Letter to a Lord in Answer to his late Book entitled A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, pp. 12, 13.

[2] *The Winchester Converts*, p. 16.

Digitized by Google

'partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ in some such mysterious manner as the original sin of our first parents is washed away by Baptism.'[1]

One of the pamphlets in which a position resembling that of John Johnson is taken up is entitled *The Sacrament of the Altar: or the Doctrine of a Representative Sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist vindicated: in answer to a late Book intituled A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* The writer of this pamphlet speaks of the consecrated elements as being 'in power and effect'[2] the Body and Blood of Christ; and in his preface gives the following clear statement of his views:

'The primitive doctrine, which I have endeavoured to vindicate in the following tract, is most directly opposite to the present doctrine of the corrupt Church of Rome. The Church of Rome in their sacrifices of the Mass pretend to offer up to God very Christ, whole Christ, God and Man hypostatically. Hence, according to them the sacrifice of the Mass is propitiatory in its own nature, and to be worshipped as being the very natural substantial Body and Blood of Christ. On the other hand, the primitive doctrine maintains that not the very natural substantial Body and Blood of Christ is offered to God in the Eucharist, but that bread and wine, as the appointed representatives of Christ's Body and Blood, are to be offered according to Christ's own institution, and that this representative sacrifice is therefore propitiatory, not from any intrinsic worth in itself, but by virtue of the grand, personal sacrifice of Christ, which by His institution it is appointed to commemorate and represent; and that therefore the materials of this representative sacrifice are not to be worshipped, as not being substantially the Body and Blood of Christ, though they are indeed made so in power and effect by the presence and blessing of the life-giving, eternal Spirit.'[3]

A similar view was advocated in *A True Scripture Account of the Nature and Benefits of the Holy Eucharist, in Answer to a Book intituled A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,* by the famous Dr. Thomas Brett. Dr. Brett was born in 1667. He was ordained

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 17.

[2] *The Sacrament of the Altar: or the Doctrine of a Representative Sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist vindicated*; *e.g.* pp. 32, 91.

[3] *Op. cit.* Preface, p. iii.

Digitized by Google

in 1690, and took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary with some scruple, although in his case there was not, as in the case of many, the complication of having taken an oath to James II. By the time of the accession of George I. in 1714 he had come to see that he could no longer take an oath of allegiance to an Hanoverian sovereign, and consequently vacated his benefices of Betshanger and Ruckinge. He was admitted to the communion of the Nonjurors in 1715, and was consecrated a Nonjuring Bishop in 1716. He died in 1743. In his pamphlet against the *Plain Account* Brett closely follows John Johnson, from whom he quotes largely. He vigorously attacks the *Plain Account* as contrary to Scripture, the Fathers, and the Catechism of the Church of England. He maintains that the consecrated elements are 'in some sense the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ,'[1] and His 'Body and Blood in power and virtue';[2] and that the Eucharist is

'a commemorative sacrifice, or sacrifice of remembrance, a sacrifice whose whole virtue and efficacy is derived from that sacrifice of which it is the memorial.'[3]

These and other attacks on the *Plain Account* led to much being written in its defence. Some of those who defended it did not deal with matters of doctrine touching the Holy Eucharist. Others frankly avowed the Zwinglian tenet that the Holy Communion is merely a sign. The authors of both *A Defence of the Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper against the Objections contained in the Remarks on that Book*, and *A Proper Answer to a late abusive pamphlet entitled The Winchester Converts*, quote at length a statement by John Hales, the famous Latitudinarian divine of the seventeenth century, to express their opinion. This statement is as follows:

'Firstly, In the Communion there is nothing given but bread and wine.

[1] Brett, *A True Scripture Account of the Nature and Benefits of the Holy Eucharist*; *e.g.* p. 35.

[2] *Op. cit.*; *e.g.* p. 138.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 69. Dr. Brett had previously written on the Eucharist in his *A Discourse concerning the Necessity of discerning the Lord's Body in the Holy Communion*, published in 1720.

Digitized by Google

'Secondly, The bread and wine are signs indeed, but not of anything there exhibited, but of somewhat given long ago since, even of Christ given for us upon the cross sixteen hundred years ago and more.

'Thirdly, Jesus Christ is eaten at the Communion-table in no sense, neither spiritually by virtue of anything done there, nor really, neither metaphorically nor literally. Indeed that which is eaten (I mean the bread) is called Christ by a metaphor; but it is eaten truly and properly.

'Fourthly, The spiritual eating of Christ is common to all places as well as the Lord's table.

'Last of all, The uses and ends of the Lord's Supper can be no more than such as are mentioned in the Scriptures, and they are but two.

'1. The commemoration of the death and passion of the Son of God, specified by Himself at the institution of the ceremony.

'2. To testify our union with Christ and communion with one another, which end St. Paul hath taught us.

'In these few conclusions the whole doctrine and use of the Lord's Supper is fully set down; and whoso leadeth you beyond this doth but abuse you: "Quicquid ultra quaeritur non intelligitur."'[1]

The writer of *An Apologetical Defence, or a Demonstration of the Usefulness and Expediency of a late Book entitled A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, defended the *Plain Account* on explicitly doctrinal grounds, and described that book as necessary because of what he considered extravagant teaching about preparation for Communion which was current; to refute ideas contained in such books as Horneck's *Crucified Jesus*, *The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice*, and the *Week's Preparation*, that in the Sacrament Christ gives Himself, and there is the 'most true and real presence' of 'Christ's Body and Blood' and the reception of the 'very Godhead' of Christ,[2] and that the Eucharist is 'a propitiatory sacrifice';[3] to make clear that the Church of England does not favour 'the absurd

[1] Hales, *A Tract on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, quoted in *A Defence of the Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, pp. 57, 58, and *A Proper Answer to a late abusive pamphlet entitled The Winchester Converts*, pp. 38, 39.

[2] *An Apologetical Defence*, pp. 18, 19.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 34.

Digitized by Google

doctrine of a true and real presence,'[1] and that 'to teach any bodily presence of Christ in this holy Supper is to pervert the very nature of the institution which was appointed to be observed in remembrance of Christ';[2] and because he had himself frequently seen persons adore 'as the minister officiating drew near to them with the bread or wine.'[3]

This war of pamphlets which followed the publication of the *Plain Account* is of considerable importance as illustrating that the Latitudinarian movement in the Church of England in the first half of the eighteenth century included Zwinglian opinions about the Holy Eucharist. One result of the controversy may be seen in the various works on the subject from the pen of Dr. Daniel Waterland. Waterland was born in 1683, became Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1713, was subsequently Canon of Windsor and Archdeacon of Middlesex, and held other preferments. He died in 1740. Before the outbreak of the controversy occasioned by the publication of the *Plain Account* he had, in 1730, published three tracts entitled *Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism; The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments Considered;* and *A Supplement to the Treatise on the Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments.*[4] In these tracts the nature of the Holy Eucharist was necessarily in view; but they did not contain any complete or detailed consideration of it. The controversy stirred up by the *Plain Account* led to Dr. Waterland delivering his Charge on *The Doctrinal Use of the Christian Sacraments Considered*[5] in 1736, and to his writing the elaborate treatise, *A Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist as laid down in Scripture and Antiquity,*[6] which appeared in 1736. He continued the treatment of the same subject in the Charges on *The Christian Sacrifice Explained,*[7] *The Sacramental Part of the Eucharist Explained,*[8] and

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 25. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 27. [3] *Op. cit.* p. 22.

[4] These tracts are in Waterland, *Works* (Oxford, 1843), iv. 1–50, 51–104, 105–148.

[5] *Op. cit.* v. 105–119. [6] *Op. cit.* iv. 459–802.

[7] *Op. cit.* v. 121–184. [8] *Op. cit.* v. 185–230.

Digitized by Google

Distinctions of Sacrifice,[1] delivered in 1738, 1739, and 1740. In the treatise and in the Charges the doctrines of the presence and of the sacrifice are considered with great seriousness, thoroughness, and learning. It is obvious that the arguments both of the author of the *Plain Account* and of such theologians as Johnson and Brett are kept well in view. The conclusions accepted throughout are the same as those in the latest position of Cranmer—namely, that the faithful communicant receives not Christ's Body and Blood, but the virtue and grace of them, and that the sacrificial character of the Eucharist is completely described when there is said to be a remembrance of Christ's sacrifice, a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and the oblation of the lives of the communicants.[2] Like most of the writers of the Reformation and subsequent periods, Waterland, in spite of his great learning, was hampered by the imperfect views of the nature of sacrifice which had become usual in the West in the Middle Ages, and by the reaction from materialistic, or apparently materialistic, explanations of the Eucharistic presence. The main features of his doctrinal teaching may be seen in the following quotations.

'Whatever God is once pleased to sanctify by His more peculiar presence, or to claim a more special property in, or to separate to sacred uses, that is relatively holy, as having a nearer relation to God; and it must of course be treated with a reverence and awe suitable. . . . The thrones, or sceptres, or crowns, or presence-rooms of princes are, in this lower sense, relatively sacred: and an offence may be committed against the majesty of the sovereign by an irreverence offered to what so peculiarly belong to him. . . . The things are in themselves just what they before were: but now they are considered by reasonable creatures as coming under new and sacred relations, which have their moral effect; insomuch that now the honour of the Divine majesty in one case, or of royal in the other case, becomes deeply interested in them. Let us now apply these general principles to the particular instance of relative holiness supposed to be conveyed to the symbols of bread and wine by their consecration. They are now no more common bread and wine

[1] *Op. cit.* v. 231–296.

[2] See Part V. of this article, *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1902, pp. 84, 85.

Digitized by Google

(at least not during this their sacred application), but the communicants are to consider the relation which they bear, and the uses which they serve to.' [1]

'Come we then directly to consider the words, "This is My Body," and "This is My Blood." What can they, or what do they mean?

'1. They cannot mean that this bread and this wine are really and literally that Body in the same broken state as it hung upon the cross, and that Blood which was spilled upon the ground 1700 years ago. Neither can they mean that this bread and wine literally and properly are our Lord's glorified Body, which is as far distant from us as heaven is distant: all sense, all reason, all Scripture, all antiquity, and sound theology reclaim against so wild a thought.

'2. Well then, since the words cannot be understood literally, or with utmost rigour, they must be brought under some figure or other, some softening explication, to make them both sense and truth.

'3. . . . Had He intended no more than a bare commemoration or representation, it might have been sufficient to have said, "Eat this bread broken," and "Drink this wine poured out," in remembrance of Me and My passion, without declaring in that strong manner that the bread and wine are His Body and Blood, at the same time commanding His disciples to take them as such. We ought to look out for some as high and significant a meaning as the nature of the thing can admit of, in order to answer such emphatical words and gestures.

'4. Some, receding from the letter, have supposed the words to mean, this bread and this wine are My Body and Blood in power and effect, or in virtue and energy; which is not much amiss, excepting that it seems to carry in it some obscure conception either of an inherent or infused virtue resting upon the bare elements, and operating as a mean, which is not the truth of the case; excepting also that it leaves but a very dark and confused idea of what the Lord's Body and Blood means in that way of speaking, whether natural or sacramental or both in one.

'5. It appears more reasonable and more proper to say that the bread and wine are the Body and Blood (viz. the natural Body and Blood) in just construction, put upon them by the lawgiver Himself, who has so appointed, and who is able to make it good. The symbols are not the Body in power and effect, if those words mean

[1] Waterland, *op. cit.* iv. 527–528.

Digitized by Google

efficiency: but, suitable dispositions supposed in the recipient, the delivery of these symbols is, in construction of Gospel law, and in Divine intention, and therefore in certain effect and consequence, a delivery of the things signified. If God hath been pleased so to order that these outward elements, in the due use of the Eucharist, shall be imputed to us, and accepted by Him, as pledges of the natural Body of our Lord, and that this constructional intermingling His Body and Blood with ours shall be the same thing in effect with our adhering inseparably to Him as members or parcels of Him; then those outward symbols are, though not literally, yet interpretatively and to all saving purposes that very Body and Blood which they so represent with effect: they are appointed instead of them.'[1]

'The service therefore of the Eucharist . . . is both a true and a proper sacrifice . . . and the noblest that we are capable of offering, when considered as comprehending under it many true and evangelical sacrifices: 1. The sacrifice of alms to the poor and oblations[2] to the Church. . . . 2. The sacrifice of prayer from a pure heart. . . . 3. The sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to God the Father through Christ Jesus our Lord. . . . 4. The sacrifice of a penitent and contrite heart. . . . 5. The sacrifice of ourselves, our souls and bodies. . . . 6. The offering up of the mystical body of Christ, that is, His Church. . . . 7. The offering up of true converts or sincere penitents to God by their pastors. . . . 8. The sacrifice of faith and hope and self-humiliation in commemorating the grand sacrifice and resting finally upon it.'[3]

It is probable that from the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth some such doctrine as that taught by Waterland was held by very many of the clergy and laity of the Church of England. In the preface which the late Bishop Jackson prefixed to the volume in which the Clarendon Press printed the *Review of the Doctrine*

[1] *Op. cit.* iv. 573, 574. Cf. an important statement on pp. 608–610, in which Waterland gives his reasons for rejecting the doctrines of (1) Rome; (2) Lutherans; (3) Calvinists; (4) Zwinglians; (5) those who held some such position as that of Johnson and Brett; and for accepting the view of Cranmer.

[2] The word 'oblations' appears to be used here in the sense of contributions of money for the support of the clergy. For the two ways in which the word is used, see Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 482; Bishop Dowden's article in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1900, pp. 321–346.

[3] Waterland, *Works*, iv. 730, 731.

Digitized by Google

of the Eucharist and the four Charges on the Eucharist separately from Dr. Waterland's other writings he described the *Review* as 'a treatise which was once considered almost as the text-book of the Church of England on the subject of the Eucharist.'[1] Yet there can be little doubt that, side by side with it, other views were held. When Bishop Jackson, in the preface from which we have just quoted, spoke of Waterland's theory as 'the true doctrine of the Eucharist, the *via media* between two extremes which, though not excluded by the tolerant moderation of our Articles and formularies, have each too facile a tendency to pass into serious error,'[2] he may have had in mind that differing opinions had been held in the early years of the nineteenth century as well as at the time in which he wrote.

The general characteristics of English Church life in the first quarter of the nineteenth century make it probable that a majority of those who held different views from the teaching of Waterland were but little, when at all, removed from acceptance of Zwinglianism. But there were some who differed from Waterland in the opposite direction, and came at any rate nearer than he did to the beliefs of the ancient Church.

The work entitled *Remains of Alexander Knox, Esq.*, contains very much of interest on theological matters, and not least with regard to the Eucharist. Mr. Knox was private secretary to Lord Castlereagh in the closing years of the eighteenth century, and was engaged in political life, which, however, he abandoned in his desire for study and retirement. He died in 1831. The second volume of his *Remains*, published in 1834, contains an undated *Treatise on the Use and Import of the Eucharistic Symbols* and a *Letter to John S. Harford, Esq.*, prefatory to the treatise on the Eucharist, dated July 19, 1826. In this treatise and this letter Mr. Knox ascribes to the consecrated elements 'an unutterable and efficacious mystery,' so that they are the 'vehicles' of the 'saving and sanctifying power' of Christ

[1] Waterland, *A Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist* (Oxford, 1880), Preface, p. v.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. vii.

Digitized by Google

and 'the permanent representatives of His incarnate Person.'[1] He says that our Lord is 'not less graciously and influentially present' in the Sacrament than He was 'personally present' to the Apostles when He appeared to them between His Resurrection and His Ascension;[2] he calls the consecrated bread and wine 'the effective organ of a vital communication from the invisible but then specially operative and therefore specially present Redeemer';[3] he associates the reception of the Sacrament with the highest spiritual blessings.[4]

Repudiation of the denials of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament is sometimes found in quarters where it might not at first have been expected. The writer of this article has in his possession a volume of sermons preached in Manchester in 1839 and 1840 bitterly hostile to, and denunciatory of, the Church of Rome. The general standpoint of the preachers of the sermons is that of 'Low Churchmen,' and the first and last of the series are by the famous 'Evangelical' leader, Mr. Hugh Stowell. Yet the preacher of the sermon on 'The Lord's Supper' joins to his emphatic and indignant reprobation of the doctrine of the Church of Rome, as he understood it, a no less emphatic assertion of what he calls 'the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence of the Saviour,' the doctrine, that is, that 'Christ is really present to the true believer,' that the 'faithful' 'receive verily and indeed, in truth and in fact,' 'after a spiritual manner,' 'the Body and Blood of Christ.'[5]

It was Dr. Pusey's belief, expressed in 1879, that he 'learnt' 'the doctrine of the Real Presence' from his mother's 'explanation of the Catechism, which she had learned to understand from older clergy.'[6]

One part of the work of the Oxford Movement was to give theological expression and devotional setting to the doctrine which Mr. Alexander Knox was attempting to reach, and which Dr. Pusey found in his mother's instruction.

[1] A. Knox, *Remains*, ii. 139.
[2] *Op. cit.* ii. 190.
[3] *Op. cit.* ii. 201.
[4] *Op. cit., e.g.* ii. 236–47.
[5] *The Doctrine of the Church of England, as contrasted with that of the Church of Rome*, Lecture viii., pp. 6, 7, 10, 11, 53.
[6] Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey*, i. 7.

Digitized by Google

It is unnecessary that we should multiply instances of the teaching set out by, among others, Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and Bishop Alexander Forbes; and we will confine our illustrations of the doctrine about the Eucharist maintained in the Oxford Movement to two quotations. The first of these quotations is from the elaborate and learned work, *A Treatise on the Church of Christ*, by Mr. William Palmer, of Worcester College, the Rector of Whitchurch Canonicorum, of which the first edition was published in 1838, the second in 1839, and the third in 1842. Mr. Palmer describes the doctrine of the Church of England 'concerning the true presence' in the following terms:

'She believes that the Body, or Flesh, and the Blood of Jesus Christ, the Creator and Redeemer of the world, both God and Man united indivisibly in one Person, are verily and indeed given to, taken, eaten, and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper under the outward sign or form of bread and wine; which is, on this account, the "partaking or communion of the Body and Blood of Christ." She believes that the Eucharist is not the sign of an absent Body; and that those who partake of it receive not merely the figure, or shadow, or sign of Christ's Body, but the reality itself. And as Christ's divine and human natures are inseparably united, so she believes that we receive in the Eucharist not only the Flesh and Blood of Christ but Christ Himself both God and Man. . . . She holds that the nature of the bread and wine continues after consecration; and therefore rejects Transubstantiation, or "the change of the substance" which supposes the nature of bread entirely to cease by consecration. . . . She holds that the presence (and therefore the eating) of Christ's Body and Blood, though true, is altogether "heavenly and spiritual," of a kind which is inexplicable by any carnal or earthly experience or imagination; even as the Sonship of the eternal Word of God, and His Incarnation, and the Procession of the Holy Ghost, are immeasurable by human understandings.'[1]

The second quotation is from a memorial drawn up and presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1867, the signatures to which include those of Archdeacon Denison, Dr. Liddon, Dr. Littledale, Mr. Mackonochie, Mr. Medd, Dr. Pusey, and Mr. Skinner. In this document it was stated:

[1] Palmer, *A Treatise on the Church of Christ*, i. 401-3 (third edition).

Digitized by Google

'We repudiate the opinion of "a corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood"; that is to say, of the presence of His Body and Blood as they "are in heaven"; and the conception of the mode of His presence which implies the physical change of the natural substances of bread and wine commonly called "Transubstantiation."

'We believe that in the Holy Eucharist by virtue of the Consecration, through the power of the Holy Ghost, the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, "the inward Part, or Thing signified," are present really and truly but spiritually and ineffably under "the outward part or sign," or "form of bread and wine."

'We repudiate the notion of any fresh sacrifice, or any view of the Eucharistic sacrificial offering as of something apart from the One All-sufficient Sacrifice and Oblation on the Cross, which alone "is that perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual," and which alone is "meritorious."

'We believe that as in heaven Christ, our Great High Priest, ever offers Himself before the Eternal Father, pleading by His presence His Sacrifice of Himself once offered on the Cross; so on earth in the Holy Eucharist that same Body, once for all sacrificed for us, and that same Blood, once for all shed for us, sacramentally present, are offered and pleaded before the Father by the priest, as our Lord ordained to be done in Remembrance of Himself when He instituted the Blessed Sacrament of His Body and Blood.

'We repudiate all "adoration" of "the sacramental bread and wine," which would be "idolatry"; regarding them with the reverence due to them because of their sacramental relation to the Body and Blood of our Lord; we repudiate also all adoration of a "corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood," that is to say, of the presence of His Body and Blood as they "are in heaven."

'We believe that Christ Himself really and truly but spiritually and ineffably present in the Sacrament is therein to be adored.'[1]

In the Church of England of recent years there have been very many who have accepted and taught the doctrines which were affirmed in the declaration which we have just quoted as an instance of the teaching of the Tractarian divines. There have been very many also who have adopted the receptionist doctrine of Calvin,[2] or the virtualist doctrine

[1] See *Guardian*, June 5, 1867, pp. 599, 600.

[2] See Part IV. of this article, *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1902, pp. 268, 269.

Digitized by Google

of Cranmer.[1] Besides these, there have been some whose expression of the real presence has appeared to be in accordance with Transubstantiation in its more refined aspect, and others whose language has been difficult to distinguish from Zwinglianism.

On June 21, 1900, the members of the English Church Union adopted by a unanimous vote at their annual meeting a declaration which amounted to a condemnation of Receptionism and Virtualism, as well as Zwinglianism, but fell short of being an affirmation of Transubstantiation, in either its more refined or its coarser aspect. Its meaning appeared to be identical with that of the memorial of 1867 already quoted. The terms of it were as follows:

'We, the members of the English Church Union, holding fast to the faith and teaching of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church —that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the Bread and Wine, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, become, in and by Consecration, according to our Lord's Institution, verily and indeed the Body and Blood of Christ, and that Christ our Lord, present in the same Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar under the form of Bread and Wine, is to be worshipped and adored—desire, in view of present circumstances, to re-affirm, in accordance with the teaching of the Church, our belief in this verity of the Christian Faith, and to declare that we shall abide by all such teaching and practice as follow from this doctrine of the whole Catholic Church of Christ.'[2]

In October 1900, a conference was held at Fulham Palace, the members of which were representative of the different schools of thought in the Church of England. After careful consideration and discussion of the doctrine of the Eucharist, it was not found possible to agree on any definite statement. It was, however, determined to add to the report of the conference the following:

'It has been thought desirable to draw together out of the minutes of the proceedings of the conference the following statements in regard to the relation of the Divine Gift to the consecrated elements.

[1] See Part V. of this article, *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1902, pp. 84, 85.

[2] See *Guardian*, June 27, 1900, p. 928.

Digitized by Google

'A. Statement by Professor Moule: [1]

'I believe that if our eyes, like those of Elisha's servant at Dothan, were opened to the unseen, we should indeed behold our Lord present at our Communions. There and then, assuredly, if anywhere and at any time, He remembers His promise, "Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them." Such special presence, the promised congregational presence, is perfectly mysterious in mode, but absolutely true in fact; no creation of our imagination or emotion, but an object for our faith. I believe that our Lord, so present, not on the Holy Table, but at it, would be seen Himself, in our presence, to bless the bread and wine for a holy use, and to distribute them to His disciples, saying to all and each: "Take, eat, this is My Body which was given for you: Drink ye all of this; this is my Blood of the New Covenant which was shed for you for the remission of sins." I believe that we should worship Him thus present in the midst of us in His living grace, with unspeakable reverence, thanksgiving, joy, and love. We should revere the bread and the wine with a profound sense of their sacredness as given by Him in physical assurance of our joyful part, as believers in Him, and so as members of Him, in all the benefits of His passion. Receiving them, while beholding Him, we should, through them as His equivalent signs of His once sacrificed Body and Blood, take deep into us a fresh certainty of our perfect acceptance in Him our Sacrifice, and also of our mystical union with Him as He, once dead, now lives for us and in us, thus feeding on Him in the heart, by faith, with thanksgiving. Receiving His signs, we should look up with renewed and inexpressible confidence through Him to the Father.

'I do not think that the Holy Scriptures give us reason to believe that this sacred procedure (which we cannot see, but which is truly present to faith) involves any special attachment of His presence to the sacred signs, albeit called His Body and his Blood by reason of their equivalence as divine tokens.'

'B. Statements (1) by Lord Halifax; (2) by Canon Gore: [2]

(1) 'That the bread and wine, by virtue of our Lord's institution, become sacramentally the Body and Blood of Christ.

'That this change is sacramental, in a sphere outside the cognizance of sense, to be accepted and therefore to be apprehended only by faith—*i.e.* that to the eye of faith, since "faith is not imagination, but believes only what is objectively true," the bread and

[1] Now Bishop of Durham.
[2] Now Bishop of Worcester.

Digitized by Google

wine are the Body and Blood of Christ, but that in the natural order they remain what they were before.

'That expressed devotionally in the words of Professor Moule, "I see in the Holy Eucharist, which is primarily and before all things the memorial of the Lord's death, Christ my Lord at the Holy Table coming to me and saying: "This is My Body which was broken for you, this is My Blood which was shed for you,"—or, as was expressed by Canon Gore, Canon Newbolt, and Lord Halifax, "That in every Eucharist Christ is the real consecrator," who in the service which He has instituted for the perpetual memory of His death gives to His faithful people His Body as broken, His Blood as poured out, mystically represented and exhibited under the aspect of death by the separate consecration of the bread and wine.

'That Christ is present in the Holy Eucharist not in a corporal or natural manner, not locally as if He descended from heaven upon our altars, but sacramentally only, spiritually, after the manner of a spirit.'

'(2) I believe that "The bread which is of the earth receiving the invocation of God is no longer common bread, but Eucharist, made up of two realities (*πραγμάτων*), an earthly and a heavenly," that is, the bread and wine in all their natural reality and the spiritual realities of the Body and Blood of Christ, which are inseparable from Christ Himself in His whole Person.

'Therefore, as truly as with the eye of sense I behold the bread and wine, so truly with the eye of faith I am henceforth to behold Jesus Christ present to feed me with His own Body and Blood, sacramentally identified with the bread and wine.' [1]

These three statements, drawn up by such representative Churchmen as the Bishop of Durham, Lord Halifax, and the Bishop of Worcester, may be taken as illustrating the best features of the main lines of positions held at the present time by different schools of thought in the English Church.

The last of the three statements which the Fulham Conference thus printed separately as representative was, as we have said, by the present Bishop of Worcester, then Canon of Westminster. A little later Dr. Gore published his volume entitled *The Body of Christ.* It was an attempt to free the central tradition of the Universal Church, that the consecrated

[1] *The Doctrine of Holy Communion and its Expression in Ritual.* Report of a Conference held at Fulham Palace in October 1900, pp. 90–92.

Digitized by Google

elements are the Body and Blood of Christ and that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, from accretions, and to express it in a form congenial to the scientific and philosophical methods of the present day. This book was marked by a strong stress on the spiritual reality of the sacramental presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, and on the union of the Eucharistic worship of the Church with the offering of our Lord in heaven.

XXV. In the first three parts of this article[1] we traced the history of Eucharistic doctrine in the East as far as the fifteenth century. The detail with which we have thought it necessary to discuss the opinions held in the English Church during and since the period of the Reformation has prevented us from dealing in our recent numbers with the teaching of either Eastern or Roman Catholic Christians. We must now return to the consideration of the East.

In 1629 Cyril Lucar, the Patriarch of Constantinople, published in Latin a document entitled *The Eastern Confession of the Christian Faith.* He afterwards translated it into Greek; and this Greek edition, bearing the subscription, 'Given at Constantinople in the month of January 1631. Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople,' was published in 1633. The fifteenth chapter of this *Confession* was as follows:

'We believe that there are in the Church mysteries of the Gospel, which the Lord delivered in the Gospel; and that these are two. For so many were delivered unto us; and He who instituted them delivered no more. And we firmly maintain that these consist of a word and an element; and that they are seals of the promises of God, and procure grace. But for the mystery to be perfect and entire, it is necessary that the earthly matter and the outward act concur with the use of that earthly thing which was instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, united with sincere faith; for when faith is wanting in the receivers the entirety of the mystery is not preserved.'[2]

The sixteenth chapter of the *Confession* was on Baptism. In the seventeenth chapter Cyril Lucar wrote:

[1] These parts appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review* for July 1901, October 1901, and January 1902.

[2] See Kimmel, *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiae Orientalis*, i. 34.

Digitized by Google

'We believe the other mystery instituted by the Lord to be what we call the Eucharist. For in the night in which the Lord gave Himself up, He took bread and blessed and said to His Apostles, "Take, eat; this is My Body." And He took the cup of the Eucharist and said,[1] "Drink ye all of it; this is My Blood which is poured out for you; do this for My memorial." And Paul adds, "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death." This is the simple, true, and genuine tradition of this wonderful mystery, in the performance and administration of which we acknowledge and believe is the true and real presence of our Lord Jesus Christ; nevertheless, such as our faith presents and offers to us, not such as Transubstantiation (μετουσίωσις) vainly invented teaches. For we believe that the faithful who partake of the Supper eat the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ not by perceptibly pressing and dissolving the Communion with the teeth, but by the soul realising Communion. For the Body of the Lord is not what is seen in the mystery with the eyes and received, but what faith spiritually apprehends and presents and bestows on us. Wherefore it is true that we eat and partake and have Communion, if we believe. If we believe not, we are deprived of all benefit of the mystery. Consequently to drink the cup in the mystery is really to drink the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in the same manner as is said of the Body. For as He who instituted gave commandment concerning His own Body, so also He did concerning His own Blood, which commandment ought not to be mutilated according to the fancy of every one, but rather the tradition of the institution should be preserved entire. When, therefore, we worthily partake and entirely communicate in the mystery of the Body and Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, we are already, we confess, reconciled to our Head, and united to Him, and made one body with Him, having also the certain hope of being co-heirs with Him in the kingdom.'[2]

Cyril Lucar was put to death in 1638 in consequence of accusations of treason brought against him. It is probable that these accusations were simply a device of theological

[1] This is the translation of the Greek text, λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον εὐχαριστίας ἔλεγε. In his *The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Jerusalem*, p. 203, Mr. J. N. W. B. Robertson suggests that εὐχαριστίας is 'a mistake for εὐχαριστήσας, analogously to what is said of the bread, and agreeably to the Latin, which has "Et accepto calice gratias agens, dicebat."'

[2] Kimmel, *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiae Orientalis*, i. 35-37.

Digitized by Google

opponents who resented Cyril's leanings towards the opinions of some of the Reformers and his opposition to any union of the East with Rome.

In 1640 *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church* was drawn up in Russian by Peter Mogila, the Metropolitan of Kieff, and other theologians. It was translated into Greek. It was approved by the Council of Jassy in 1642; by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem in 1643; and by the Council of Jerusalem in 1672. In this document it is taught that 'the same Son of God, God and Man,' who is in heaven, 'is also on earth' 'in the Holy Eucharist' 'by Transubstantiation (*κατὰ μετουσίωσιν*)'; that 'the substance of the bread is converted (*μεταβάλλεται*) into the substance of His holy Body, and the substance of the wine into the substance of His precious Blood'; and that 'it is fitting to worship and adore the Holy Eucharist as our Saviour Jesus Himself.'[1] It is further said:

'The priest who administers the Eucharist must know that at the moment when he consecrates the gifts, the substance of the bread and the substance of the wine are converted (*μεταβάλλεται*) into the substance of the real Body and Blood of Christ by the operation of the Holy Ghost, whom the priest invokes at that time, saying, "Send down Thy Holy Ghost on us and on these gifts which are set before Thee, and make this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and the contents of this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, converting them (*μεταβαλών*) by Thy Holy Ghost."[2] For immediately after these words the Transubstantiation takes place (*ἡ μετουσίωσις παρευθὺς γίνεται*).[3]

'This holy mystery is also offered as a sacrifice for all orthodox Christians, as well living as those who sleep in hopes of a joyful resurrection; and this sacrifice shall never fail or be discontinued even unto the end of the world. The fruits of this mystery are chiefly these: firstly, the commemoration of the sinless sufferings and death of Christ. . . . Secondly . . . this mystery is a propitiation,

[1] *Orthodox Confession*, i. 56. See Kimmel, *op. cit.* i. 126.

[2] The words (*μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ*) appear to have been in the *Liturgy of St. Chrysostom* in the ninth century, but not in the *Liturgy of St. Basil.* See Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, i. 330, 406.

[3] *Orthodox Conession*, i. 107. See Kimmel, *op. cit.* i. 180.

Digitized by Google

or atonement with God for our sins both of the living and of the dead. . . . Thirdly, . . . that each Christian who shall frequent this sacrifice and partake of this mystery will be delivered by means of it from the temptation and danger of the devil.'[1]

In the decrees of a Council held at Constantinople in 1642 to condemn the opinions of Cyril Lucar the following statement occurs:

'He [*i.e.* Cyril Lucar] so destroys the Holy Eucharist as to leave to it nothing but an empty figure, as if our worship were still in the shadow of the ancient law. For he says that not the bread which is seen and eaten is, after it has been consecrated, the real Body of Christ, that which is spiritually perceived, or rather imagined. Which opinion is full of all impiety. For Jesus did not say, "This is the figure of My Body," but "This is My Body," and "This is My Blood,"—this, that is, which is seen, and taken, and eaten, and broken, when it has been consecrated and blessed.'[2]

The opinions of Cyril Lucar were considered at a Council held at Bethlehem in 1672. Doubt was expressed whether the *Confession* ascribed to Cyril Lucar was really by him. Many passages from his *Homilies* were cited containing different teaching from that in the *Confession*. In those relating to the Eucharist were the expressions, 'If thou openest the eyes of thy soul, and beholdest the Lord, thou dost there discern the Flesh of the Lord,' and 'the infinite power of the Deity in the Transubstantiation of the bread (*ἐν τῇ μετουσιώσει τοῦ ἄρτου*).'[3] It was further asserted that, if the *Confession* was the work of Cyril Lucar, it must have been simply his own, and not an utterance of the Easterns in general or of the Church; and that, as his, it had no weight. As a positive statement the Council affirmed the *Confession* of Dositheus, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. This *Confession* contained the following passages about the Eucharist:

'We reject as alien to Christian doctrine the opinion that the integrity of the mysteries requires the use of the earthly thing. For this is contrary to the mystery of the Sacrifice, which, being instituted by the heavenly Word, and consecrated by the invocation of the

[1] *Orthodox Confession*, i. 107. See Kimmel, *op. cit.* i. 183, 184.
[2] See Hardouin, *Concilia*, xi. 173–6.
[3] *Op. cit.* xi. 208.

Digitized by Google

Holy Ghost, is perfected by the presence of that which is signified, namely, the Body and Blood of Christ. And the perfecting of this necessarily goes before its use. For, if it were not perfect before its use, then he who uses it badly would not eat and drink judgment to himself, since he would partake of bare bread and wine. But, as it is, he who partakes unworthily eats and drinks judgment to himself. Therefore the mystery of the Eucharist has its perfection not in the use but before the use.' [1]

'In the celebration of this [*i.e.* the Eucharist] we believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is present not typically, or figuratively, or by superabundant grace, as in the other mysteries, nor by a simple presence, as some of the Fathers have said concerning Baptism, nor by conjunction, as that the Deity of the Word is personally united to the bread of the Eucharist which is set forth, as the Lutherans most ignorantly and miserably think; but really and actually, so that after the consecration of the bread and the wine the bread is converted (*μεταβάλλεσθαι*), transubstantiated (*μετουσιοῦσθαι*), transmade (*μεταποιεῖσθαι*), and re-ordered (*μεταρρυθμίζεσθαι*), into the real Body of the Lord itself, which was born in Bethlehem of the Ever-Virgin, was baptized in Jordan, suffered, was buried, rose, ascended, sitteth at the right hand of the God and Father, and will come on the clouds of heaven; and the wine is transmade (*μεταποιεῖσθαι*) and transubstantiated (*μετουσιοῦσθαι*) into the real Blood of the Lord itself, which was poured forth for the life of the world when He hung on the cross. Further, we believe that after the consecration of the bread and the wine the substance of the bread and the wine no longer remains, but there is the Body itself and the Blood of the Lord in the species (*εἴδει*) and form (*τύπῳ*) of the bread and wine, that is to say, under the accidents (*συμβεβηκόσιν*) of the bread. . . . Further, we believe that in every part and the smallest division of the converted (*μεταβληθέντος*) bread and wine there is not a part of the Body and Blood of the Lord, for that would be blasphemous and wicked, but the whole Lord Christ wholly in His substance, that is, with His soul and Godhead, perfect God and perfect Man. . . . Further, we believe that the Body itself and the Blood of the Lord which are in the mystery of the Eucharist ought to be honoured in the highest way, and worshipped with divine adoration (*προσκυνεῖσθαι λατρευτικῶς*). For the worship of the Holy Trinity and of the Body and Blood of the Lord is one. Further, we believe that it is a true and propitiatory sacrifice offered for all the orthodox, living and dead, and for the benefit of all. . . . Further, we believe that

[1] *Op. cit.* xi. 249.

Digitized by Google

before the use immediately after the Consecration and after the use that which is kept in the holy pyxes for the reception of those who are about to depart, is the real Body of the Lord, and not in any respect different from it; so that before the use after the Consecration, in the use, and after the use, it is altogether the real Body of the Lord. Further, we believe that by the word Transubstantiation the manner in which the bread and the wine are transmade (*μεταποιοῦνται*) into the Body and Blood of the Lord is not explained; for this is altogether incomprehensible and is impossible except for God Himself; and attempts at explanation bring Christians to folly and error. But the word denotes that the bread and the wine after the consecration are converted (*μεταβάλλεται*) into the Body and Blood of the Lord not typically or figuratively or by superabundant grace, or by the communication or presence of the Deity alone of the Only-begotten. Neither is any accident (*συμβεβηκός τι*) of the bread and of the wine transmade (*μεταποιεῖται*) in any way or by any change into any accident (*συμβεβηκός τι*) of the Body and Blood of Christ; but really and actually and substantially the bread becomes the real Body of the Lord itself, and the wine the Blood of the Lord itself, as has been said above.'[1]

The correspondence between the Nonjurors and the Eastern patriarchs has already been referred to in connexion with the Church of England.[2] It is unnecessary to add more about it than that the Easterns adopted the same position and terminology as those of the Council of Bethlehem, and explained that in using the word Transubstantiation (*μετουσίωσις*) they intended no further definition than that in the Sacrament there is a conversion (*μεταβολή*) of the bread and wine into the real Body and Blood of Christ.[3]

The decrees of the Council of Bethlehem have remained all along the authorised formulary of the Greek Church. They were accepted by the Russian Church in 1838 with certain modifications. In the decree relating to the Eucharist the phrase 'the substance of the bread and wine' was altered to 'the very bread and wine,' and the references to the 'accidents' of the bread and wine were omitted. The

[1] *Op. cit.* xi. 252–6.

[2] See Part VIII. of this article, *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1903, pp. 78, 79.

[3] See Williams, *The Orthodox and the Nonjurors*, pp. 56–9, 69, 70, 76–82, especially p. 78.

Digitized by Google

reason for these alterations on the part of the Russian Church appears to have been that the technicalities about the accidents, resembling the phraseology of the Tridentine divines, were thought to be a hindrance rather than a help to the defence of the doctrine that the consecrated bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ.[1]

The Longer Catechism of the Russian Church, based on earlier catechisms, was drawn up in its present form by Philaret, the Metropolitan of Moscow, and was adopted after revision by the Russian Holy Synod in 1839. It contains the following questions and answers on the subject of the Eucharist:

'*Q.* What is the Communion?

'*A.* The Communion is a Sacrament in which the believer, under the forms of bread and wine, partakes of the very Body and Blood of Christ, to everlasting life.'[2]

'*Q.* What is the most essential act in this part of the Liturgy?

'*A.* The utterance of the words which Jesus Christ spake in instituting the Sacrament, "Take, eat, this is My Body; Drink ye all of it, for this is My Blood of the New Testament"; Matt. xxvi. 26, 27, 28; And after this the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the blessing the gifts, that is, the bread and wine which have been offered.

'*Q.* Why is this so essential?

'*A.* Because at the moment of this act, the bread and wine are changed, or transubstantiated, into the very Body of Christ, and into the very Blood of Christ.

'*Q.* How are we to understand the word Transubstantiation?

'*A.* In the exposition of the faith by the Eastern Patriarchs it is said that the word Transubstantiation is not to be taken to define the manner in which the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of the Lord; for none can understand this but God; but only thus much is signified, that the bread truly, really, and substantially becomes the very true Body of the Lord, and the wine the very Blood of the Lord.'[3]

[1] See a paper entitled 'The Russian Church and the Council of Trent,' signed W. J. B., *Guardian*, March 31, 1897. Cf. Palmer (of Magdalen College), *Dissertations on Subjects relating to the 'Orthodox' or 'Eastern-Catholic' Communion*, pp. 207, 208; Palmer (of Worcester College), *A Treatise on the Church of Christ*, i. 172, 173 (third edition).

[2] See Blackmore, *The Doctrine of the Russian Church*, p. 89.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 91, 92.

Digitized by Google

The Greek Catechisms in ordinary use are less technical in expression than the decrees of the Council of Bethlehem; and, unlike *The Longer Catechism of the Russian Church*, they do not contain the word Transubstantiation. The names of four of the best known, those by Bernardakis, Moschakis, Kyriakos, and Nektarios, were prefixed to the first part of this article.[1]

The *Catechism* of Bernardakis contains the following statement:

'The priest takes bread and wine with water, which with the prayers of the priest and the prayers and supplications of the Church are converted (μεταβάλλονται) by the Holy Ghost; and the bread becomes the Body of Christ and the wine His Blood. In such a way the Christian partakes of the proper (ἴδιον) Body and Blood of Christ, although the Holy Communion has not the taste of flesh and blood, but of bread and wine.'[2]

In the *Catechism* of Moschakis it is said:

'The Eucharist is a mystery in which by partaking of the bread and the wine we believe that we have communion in the Body and Blood of Christ. . . . The mystery of the Eucharist is great because it represents (ἀναπαριστᾷ) the death of Jesus and His sacrifice on the cross on our behalf, and because by it we are made one with Jesus. . . . Baptism is our spiritual regeneration, and the Eucharist is our spiritual food and sustenance.'[3]

The explanation in the *Catechism* of Kyriakos is as follows:

'The Eucharist is that holy rite in which we believe that by partaking of the bread and wine we have communion in the very Body and Blood of the Lord, and are united with Him, and also make remembrance of His death on our behalf. . . . The Eucharist . . . represents to us (ἀναπαρίστησιν ἡμῖν) actually and really the very death and sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross. Therefore the Protestants err when they deny the notion of sacrifice in the

[1] See *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1901, p. 343. An excellent short account of these catechisms and their contents is given in Duckworth, *Greek Manuals of Church Doctrine*, published for the Eastern Church Association by Messrs. Rivingtons.

[2] Bernardakis, Ἱερὰ Κατήχησις, pp. 26, 27.

[3] Moschakis, Ὀρθόδοξος Χριστιανικὴ Κατήχησις, p. 59.

Digitized by Google

Eucharist and that it stands in the closest possible relation to the death of the Lord on the cross.'[1]

We may quote two passages from the *Catechism* of Nektarios, the first from his explanation of the High-priesthood of our Lord, the second from his statement concerning the Eucharist:

'For ever (ἀϊδίως) does he offer Himself a sacrifice on behalf of the life and salvation of the world through His holy mysteries, which He has appointed in His Church, because in the rite of the mystic sacrifice it is He who offers and is offered, who receives and is distributed.'[2]

'The Eucharist is the spiritual food of the Christian which gives life to the soul and leads man to immediate communion with the Saviour Christ, because he who communicates receives under the form (εἶδος) of the bread and the wine the precious Body itself and the precious Blood itself of our Lord Jesus Christ, and is united mystically with Him. The Eucharist is for the healthful joy of soul and body, for remission of sins, and for eternal life. . . . In this mystery the priest gives and the faithful partake of and communicate in the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ. . . . Under the forms (τὰ εἴδη) of the bread and the wine,' 'the Christian' 'receives the very Body and Blood of the Lord. . . . Those who receive worthily become partakers of the Body and Blood of the Lord. . . . Receiving the remission of their sins, they are declared to be heirs of the heavenly kingdom, and receive eternal life.'[3]

Thus the teaching of the Eastern theologians at the present time is that the consecrated bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ, and that the Eucharist is a sacrifice. While using the word Transubstantiation in certain official documents, they appear to refuse to commit themselves either to any physical process or to any philosophical theory such as some might think to be implied in the word.

XXVI. The official doctrine of the Church of Rome has remained unaltered since the Council of Trent.[4] Among Roman Catholic theologians there has been considerable

[1] Kyriakos, Χριστιανικὴ Κατήχησις, pp. 91, 92.

[2] Nektarios, Ὀρθόδοξος Ἱερὰ Κατήχησις, p. 72.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 172, 173.

[4] For the Council of Trent, see Part IV. of this article, *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1902, pp. 271–281.

Digitized by Google

variation as to the aspects of the teaching of the Tridentine divines or of the mediæval writers upon which most stress should be laid.

We have already referred to the hint thrown out by St. Thomas Aquinas as to the connexion between sacrifice and destruction.[1] In the post-Tridentine Roman Catholic theology the idea that destruction is a necessary part of sacrifice has widely prevailed. Some writers who have accepted this idea do not appear to have meant by it more than that in the consecration of the Body and Blood of our Lord in the two species of bread and wine there was a mystical destruction or death in the symbolical separation of His Body from His Blood; or that the element of destruction was supplied in the breaking of the species in the fraction of the consecrated Host, or in the consumption of the Sacrament in the communion of the priest. Of those theologians who have advocated some such theory, it may be sufficient to mention Lessius, Melchior Canus, and Bellarmine. Lessius describes his view in the following words:

'It is no obstacle to the reality of the sacrifice that no separation of the Blood from the Flesh actually takes place, because this is as it were accidental as a result of the concomitance of the parts. For, so far as the force of words goes, a real separation takes place, and the Body not the Blood is put by itself under the species of bread, and the Blood not the Body is put by itself under the species of wine. And this is sufficient for the method of this sacrifice, both that it be a real sacrifice, for there takes place in regard to the victim while it is in such a state a sufficient change whereby we bear witness that God has the supreme power over all things, and that it is a commemorative sacrifice representing to us the sacrifice of the cross and death of the Lord.'[2]

Melchior Canus writes as follows on the parts of the sacrifice:

'It is clear that there are four parts of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, first the consecration of the Body and Blood, second the oblation, third the fraction, last the consumption. . . . What theologian has ever been so utterly foolish as to think that the sacrifice was offered

[1] See *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1902, pp. 441, 442.

[2] Lessius, *De Perf. Div.* XII. xiii. 97.

Digitized by Google

before the Host was consecrated? And, that I may not say anything about the hidden and inner sacrifice of the Body and Blood, the outward and mystic sacrifice certainly does not consist simply in the oblation. Therefore, since in regard to the species nothing has been done of the sacrifice before the fraction, the sacrifice has not been offered. Also, since with the symbols of the realities, by the institution of Christ, we ought to represent (agere) His death, if our sacrifice is real and complete and a perfect copy of that victim which Christ set forth on the cross, and since there is no symbol of the realities until the species are broken and mingled and consumed, we can receive a most certain argument that the sacrifice is not yet complete before the fraction. It remains therefore that not only the consecration and the oblation but also the fraction and the consumption appertain to the completeness of the outward sacrifice.'[1]

Bellarmine, after laying down that the oblation of the unconsecrated bread and wine, the oblation of the consecrated bread and wine, and the fraction of the consecrated Sacrament, though they are needed for the completeness of the sacrifice, do not belong to its essence; that the consumption of the Sacrament by the priest who offers the sacrifice is 'an essential part but not the whole essence'; and that 'the consecration of the Eucharist belongs to the essence of the sacrifice,' explains that, according to his view—

'In the consecration of the Eucharist three things take place in which the method of a real and actual sacrifice consists. Firstly, a profane thing becomes sacred; for the bread otherwise earthly and common is changed (vertitur) by consecration into the Body of Christ, that is, the most sacred of all things. . . . Secondly, in the consecration that thing which has been made sacred from being profane is offered to God. . . . Thirdly, by means of the consecration the thing which is offered to God is destined (ordinatur) to a real, actual, and outward change and destruction, which has been declared necessary to the method of a sacrifice. For by means of consecration the Body of Christ receives the form of food; and food is destined (ordinatur) to be eaten, and in this way to change and destruction.'[2]

[1] Melchior Canus, *De Loc. Theol.* XII. xi. 57, 58. See also XII. xi. 81 for the connexion with our Lord's offering of His sacrifice in heaven.

[2] Bellarmine, *De Missa*, i. 27.

Digitized by Google

But the idea of destruction as a necessary element in the Eucharistic Sacrifice has been pushed much further by a school of thought which has been very influential in the Roman Catholic Church. One of the most trusted of the Roman Catholic writers on the doctrine of the Eucharist is the Jesuit theologian, Cardinal de Lugo. He is perhaps the most eminent advocate in the seventeenth century of the opinion which he describes in the following terms:

'It will be easy to explain how by the very act of consecration the Body of Christ is sacrificed; for, though it is not destroyed substantially (substantialiter) by the very act of consecration, yet it is destroyed after a human fashion (humano modo) in so far as it receives a lower condition of such a kind as to render it useless for the human purposes of a human body and suitable for other different purposes in the way of food. Wherefore after a human fashion (humano modo) it is the same as if it were to become real bread and to be fitted and prepared (condiretur) for food. This change is sufficient for a real sacrifice; because for that to become eatable which was not eatable, and for it to become eatable in such a way as no longer to be useful for any other purposes but in the way of food, is a greater change than others which in the common judgment of men have been sufficient for a real sacrifice.'[1]

Among Roman Catholic theologians of recognized authority on the subject of the Eucharist, Cardinal Franzelin occupied much the same position in the nineteenth century as Cardinal De Lugo filled in the seventeenth. In his great book entitled *Tractatus de SS. Eucharistiae Sacramento et Sacrificio*, while careful to show that he states his view as a theory only, not as part of the doctrine of the Church, he has explained with much precision how in his judgment there is the element of destruction in the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The gist of his explanation is given in the following passage:

'Let that condition now be considered in which Christ the Lord, the High Priest, constitutes Himself as the victim by means of the consecration in His Body and Blood under the species of bread and wine. The First-begotten of all creation, the Head of the Church, holding in all things the pre-eminence, gives Himself to His Church by means of His ministers the priests, to be constituted in His Body

[1] De Lugo, *De Sacramento Eucharistiae*, XIX. v. 67.

Digitized by Google

and Blood, in such a mode of existence under the species of bread and wine, that He is really in the condition of food and drink, so that (formally in so far as He is constituted under these species) every act connatural with the bodily life dependent on the senses ceases, so that He can do nothing connaturally as a body, so that His Body and Blood, in so far as His presence is attached to (alligatur) the species, is somehow granted to the will of creatures not otherwise than if it were an inanimate thing; but He has constituted Himself in such a condition that He Himself, the High Priest, for the whole Church whose Head He is, and the Church through Him, may express in His most sacred Body and Blood the supreme dominion of God and the absolute dependence of every creature, of which Jesus Christ Himself as Man is the First-begotten, and may at the same time express and show forth the satisfaction for guilt formerly consummated on the cross in the surrender of this very Body and the shedding of this Blood. And yet such an "exinanition," to express the majesty of the absolute dominion of God and the satisfaction for our guilt completed by death, is not sufficiently understood simply as being really and properly sacrificial, but further with the exception of the bloody sacrifice on the cross we can conceive no more sublime or more profound method of real and proper sacrifice. Therefore there is no doubt that in the sacramental fashion of existence itself, the fitness of the Body and Blood of Christ, and, granting the institution, the actual sacrificial signification, and consequently the inward method of a real and proper sacrifice are not only sufficiently, but also eminently (insigniter) contained.'[1]

Though the theory that destruction is a necessary element in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, in one or another of its differing forms, has been and is widely prevalent in the Church of Rome, it has not by any means been the only view. The French Oratorians in particular are associated with an aspect of the Eucharistic Sacrifice which eliminates the idea of destruction, and connects the earthly offering with the heavenly life of our Lord. In the same century in which Cardinal De Lugo was developing and extending the idea of destruction, Père De Condren and M. Olier gave expression to a wholly different way of regarding the Sacrifice of the Mass.[2] In the nineteenth century, both in France and in Germany, the idea

[1] Franzelin, *Tractatus de SS. Eucharistiae Sacramento et Sacrificio*, pp. 404, 405.

[2] See Lepin, *L'Idée du Sacrifice dans la Religion Chrétienne, passim.*

Digitized by Google

of destruction has been abandoned by eminent theologians, and a serious attempt has been made to bring back into Latin theology that connexion of the Mass with our Lord's heavenly offering which was observed in the patristic period, expressed in the Middle Ages by Eastern writers and by the liturgical writers in the West, and not wholly ignored by a few of the theologians at the Council of Trent. In M. Lepin's edifying book, *L'idée du Sacrifice dans la Religion Chrétienne*, he avowedly follows Père De Condren and M. Olier somewhat closely. Among German Roman Catholic theologians Dr. Scheeben[1] and Dr. Schanz[2] have given wider currency to a position which Dr. Thalhofer[3] did much to establish. Though this different way of regarding the Sacrifice of the Mass has been strongly opposed by some theologians, among whom we may mention the Jesuit Stentrup,[4] it does not appear to have been regarded by Roman Catholic authorities as in conflict with the doctrines to which they are committed. And it is well to notice that in the *Manual of Catholic Theology*, based on Scheeben, by Dr. Wilhelm and Mr. Scannell, the first volume of which, published in 1890, had a commendatory preface by Cardinal Manning, and the second volume of which, published in 1898, bore the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Vaughan, though there is little to indicate the connexion between the Mass and the work of our Lord in heaven, the idea of destruction as a part of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is definitely abandoned.

'The burning on the altar [in the Jewish sacrifices] was regarded as the means of conveying the victim to God; or, when the fire was kindled from heaven, it was God's acceptance of the sacrifice. Many of the Hebrew sacrifices may be described as things given to God to secure His favour, or to appease His wrath, or as thank and tribute offerings; but frequently also they meant an act of communion with God, either by means of a feast, which God was supposed to share with His worshippers, or by the renewal of a life-bond in the blood

[1] In his *Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik.*

[2] In his *Die Lehre von den heiligen Sacramenten der katholischen Kirche.*

[3] In his *Das Opfer des alten und des neuen Bundes* and *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik.*

[4] In his *Praelectiones Dogmaticae.*

Digitized by Google

of a sacred victim. . . . These reasons justify the elimination of the element of destruction, real or equivalent, from the essential constitution of sacrifice in general. With Scheeben and Schanz we revert to the definitions commonly adopted before the time of Vasquez.'[1]

And, after describing the theory of Franzelin, Dr. Wilhelm and Mr. Scannell go on to say:

'Exception may be taken to this on two counts. The suspension of the lower life in Christ on the altar is a theological deduction not easily understood; at any rate, it is too dark to throw light upon other dark questions. Again, the state of meat and drink, and all the rest, do not produce in the real victim, *i.e.* Christ glorified, any change for the worse which may be called, or likened to, destruction. Christ dieth no more. The painful efforts of some theologians to inflict at least a semblance of death on the Giver of life are entirely due to their narrow notion of sacrifice. If we eliminate the "change for the worse" from the notion of "victim," and replace it by "a change for the better," we obtain a notion of the sacrificial act which throws new light upon all sacrifices. That we are justified in so doing has been shown above.'[2]

In the fourth part of this article attention was directed to the teaching of the *Catechism of the Council of Trent* that the Eucharistic elements 'retain the natural power of nourishing the body.'[3] In spite of the teaching of some theologians[4] and the tendency of some popular utterances, Roman Catholic theology in general has maintained the real entity of the 'accidents' in the consecrated Sacrament. The objective reality of the sacramental species is asserted and defended at length by Franzelin.[5] A more cautious statement tending in the same direction is made by Dr. Wilhelm and Mr. Scannell when they say:

'We need not here enter into the philosophical or scientific bearings of Transubstantiation. We may observe that the doctrine is inconsistent only with idealism, and that it is not bound up with any ultra-realistic theories. The Council of Trent, when defining

[1] Wilhelm and Scannell, *A Manual of Catholic Theology*, ii. 454.

[2] *Op. cit.* ii. 458.

[3] *Cat. Conc. Trid.* II. iv. 38.

[4] See some references in Carson, *An Eucharistic Eirenicon*, pp. 28, 29.

[5] Franzelin, *Tract. de SS. Euch. Sacram. et Sacrif.* pp. 269–292.

Digitized by Google

the change of substance, studiously avoids the use of the term "accident," the usual scholastic correlative of substance, and speaks of "species" (εἶδος), appearances, or phenomena. It is commonly held, however, that these are not merely subjective impressions, but have some sort of corresponding reality.'[1]

The *Catechism of the Council of Trent* asserted also that 'Christ is not in this Sacrament as in a place.'[2] Here, again, in spite of materialistic tendencies in some quarters, Roman Catholic divines have maintained the supra-local character of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament. Its spiritual nature is strongly emphasised by Franzelin.[3] Cardinal Newman has given expression to this aspect of the presence in a well-known passage:

'Our Lord is *in loco* in heaven, not (in the same sense) in the Sacrament. He is present in the Sacrament only in substance, *substantive*, and substance does not require or imply the occupation of place. But if place be excluded from the idea of the sacramental presence, therefore division or distance from heaven is excluded also, for distance implies a measurable interval, and such there cannot be except between places. Moreover, if the idea of distance is excluded, therefore is the idea of motion. Our Lord, then, neither descends from heaven upon our altars, nor moves when carried in procession. The visible species change their position, but He does not move. He is in the Holy Eucharist after the manner of a spirit. We do not know how; we have no parallel to the "how" in our experience. We can only say that He is present, not according to the natural manner of bodies, but sacramentally. His presence is substantial, spirit-wise, sacramental, an absolute mystery, not against reason, however, but against imagination, and must be received by faith.'[4]

With this statement by Cardinal Newman we may compare part of a letter written by Cardinal Manning in 1852:

'1. The Council of Trent says that our Lord's Humanity, *secundum naturalem existendi modum*, *i.e.* in its proper dimensions, &c., is at the right hand of God only.

'2. The Church therefore distinguishes natural presence from supernatural or sacramental presence.

[1] Wilhelm and Scannell, *A Manual of Catholic Theology*, ii. 419-420.
[2] *Cat. Conc. Trid.* II. iv. 42.
[3] Franzelin, *Tract. de SS. Euch. Sacram. et Sacrif.* pp. 155-180.
[4] Newman, *Via Media*, ii. 220, 221 (edition of 1877).

Digitized by Google

Of the modes of this sacramental presence it defines nothing. It is supernatural.

'3. The presence being supernatural is not a subject of natural criteria or natural operations.

'4. Within the sphere of natural phenomena and effects there is no change in the consecrated elements.

'But a change does take place in a sphere into which no natural criteria such as sense can penetrate.'[1]

It has been our object in this series of papers to endeavour to present the facts as to the history of Eucharistic doctrine without entering into discussion upon them. In bringing the series to a close, we may be allowed to express our conviction that if Christians would concentrate their attention on the positive beliefs which they value in their hearts, rather than on the condemnation of others or on technicalities of definitions, the goal of union as to the Eucharist, so sadly involved in innumerable controversies, might be nearer than it sometimes seems.

ART. VIII.—THE EDUCATION ACTS AND AFTER.

1. *Board of Education: Special Reports on Educational Subjects.* Vol. IX. *Education in Germany.* (London, 1902.)
2. *Preussische Statistik.* No. 151. (Berlin, 1898.)
3. *Das Königlich Sächsische Volksschulgesetz.* (Leipzig, 1896.)
4. *The Times*, July 28, September 1, November 2, November 16, December 1, 1903.
5. *The Priest, his Character and Work.* By JAMES KEATINGE, Canon and Administrator of St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, and Diocesan Inspector of Schools. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1903.)

THE Education Acts of the last two years have at first sight small promise of permanence. They have many active and eager enemies; many even of their friends are unnecessarily

[1] Quoted in Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, ii. 31.

Digitized by Google

despondent. They remedied one wrong that weighed upon Church schools, but they did this in a way which makes some Churchmen regret the boon, and which nevertheless arouses the fierce antagonism of Dissenters. Like most English legislation, they effected a compromise, and a compromise which can be upset by a very small modification; a reduction of the number or proportion of foundation managers would undo all. They retained in existence two kinds of school, each of which is desired; but they made no arrangement for securing that either kind shall exist only where it is needed, and the one just grievance that Dissenters have is the possible maintenance of a Church school precisely where there is no place for it. On the other hand, although the monopoly of existing schools is broken down, the provisions for setting up a school of the character that is required are far from adequate, and Churchmen are still aggrieved by seeing vast numbers of their children compelled to attend schools of a kind which they dislike. There is no finality in such a system as this, a system which is dual without having the merits of duality, and uniform without possessing the advantages of uniformity.

Yet threatened institutions live long, and in England tentative piecemeal legislation tends to become fixed. The present Education Law has quite possibly many years to run. It is certain that no Ministry will touch so thorny a subject unless under stress, and it is not yet proved that the enemies of the new Acts will be able to compel attention to their complaints. Their complaints indeed are often grotesque. They pass by grievances which seem to us real, though perhaps not very poignant, in order to fasten upon others which exist only in their imagination, or which are founded on ignorance of the fundamental law of citizenship. Passive resisters may so far make themselves a nuisance as to compel a modification of the law, not in their favour, but in evasion of their agitation; flamboyant chatterers about proselytism are openly contradicted by facts, and we may add with regret, by the imperfectly religious character of most Church schools.

Let us examine some of the attacks which have been made upon the Acts. We will begin with a concrete instance.

Digitized by Google

The following is an extract from a letter written by Dr. Horton to the *Times* of July 28:

'In the little village of Wycliffe—the population is, I think, less than 300—there is but one school, and that is Roman Catholic. The village is fortunate in having no Dissenters; but all the children belonging to the Church of England are compelled by law to go to the Roman Catholic school, and their parents are compelled to pay for the school, while the management is retained in Roman Catholic hands. The head teacher must always be a Roman Catholic, and these Protestants must support teacher and school, for the subversion of the principles, on which, in all probability, they believe the greatness and welfare of their country to rest.'

It is needless to say that Dr. Horton is incorrect in his facts, and we are fortunate in being able to give a correct statement by a correspondent who is acquainted with the locality.

'The correct facts,' he writes, 'are these. There are on opposite sides of the river Tees two villages united by a bridge. In the village of Whorlton, where the inhabitants are mainly members of the Church of England, there is an excellent Church school. The parish of Wycliffe has a squire who is Roman Catholic, Roman Catholic farmers, and a population largely Roman Catholic. Here there is, quite naturally, a Roman Catholic school. The children of the Church of England in the parish of Wycliffe have for the last fifty years attended Whorlton school with great advantage to themselves. Any Roman Catholic child in Whorlton parish can go to Wycliffe. It is difficult to discover a better or fairer arrangement in this somewhat imperfectly constituted world. Dr. Horton considers it a great grievance that rates should be paid by Protestants to a Roman Catholic school. Does he not remember that Roman Catholics too have convictions, that they also pay rates, and is it not equally unjust to ask them to pay for a Protestant school? Under present arrangements each faith has its school, and the only grievance is that some few children have to walk about two miles—a by no means unusual and certainly not an injurious necessity. Dr. Horton has now affixed his name to a document which would compel both these schools to be "undenominational," an arrangement which not a single parent in either village desires.'

A month later Dr. Horton furnished us with another nstance of the injustice of the Act:

Digitized by Google

'I was in a large town this week, where a third of the population is Romanist, and all the schools but four belong to the Roman or to the Anglican Church. The Act has stirred antipathies and passions there, which the wise legislator would have avoided at a great cost, and which all truly religious men must desire to allay.'

We are not quite certain what the particular grounds of complaint are in this case. As far as we can make out, what Dr. Horton complains of is that the Roman Catholic schools are supported by the rates. But the Roman Catholics, he admits, form one-third of the population. They must also pay a considerable portion of the rates. Does Dr. Horton think that it is just to compel them to support undenominational schools—a class of schools that they detest—without allowing them to have their own? Let him remember that Roman Catholics have their conscientious convictions, and, as this is a free country, their right as citizens. Exactly the same applies to the Anglican schools. The Anglicans, we presume, form at least a third of the population. They probably pay the bulk of the rates. Why should not a portion of these go to their own schools? But perhaps there are too few schools for Nonconformists. Then the remedy is quite easy, let them build more. If they do so these will be supported, like the other schools, out of the rates. This would have the further advantage of giving Nonconformists what they desire, undenominational teaching, at their own cost. They would learn incidentally also that the contribution of the school buildings was quite sufficient to pay the whole cost of the religious teaching in Anglican or Roman schools. They would have a valuable object lesson, which would teach them that the cost of religious teaching did not come out of the rates. But even this is not necessary. The Act allows the whole cost of building the schools in which Denominationalism is taught to be borne by the rates. Nonconformists may be indignant in the town Dr. Horton is describing, and we do not doubt some 'Protestant' members of the Church of England are indignant, but it is simply because some measure of justice is given to Roman Catholics and to Anglicans, who pay rates like other men, who have consciences like other men, who have religious convictions, and

Digitized by Google

who object to be forced to pay for a one-sided educational system which establishes and endows Undenominationalism. There are defects in the Acts; but the real cause of the agitation against them is that they are just, that they are designed to promote religious liberty—and no Nonconformists seem to be able to understand that others besides themselves should have liberty.

The agitation against the Acts may possibly die away owing to another cause than its own astonishing inaccuracy. The Dissenters were equally opposed to the Act of 1870: their opposition ceased when they found that it could be administered to their satisfaction. An administrative reversal of the intention of the law is still possible. Some local authorities are boldly entering on the task. It will not be easy to compel them to give Church schools the support which the law enjoins, or to prevent them from showering unfair advantages on schools of another colour; it may be still harder to secure equal treatment for all teachers, and to resist mischievous interference with the internal economy of Church schools. Good citizens are bound to withstand any such abuse of authority or malversation of funds, but the managers of Church schools will not find allies even in all good citizens. The dual system is so lop-sided that they appear to occupy an invidious position of privilege in face of the 'popular' management of other schools; and the privileged usually have to rely on themselves for the defence of their privileges. While the Churchman is still compelled to pay rates for building schools he disapproves of and to pay subscriptions for building his own—while, in fact, a great deal of the old unfairness still remains, and he still has a one-sided struggle to carry on—an impression has got abroad that he has made a good bargain, and his attempts at getting the injustice rectified are denounced as a 'policy of grab.' Every effort must be made to secure the fair administration of the law while it stands, and every effort will be needed.

Throughout the country as in London the County Council elections are approaching. Under normal circumstances the duty of Churchmen is clear. They should not interfere as Churchmen. Provided a candidate for election is prepared to

Digitized by Google

obey the law, to work the new Acts honestly and fairly for the benefit of the country, they need not inquire as to their opinions. But unfortunately this is not the case. A large number of candidates will be run with the avowed object of wrecking the Acts. Against these they must be prepared to vote and to work. There is no room for sluggishness or indifference. If the clergy throughout the country are too lazy to understand, or too narrow to support, the Education Acts; if they allow themselves to be distracted from the main issue by irritation at the Kenyon-Slaney clause; if they will not take the trouble to explain the Act in a fair way, or to give their votes, they must not complain if English County Councils follow the lawless example of Wales. In London a section of the Progressive party have announced their intention of working the Act fairly: they ought not to be opposed. Elsewhere good candidates should be run, progressive in the best sense of the word, if Moderate in name, who will work hard for education, who will carry on a policy of wise social reform, and who will work the Act fairly and justly, treating all classes of schools equally.

But it will not do to fix attention exclusively on present needs. This is no final unalterable law on which may be erected a lasting administrative machinery. The friends of the law are aware of its deficiencies; reforms are to be hoped for, even if not hurried. The law must be administered with an eye to the future. Its working will show what is possible; and there are few things more important for would-be reformers than skill in measuring possibilities. There is perhaps only one thing more important; it is the possession of an ideal. The efficient reformer is one who treasures an ideal, not because he expects to realize it in every detail, but because he knows that it will guard him against the dangers of easy-going concession and of departures in the wrong direction.

And what is the ideal? We make no apology for pushing this question to the front amid murmurs of compromise and suggestions for accommodation. We are concerned with the schools themselves; and the schools consist of teachers and scholars. Too much attention is drawn aside to the machinery

Digitized by Google

for providing and maintaining schools. Mr. Chamberlain's sarcasm about the preoccupations of Parliament during his absence in Africa was not without point. The most admirable administration of worthless schools will produce worthless results; if the schools are made what they ought to be, questions of administration will fade into their proper insignificance. The management is important now, because managers and controllers can do much to make or mar a school; the more the character of the school is determined, the less harm they can do.

What then should a school be? It is an instrument of education. It is not the only instrument. No child's education is begun and ended in school. But it is a necessary instrument for all but a small minority, and for some it is by far the most important of all instruments. It should therefore be fitted as well as possible for the work of education. And that work is the training of the child—not the instruction of his mind only, but the building up of his whole nature, corporal, mental, moral. A school may set out to do a part only of this work, but then it is only a partial instrument. A gymnasium is an instrument of education, but only a partial instrument. A music-school is an instrument of education, but only a partial instrument. The best of schools will be in some measure inadequate, but it may approximate to completeness. In the ninth volume of the Special Reports published by the Board of Education is a treatise by Mr. Sadler, handling this subject in masterly fashion. His particular thesis is the 'unrest' in secondary education in Germany and elsewhere; his treatment involves an examination of the nature of the School in general. Mr. Sadler's standpoint is not our own, but the principles to which he looks are ours also. A school should be as complete an instrument of education as possible. But, to our mind, religious instruction is among the most important elements of mental and moral education. It may, indeed, be safely omitted from the curriculum of a school if the children be supplied with it elsewhere; but the school then becomes a feeble and partial instrument —a sort of mental gymnasium. A school that is to be even approximately complete must be equipped for religious in-

Digitized by Google

struction. We do not argue the point; we write for those who are convinced, and, if we may judge from public professions, we speak thus for the majority of Englishmen. They think religious instruction good, and even necessary, in school; they are entangled in fallacies about the nature of religious instruction.

What, then, is religious instruction? It is not merely the imparting of knowledge. Religion is above all things practical, concerned with conduct. The imparting of abstract knowledge is indeed the least important element in the work. In the teaching of very young children it can hardly find a place at all. We are familiar with protests, equally admirable in word and ridiculous in purpose, against the teaching of abstract dogmas to children of tender years. To hear them one might imagine that the Thirty-nine Articles, with the Bishop of Brechin's Commentary, were studied in the Fourth Standard. Anyone capable of the most distant approach to this ought to be sternly shut out of a schoolroom. His place is elsewhere. Scottish children indeed learn the Shorter Catechism; but English children are born with a feebler appetite for metaphysics, and possibly even Scottish children would thrive better on a more milky diet. But if abstract dogma is unsuitable food for babes, so also is abstract Scripture. We must insist on the fact that the study of the Bible is not religious instruction. It is no more a training in Christianity than the study of Homer is a grounding in the Hellenic religion. A clever, perhaps rather too clever, pamphlet by Mr. Marson, entitled *Huppim and Muppim*, puts in ludicrous light what is sometimes achieved. Children are taught everything about David, he says, except his 'sure mercies,' and all about Abraham except the quality that made him the 'Friend of God.' The nature of a Christian school is admirably described in a recent work by a Roman Catholic author, *The Priest, his Character and Work*. Good elsewhere, Mr. Keatinge is superlatively good in his chapter on 'The Priest in the School.' He is emphatic on the necessity of the school. 'The Sunday catechism,' he says, under present conditions, is of little worth as a means of teaching children their religion. The effective teaching of

Digitized by Google

religion is carried out in the day school on five days a week; what more the children learn during their school life they get at home and at their mother's knee.' And what is the school which can thus teach religion?

'The character of a school depends on its tone and atmosphere, and only in a secondary degree on the instruction imparted. Catechism may be repeated accurately, Bible history known well, and a school may fail to be a Catholic school in any effective sense. The tone of a school and its atmosphere depend, not on lessons or instruction, but on the ideal set before the children in the lives, the conduct, the practice of those to whom nature itself teaches the children to look for their models and patterns.'

It could not be better said. Allowance made for differences of method, we are in complete agreement with Mr. Keatinge. By religious instruction we understand the training of a child in the practice of religion, in moral virtues backed by religious sanctions, in the private and public use of religious exercises. For religion, as we have received it, is not a matter of individual belief and practice; it is a function of the social man, a corporate activity. And the society in which it is realized is the Church. Religious instruction is therefore the affair of the Church: a school which is to provide religious instruction must be, on one side, in touch with the Church.

In the divided state of English religion this means that every child should be educated in the religion of his parents. We understand this broadly. There are many parents whose religion is of the most nebulous character, the vaguest of sentiments, almost wholly divorced from practice. We do not mean that children should be educated in their way of thinking. But for the most part even these have a standard to which they look from however far; they own a distant allegiance to some religious society which is for them the Church, and under the guidance of that society their children ought to be educated. Even those who have cut themselves loose from all religious ties will sometimes wish their children to have a religious training, and it is their right to choose of what sort that training shall be; if they relentlessly refuse their children all teaching of the kind, we must sorrowfully respect their liberty.

Digitized by Google

The ideal school, therefore, will provide religious instruction for children according to the discretion of their parents. And a school is not a mere gathering of children who can be taught separately. It is an organism; its corporate vitality effects more than the several lessons; it cannot be cut up into compartments either for religious instruction or any other purpose. For its wholesome development, unity and identity are necessary. Therefore our ideal school will have a distinctive religious character throughout: it will have a regular and formal course of religious instruction, which we may conveniently call a *Catechism*, and to this the life and conversation of the teacher, his influence, and the whole tone of his work, will conform.

We have sketched the ideal. Can it be attained? Will the conditions of English life allow even an approximation to it? It is effectively, though not avowedly, attained in Ireland. It is sometimes realized by the action of the local authority in Scotland. There is close approximation to it, practical, if not theoretic, in the schools organized by the London School Board for the convenience of Jewish children. But to find the ideal systematically studied as a basis of policy we must go abroad. We must go to a country where education is certainly not less efficient than in England, and where its methods are reduced to a science. In Prussia and other German states, the public school system established by law is unreservedly 'confessional.' The Prussian system is not in all respects admirable. In some respects it can teach us nothing, in some respects Englishmen would find it intolerable. On the religious side it deserves examination. The volume of Special Reports, to which we have already referred, contains a review of the work of the smaller schools by Mr. E. M. Field, and some notes on the Rhineland schools by Mr. R. E. Hughes and Mr. W. A. Beanland, which will supply the English reader with useful information; they will be more effective still if they send him to the sources. We have before us the great volume of school statistics published by the Prussian Government, and the compendium of school law issued by the Government of Saxony, which corresponds in all but its official character to what we know in England as

Digitized by Google

an annotated Code. With the help of these authorities we may briefly sketch the system.

Every school has a definite religious character normally determined by the profession of the majority of the population which it serves, as ascertained in the census. Children of another confession, who may be admitted to the school, are not allowed to attend the formal catechetical lessons, but as far as possible some other provision is made for their religious instruction. In Saxony, where school fees are universally charged, children so withdrawn pay a proportionately reduced fee, and their parents are required by law to provide for their instruction, and to produce satisfactory testimony that this is done. In Prussia the State undertakes the duty, employing in the year 1896 more than four thousand teachers for this additional instruction. In the province of Silesia the parish priest is required by a royal *Reglement* to teach Catholic children so withdrawn from a Protestant school for three hours every week. In other cases a neighbouring teacher of the required confession is brought in, usually twice a week. But where the local minority attains considerable numbers, this makeshift arrangement is not thought sufficient. There must then be either a separate school for the minority, or a separate class in the one school. The latter provision requires explanation. The German *Klasse* is a body of children gathered in one room under one teacher, who has them entirely in charge. An *einklassige* school has only one teacher; when a larger school is divided into two or more classes, it is obviously convenient to distinguish them by age; but where confessional differences have to be considered, a perpendicular division, so to call it, is made, Catholic and Protestant children being segregated. Mr. Hughes and Mr. Beanland found at Crefeld in one great school under the same roof seven Protestant and fourteen Catholic classes, 'living in peace and concord with one another, and using the same playground and offices.' Prussia had, however, in 1896 only six hundred and eighty of such *paritätischen Schulen*, housing a quarter of a million children, of whom about six thousand were Jewish. Separate schools are preferred, and the scientific German authorities do not show that dislike of very small

Digitized by Google

schools which prevails in England. In a village of three thousand souls the same observers found a large Catholic school centrally placed, and a small Protestant school at each end. Parents at one end of the village objected to sending their children a whole half-mile to the other end. Separate schools being provided, children are expected to attend accordingly. In 1896 the Prussian official records state with obvious satisfaction that no Christian children were attending Jewish schools; eighteen thousand Protestant children were provided for in Catholic schools, and under sixty thousand Catholic children in Protestant schools. The larger numbers of these last are anxiously accounted for by the growth of the Catholic *diaspora*, chiefly consisting of Polish families, in Protestant districts. In Saxony, wherever there is a choice, children are absolutely required to attend a school of their own confession; and the law goes so far as to require parents who are *konfessionslos*, or unconnected with any religious organization, to send their children to some catechetical instruction, choosing only what it shall be; should they refuse to exercise the choice, their children must take part in the catechism of the school which they attend. This drastic law, it is naïvely said in the official publication, 'contains nothing that deserves the reproach of being a restraint on liberty of conscience,' since it is conceived in the interest, not of any Church, but of the State, which must not seem to treat religious instruction as less important than any other kind.

In all Prussian schools the nature of the catechetic instruction is determined by law. In Protestant schools or classes the children study the Bible and are taught how to take part in Divine worship; there have lately been added, at the instance of the General Synod, certain sections of Luther's Catechism. Catholic schools use a catechism approved by the Bishop of the diocese. In all alike the work is supervised by the higher clergy. A teacher must be properly qualified; by way of emphasizing his religious character he is encouraged to undertake the function of parish clerk or sacristan, his dignity being guarded by the provision that he must not perform in person the more menial duties of the office. No one who has seen a German schoolmaster in charge of his

Digitized by Google

flock at the daily *Schulmesse* can mistake the nature of his calling. With all this the teachers are State functionaries with assured tenure, removable only for gross misconduct or inefficiency. In the Chamber of the Grand-Duchy of Baden, where the school-law resembles that of Prussia, there was some years ago a debate on a complaint, whether well grounded or not we cannot say, that Lutheran or Reformed teachers might have charge of Catholic children and instruct them in the Catholic Catechism. It was replied that the teaching in school was so purely *objektiv* that such an arrangement was harmless. This was to reduce the confessional system to nonsense: it indicates a possible cause of failure; but whatever may be the case in Baden, it is evident that in Prussia and Saxony anything of the sort is unlawful, and the confessional teaching is safeguarded with the utmost care.

Here, then, is our ideal in working order. Is it an impossible ideal for England? It is certainly true that difficulties peculiar to England stand in the way of its realization. There are not those clear lines of demarcation which are found in Germany, and also, we may add, in Ireland. There is no religious census, and the institution of it seems to be invincibly opposed. Englishmen are often unwilling to specify their creed; among school-teachers the unwillingness seems to be intensified. The Dissenting communities are imperfectly organized, and their doctrine is often indeterminate. Eccentric sects are many, and the number of persons unconnected with any religious organization is appalling. Individualism is rampant.

The difficulties in the way are immense, but it may be observed that some of them are tending to disappear. Dissent is concentrating; the existence of the *Free Church Catechism* indicates a possible line of cleavage and cohesion. Others, again, are in the nature of palpable evils which a denominational school system would tend to abate. They may render it difficult, but they are an argument for its establishment. And even if invincible difficulties prevent the speedy establishment of such a system, they need not hinder its adoption as an ideal or a steady working towards it as the

Digitized by Google

ultimate aim. We have not space for details of policy, nor is it yet the time for their discussion; but we will indicate some possibilities. If a religious census cannot be had, there are precedents for a creed-register in school, and even from a Dissenting quarter its adoption has been suggested. Local authorities might in the first instance be allowed, as in Scotland, to give an express religious character to certain schools where it is known to be desired, or to rent suitable buildings for use under this condition. Schools might be made denominational in towns where they stand thick together, even if it should be thought impossible in single-school districts. Elsewhere a modification of the German two-class organization might be tried. The ideal will certainly not be attained at a bound; it will be approached, if at all, by the way of many experiments. Let this be resolved, that the present haphazard dualism, unsatisfactory as it is, shall not be abandoned except for the gain of something better.

We would quote here a short extract from an article which we published in October 1902:

'May we respectfully suggest to the Government that the wisest course to pursue in the present critical situation is the boldest? Let them add a clause to the Bill stating that the local authority, acting through the school managers, shall provide religious instruction in accordance with the wish of the parents. To do so would not create a greater outcry than exists at present, and would give them a strong, sound, logical attitude. It would gratify both parties. It would gratify the clergy because the children of Church parents would have a Church education. It would gratify the Radicals because the schools would be under popular management. It would do away with the difficulty of the management question in Voluntary schools, because many probably would be at once transferred to the local authority. The exact manner in which the clause should be carried out in each place might be left to experience. There might be some controversy and friction at first, but it would end in a perfectly just administrative system being evolved.'[1]

To that proposal we would still adhere; it would do away with the Cowper-Temple clause and with the endowment of Undenominationalism. It would save the country from any

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. lv. p. 191.

Digitized by Google

stereotyped system. It would bring an end to the controversy. It might cause some friction, but it would lead to something both free and permanent. We have shown one way in which such a system has been carried out in Prussia. Other ways might no doubt be found more suitable to this country. What we wish to emphasize is that the principle is right, and that it is practicable.

But if the present system cannot be maintained, and a better system be yet unattainable, what is the alternative? If religious instruction cannot be effectively given in the school course, it may have to be omitted. It is not a thing which can be safely mauled and mangled. If the German system be impossible, its logical alternative is the system of the United States. The American common schools are purely secular. They do not insult religion by inefficient handling; they do not meddle with it. There is nothing unreasonable in omitting from a school course something which it would be desirable to include, but which circumstances make unmanageable. To bring a small thing into comparison, the French Government has lately thought it necessary to exclude from all schools the study of the last thirty years of French history; it is too full of actual party conflict. A school is obviously incomplete where any desirable study is thus excluded; but incompleteness may be not the worst of evils. We may be driven to accept a purely secular standard for the public elementary school as an expedient for the avoidance of something worse. But for us it will be merely a temporary expedient, a clearing of the ground for future operations. There has been much discussion of facilities for religious instruction to be afforded in purely secular schools. Precedents are quoted from the Colonies. Either in school hours or out of hours, ministers of religion or persons deputed by them are admitted to the school for the purpose of teaching in class those children whose parents wish them to attend. We should expect the practical value of this teaching to be small, as it must be out of touch with the life and influence of the school; but it should certainly be demanded if secular schools are established, and the opportunity should be used diligently if obtained. In such case the provision of teaching

Digitized by Google

would be a serious matter, and it might become the chief work of the National Society.

We say that a secular system might be acceptable as a refuge from something worse. That is the tyranny of undenominationalism. With this we are openly threatened. It is already established in the schools attended by half the children of the country; a determined effort will be made to force it upon all. The energetic body known as the National Free Church Council has put forward a scheme for a national system of education, of which the fifth and sixth clauses are as follows:

'5. That no ecclesiastical or theological tests shall be applied in the appointment of teachers of publicly-supported schools or training colleges.'

'6. That no distinctively denominational teaching or formulary shall be given or used in public schools in school hours, but simple Biblical instruction may be given according to a syllabus, as is general at present in provided schools; attendance at such instruction shall be subject to a conscience clause.

This goes beyond the familiar measure of the Cowper-Temple clause. That clause forbids the use of any catechism or other formulary peculiar to a religious denomination; it does not in set terms forbid the teaching of any doctrine. We are immovably hostile to it, for it removes from religious instruction that relation to practice and to the corporate expression of religion which we have shewn to be essential. So far as the letter is concerned, a teacher may inculcate the principles of Buddhism, of Confucianism, of Calvinism, or of the Catholic faith; he is forbidden only to impart this instruction officially in connexion with any religious society. That is to say, the Cowper-Temple clause forbids the one thing needful. But the new proposal goes further. No distinctive teaching may be imparted. Under the London School Board teachers have been allowed to teach or not to teach the Godhead of our Lord, Dr. Clifford strenuously defending their liberty. The new proposal, to which Dr. Clifford puts his name, would take away that liberty and forbid them so to teach. One thing only is to be allowed, 'Simple Biblical instruction according to a syllabus.'

Digitized by Google

And the fitness of the teacher to impart even this instruction must not be tested.

The scheme has not been adopted without full deliberation, nor, we suspect, without much debate. Earlier in the autumn Dr. Horton was lisping other numbers. He conferred with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was in favour of all sweet reasonableness. He suggested a creed-register, and hinted the possibility of a moderate denominationalism. The Archbishop pointed to the most essential requisite, asking how the teacher's qualifications should be ascertained. Dr. Horton seemed to recoil before the question; he replied that those with whom he was associated could not endure any test for teachers. He is now committed to an unbending undenominationalism.

It is not this ugly thing in the abstract with which we have to deal. It is presented to us in concrete form for acceptance. What we have said about the ideal school may indicate the grounds of our objection. But we must guard ourselves against misapprehension. Our objection is not that the scheme proposed is insufficient. The authors themselves do not consider it sufficient for all purposes; they express their 'solemn conviction that the training of the child is not complete without the religious teaching and the presentation of the great Christian verities which the Churches, according to their several convictions, are bound to impart.' But they would not have this further training given in the schools. If, like them, we thought their scheme merely insufficient, we might possibly come into line with them, accept it for the sake of peace, and provide the necessary supplement. But that is not our objection. We object to it as positively bad; a misuse of the Bible, an injury to religion. It is not, of course, contrary to the religion of its authors, or they would not propose it; but it is clean contrary to our religion. We object to religious teaching by unauthorized persons; we object to the treatment of religion as a thing merely individual. Dr. Horton has protested that he seeks no denominational advantage; he advocates what he believes to be for the general good. We accept his assurance. It brings his action well within the category of persecution. As between Christians,

Digitized by Google

persecution is always altruistic ; even the process *de haeretico comburendo* was promoted *pro salute animae.* Dr. Clifford has been more explicit. He wrote to the *Times* in expansive mood that the object was to drive out Romish teaching from the schools ; he extolled the London School Board for maintaining a system which was odious to High Churchmen and to Romanists. He, at least, is under no illusions. He, too, no doubt, looks to the general good, which is the good of all. He wishes to combat falsehood, to uphold the truth. He and Dr. Horton are now pledged to a policy intended for the general good, for our good. For our good they will force on schools, which are ours no less than theirs, a form of religious teaching which we abhor. How does their zeal differ in principle from the piety of Madame de Maintenon ? She forced on the Huguenots a religion which she believed to be for their eternal welfare.

Churchmen have been too tolerant of this undenominationalism in Board Schools. It has come to pose as if it were universally acceptable. It has been tolerated because regarded as a fair provision for Dissenters. The determination of the Dissenters to capture all the schools may clear the air and reveal the mistake which has been made. The religious difficulty is the bane of educational policy. It will continue to be so until it is recognized that equal treatment of all religious beliefs is the only fair policy, and that Undenominationalism is a system of which Nonconformists approve, and which Churchmen think radically unsound. Peace, and the consequent efficiency of schools, can be obtained only by supplying all reasonable needs, by showing favour to none and granting equal rights to all.

Digitized by Google

ART. IX.—THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

1. *On the Influence of Brain-Power on History.* An Address delivered before the British Association, September 1903. By SIR NORMAN LOCKYER, K.C.B., F.R.S. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903.)
2. *Calendar of the University of London for the year* 1903–1904. Three Volumes. (London: Printed for the University, 1903.)
3. *The University of London.* By SIR A. W. RÜCKER, D.Sc., F.R.S., Principal of the University. 'Contemporary Review,' December 1903. (London: Horace Marshall and Son.)
4. *University of London: New Scheme of Study in the Humanities.* Issued by the Board to Promote the Extension of University Teaching. Michaelmas Term, 1903. (London: Printed for the University.)

AT last year's meeting of the British Association the President, from his official seat, called upon the friends of the Sciences to consider the equipment for their study and advance as it stands in the United Kingdom to-day. Sir Norman Lockyer, resisting natural inclination to dilate upon the astronomical investigations in which he has won eminence, decided to demand urgency for a survey of the Sciences as a whole, from the point of view of 'the Influence of Brain-Power on History.' He found our equipment to be distressingly defective; he looked out upon Germany and America, and their superior positions caused his distress, as a patriot, to deepen. And then, with great energy, he pressed upon the wide audience which the Presidential addresses reach, the need for a multiplication and enlargement of universities and colleges on a great scale. In what is to be said here on the University of London we shall ask for attention from two points of view in addition to that of development of brain-power as a factor in national efficiency. We wish also to consider the mental training of the young men and women of the nation and the advancement of knowledge, regarded as things good in themselves.

Digitized by Google

From historical causes, university life in England has for centuries been confined to two places, both of them in the South Midlands; in Scotland there has been a wider distribution, in four towns conveniently situated in different localities; and in Ireland the English Pale has had its one university, while the Roman Catholics have looked to colleges in foreign countries. In Scotland, therefore, at the present juncture, the problem of extension is comparatively simple; a new college has already been planted in the largest unprovided town, Dundee, and an increase of the resources of the four universities is what is now required. For this good work Scotland has been fortunate to find a faithful son devoting millions gained in America to the fostering of the old colleges of his mother country. In Ireland, the Royal University (examining only) and three Queen's Colleges have been added, and for Trinity College, Dublin, with these three, increase of support is what is needed; while the claim of the Roman Catholics for ample assistance for the secular side of a university which would be congenial to them, presents itself to many minds as founded both on justice and expediency. We propose, therefore, to confine our attention to the claims of London in relation to the situation in England alone.

In England the case is by no means simple. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are so intimately bound up with the cause of education and the pursuit of knowledge at the highest points that any procedure which threatens a diversion from them runs the danger not only of failing to arouse sympathy, but of arousing animosity and opposition. The very first plan that suggests itself, indeed, is the simple one of increasing without stint the resources of Oxford and Cambridge. In them let new professorships, readerships, and lectureships be founded; let ampler laboratories be built and equipped; let fees be reduced and studentships multiplied; so that these two shall stand without superiors among the universities of the world. Indeed, to say 'without superiors' is itself almost a modest claim; for when we consider them as also places of resort for the Kingdom and the Empire, and remember India and the Colonies, it would be no Chauvinism

Digitized by Google

which might lead us to urge that they should, by natural fitness, have no equals, so far as resources and equipment are concerned. From both the practical and the sentimental points of view this plan has its attractive side; and taken together with some recognition of the needs of local colleges in large centres of population for quite subordinate and specialized purposes, it commends itself to not a few of the persons whose goodwill it is important to gain—those who have money at command, and those who have the chief influence in public affairs.

The counter-plan is to include a liberal increase of the resources of Oxford and Cambridge—and we feel no interest in discussing any proposal which does not set this in the forefront of any national scheme—but to proceed in still larger measure with the establishment and strengthening of universities and colleges of university rank in every great centre of population, and most urgently in the Metropolis and its suburbs.

For the comparison of the two plans it is indispensable to make distinctions as to the functions of a university (*a*) as a place for liberal education, free from any consideration except the development of intelligence and character in the youth of the nation; (*b*) as a place of training for professions; and (*c*) as designed for the advancement of knowledge, learning, and the arts in every direction.

For the first of these purposes no one can doubt that resort to the historical academic centres is the first course to be recommended to a youth; but by reason of its being the most advantageous course it is the most expensive, and it must naturally have limits. These limits are at present the possession of some private means of support on a liberal scale, or of ability to win such support from the endowments. The area of these limits might be widened by the increase of endowments, but this cannot be done indefinitely. Whether any procedure would be wise which increased the number of students in residence at Oxford and Cambridge to more than, say, double their present figures is open to question. Serious difficulties would arise in directions which there is not space to specify here; and we may take it as scarcely requiring

Digitized by Google

discussion that the whole of the liberal education of the youth of a nation of thirty millions cannot possibly be carried on in only two centres situated outside the greater aggregates of population. In London and the large towns there are thousands of young men and women who ought to have the opportunity of a liberal education without leaving their homes; there are tens of thousands of others who are obliged to begin to earn their livelihood immediately after leaving school, but who in these days of shortened hours of business are quite able to benefit by liberal studies outside business hours, pursued not by dilettante attendance at occasional and disconnected lectures, but by methodical, consecutive, and organic system. The experience of every other country confirms at least the former requirement: the University of Paris is in a singularly commanding position for the youth of France, yet fifteen local universities flourish at its side; Berlin appeals with great force to the youth of Germany, but it leaves room for ten other universities in Prussia alone, besides eleven more in the rest of the Empire.

As to (*b*), the necessity for a division of territory between the old universities and the centres of population is plain. For some professions the division sets in of itself, so to speak; the *practical* side of training is prominent in them, and for the majority it must be taken up as soon as school is over. In medicine and surgery, the places where the leading physicians and surgeons practise and where the great hospitals are situated are the places where professional training must go on. In law, the Law-Courts, the chambers of barristers, and the offices of solicitors settle the matter for the great majority. In engineering and other applied sciences the proportion of theoretical training is under discussion, but to an outsider it would appear that these increasing professions can never be manned in all their various grades by those who possess the talent justifying any lengthy application to theoretical study, and who can afford its expense. Even in the physical sciences, taken apart from professional training, there are some which are dependent upon accessibility to the national museums and collections, which cannot be transplanted to Oxford and Cambridge. In the

Digitized by Google

fine arts, the place where the masters live must be the place of resort for students, whether the studios of artists and the picture galleries, or the class-rooms easily accessible for securing great musicians as teachers and the best concerts for acquaintance with the productions of the higher works. To locate professional training away from the Metropolis and the centres of provincial life seems feasible only for professions in which literature, scholarship, history, or philosophy are the chief features, or where there is high abstractness in the study, as in mathematics or the purely theoretical foundations of the sciences.

As to (*c*), the advantages seem to be divided on similar lines to those of (*b*). The advancement of scholarship, history, philosophy, and the theoretical departments of science appears to be in especially favourable circumstances in the quiet atmosphere of the old universities. And yet this must not be expressed without reserve; contact with the great centres of national life has great stimulating power, and we have to remember that it was from outside Oxford and Cambridge that Coleridge and Carlyle and Mill, from their different points of view, directed so much of Englishmen's thinking; that Assyriologists and Egyptologists have carried far back the lines of history; while in the sciences Davy and Faraday, Lyell and Hooker, Darwin and Huxley, with Dalton and Joule in Manchester, led the nineteenth-century advance. But we think that this was partly due to obstacles to adaptation which operated in the old universities; and it will be a source of surprise and of disappointment if in the twentieth century we do not see the lead definitely and commandingly taken by Oxford and Cambridge in the studies above indicated. Progress in this direction set in, we think, some time ago, and every recent decade has shown an advance. Still, it has further to be remembered that London is the seat of the great 'academies' of literature and science, from the ancient Royal Society to such new bodies as the Society of Hellenic Studies and the Church Historical Society; it is London which is the headquarters to which resort is made by the workers for making their reports, discussing the problems, and formulating the results attained. And to some small

Digitized by Google

extent the case is parallel for the provincial cities; as their hospitals determine the places of medical training, so their several interests determine local centres for prosecuting research in arts, sciences, and industries which cannot be transplanted, and even for adding literary and philosophical interests which the most ardent advocate of a policy of concentration at Oxford and Cambridge would surely be loath to see disappear.

From these considerations we venture to hope that we can now carry some of our readers with us in looking round sympathetically to see what ought to be done for universities and colleges outside Oxford and Cambridge. In Sir Norman Lockyer's Address, the appeal for new colleges appears to be carried too far; there is not sufficient acknowledgment of those which have recently been founded: it is our contention that this has already gone so far that the thought of multiplication should be dismissed, and attention concentrated upon the need for the development of those which already exist. So new, however, are some of these institutions that a brief conspectus of what has been done seems advisable. The first modern college of university character is University College, London, opened in 1828, for Arts, Law, and Medicine. The exclusion of Theology caused some Churchmen to establish King's College immediately afterwards, in 1829; and these two colleges have developed until now in each of them all the Faculties except Music are provided for to some extent, except that only King's provides Theology. For women, Queen's, Bedford, the Women's Department of King's College (at Kensington), Holloway, and Westfield Colleges have followed. The School of Economics and Political Science was founded in 1895. The Medical schools attached to the hospitals have proceeded in their work, and now number ten (besides University and King's). The Inns of Court provide some instruction, but to a confessedly inadequate extent. The Royal Academy provides the principal Art school, but there are also the Slade School at University College, and eleven schools of art in connexion with South Kensington. There are three principal teaching colleges of Music. The Royal College of Science (formerly the School

Digitized by Google

of Mines) is now highly developed within certain limits. The Technical colleges are numerous, with the Central College of the City and Guilds at the head, and ten Polytechnics in various quarters of London, with others of partial range. The Birkbeck College makes an elaborate provision for evening classes, and the University Extension Lectures, now formally taken over by the University itself, are widespread in their range both of subject and place, and effort is being made to render them methodical and systematic by a new 'Scheme of Study in the Humanities.' Gresham College continues some free lectures of a popular kind. The Working Men's College, founded by Maurice and Kingsley, the City of London College, the literary and scientific side of Toynbee Hall, and various Institutes connected with particular parish churches and chapels, are in their various ways doing pioneer work.

Taking for a moment the provinces into view, the University of Durham was founded in 1831, the Victoria University in 1880 (from which the University of Liverpool has separated, 1903), the University of Wales in 1893, and that of Birmingham, 1900. The order of establishment of the local colleges has been: Lampeter, 1828; Owens, Manchester, 1851; Newcastle (Durham), 1871; Yorkshire, at Leeds, 1874; Mason, Birmingham, 1875; Bristol, 1876; Sheffield, 1879; Nottingham, 1880; Liverpool, 1881; Reading, 1892; Exeter, 1893; Southampton, 1902: the Welsh Colleges—Aberystwyth, 1872; Cardiff, 1883; Bangor, 1884. The principal towns which lag behind the requirements of the times, having a population of 100,000 without a college, are Bradford, Hull, Halifax, Leicester, Portsmouth, Birkenhead, Sunderland, Brighton, Bolton, Blackburn, Oldham, Preston, and Norwich. Some of these are adjacent to university towns, and may be sufficiently served by their neighbours; but the cases of Hull, Leicester, and Norwich stand out as suggestive of need for more activity. As universities we have, then, Oxford and Cambridge, London, Durham, Victoria, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Wales (nine), with six or eight outlying colleges. In Germany there are twenty-two universities, in France sixteen, and in the United States there are no fewer than forty-six which have at least fifty teachers on their staff.

Digitized by Google

In London the University question has been complicated by the gradual formation of a purely examining body, open to all comers, with the title of 'University of London.' How this came about discloses an interesting chapter of history, but we must forego the inclination to narrate it; its actual effect was that this examining body had no more connexion with education or research in London than in any other place, and yet its possession of the title unquestionably obscured London's need. The teaching institutions pleaded for university powers and status, but for a long time opposition was made, and two Royal Commissions were required before an authoritative plan was produced; this plan was on the line of keeping the title for an institution with a double purpose—to continue to examine all comers and grant them 'degrees' as external students, and to endeavour to fulfil a wholly fresh function as a university proper, the supreme body recognized by the State for the organization and guidance of university interests within the Metropolitan area alone—that is to say, as a local university. Opposition was continued on the part of a number of the graduates of the old University, and a delay of four years ensued in consequence of the Government of the day regarding the Bill as contentious, and it fell in the July 'massacre' more than once. But when the Government took it up with decision, the opposition proved to be so narrow in volume that on the second reading a division was not challenged. It became law, and the University in this second character became a fact in 1898. A special Commission for preparing statutes was formed, consisting of Lord Davey, Bishop Creighton, Sir William Roberts (succeeded, later, by Sir Thomas Barlow), Sir Owen Roberts, Sir Edward Busk, and Professors Jebb and Foster; the interests specially represented being Law, the Church, Medicine, the City, the old Graduates, Classics, and Science, but each Commissioner was more or less accepted as an authority on education generally.

Under the new statutes an elaborate organization has been devised for higher education and research within thirty miles of the University building. Its faculties are Theology, Arts, Music, Medicine, Science, Engineering, and Economics. Law is unprovided for at present, as the Inns of Court have

Digitized by Google

officially declined the invitation to join the University, and they of course are the natural law-colleges of the metropolis. The Boards for regulating studies are thirty-three, some of the faculties requiring several such Boards. The colleges recognized as schools of the University are: in all the faculties above named except Music, King's College; similarly, but without Theology, University College; in Theology only, Hackney and New (Congregationalist), Regent's Park (Baptist), Cheshunt (open), Richmond (Wesleyan), and Highbury (Church of England); in Arts and Science, Holloway and Bedford, and in Arts only, Westfield (all for women); in Science only, the Royal College of Science (Kensington); in Agriculture only, Wye; in Medicine, the other ten hospital schools; in Engineering, the City and Guilds College (Kensington); and in Economics, the School of Economics (Clare Street). Besides the students properly matriculated and attending these colleges, matriculated students may attend the lectures and laboratories of certain teachers at institutions not recognized as schools, such as Birkbeck College, the Polytechnics, and the training colleges. And there is a special board for promoting the extension of university teaching, the familiar 'Extension Lectures.' Curricula have been devised for degree courses in the various faculties, and the first examinations for internal students took place in 1902.

The period of formation has now passed, but alas! to a very large extent the schemes devised remain paper schemes for a skeleton army. For the teachers are for the most part not provided, and therefore students cannot at present be dealt with, nor research work be directed, except in colleges which are, in the main, institutions for professional training. For the arts and the pure sciences almost everything remains to be done in order to make the schemes operative. There are long lists of professors and lecturers in these faculties, it is true, but most of them are engaged in such work as is required by students preparing expressly for professions, or else their offices are almost honorary and their time is required for the other work on which their livelihood depends. The number of men whom the colleges enable to give any considerable time either to their teaching or to research is

Digitized by Google

painfully small, and consequently students resorting to the few lectures they can offer are but occasional and scanty.

For example, there are University professorships with stipends permitting the holders to regard them as their principal occupation in life only for chemistry, engineering, German, and pedagogy, and a few lectureships connected with these. The college professors in classics, in Oriental languages, in philosophy, in history, in mathematics, in the sciences, are confined to a few small classes, or else are occupied in teaching these subjects in subordination to professional education simply; and if students desiring liberal education presented themselves in any numbers they could not be taught, since nothing but their own fees would be available; while the work of research and advancement of knowledge is almost unprovided for, so far as financial provision for it is concerned. Let a single example illustrate what is meant. There is in London only one professorship of Sanskrit, and it is unendowed, while in Germany there are twenty endowed Sanskrit chairs; and yet it is England, not Germany, which is responsible for the welfare of the people of India.

Those who have laboured to organize the University by the present elaborate and carefully thought out scheme, and now find it at a standstill, feel a temptation to wish for some movement like that outburst of enlightened patriotism which in Prussia's darkest hour founded the University of Berlin. In 1809 Royal favour and the employment of liberal State grants gave to the university of the Prussian metropolis the pre-eminence in Germany almost at once, and started it in a century of honour without equal among modern universities. The student's heart must glow as the illustrious roll of the great men of Berlin stands before his eyes—Fichte, Hegel, and Lotze, Lachmann and Haupt, the Grimms and Bopp, Savigny and Ranke, Müller and Virchow, Helmholtz and Du Bois-Reymond, Schleiermacher and Neander—all from a single university, inspiring students, founding schools, and leading mankind to new methods and into new reaches of thought and knowledge. And doubtless not a few hold that such a chance as this is due to the London of the twentieth

Digitized by Google

century, and look to the imperial and municipal authorities for action on a similar scale. But, for reasons already indicated, we cannot here advocate the supersession of Oxford and Cambridge in the arts and sciences. We do, however, earnestly wait in expectation of the appearance of a determination on the part of the people of London that there shall be no stint of municipal resources and of private benefactions for the speedy equipment of the University and its schools to put into effect the programme set forth along the lines indicated. And if we might hope some day to see a great Minister of Education backed by the confidence of the nation, we might have a well-balanced and carefully adjusted method of developing in an organic connexion both Oxford and Cambridge and the new universities of London and the provinces in the directions marked out by their natural situations and their natural opportunities and capacities.

A need which, if not essential, is conspicuous, is for an appropriate seat for the University—a building and a site which will ensure at once convenience and a commanding position in the public eye. The necessary diffusion of the constituent colleges makes this need all the more imperative in both of these aspects. The allotment of a principal portion of the Imperial Institute was to some extent a happy thought, and her late Majesty's Jubilee is worthily commemorated by it, though in a different line than that designed, and the building is in many respects admirable. But the situation is highly inconvenient; the members who are called upon to leave their work in order to serve on the numerous boards and committees feel it to be a strain to lose time in getting to and from South Kensington; and in spite of official request that as many meetings as possible should be held there, and the fact that the permanent officials are to be consulted there only, not a few Faculty and Board meetings have perforce to be held where members can more conveniently assemble. A similar objection lies to the situation as a place for holding lectures; lectures given in the University building would have certain audiences, but these would be almost purely local and unrepresentative. As to impressiveness, every reader can ask himself how often he has even seen the

Digitized by Google

building since it ceased to be the Imperial Institute and since the exhibitions on the adjacent area have ceased. There is a building which would provide for both these purposes, the convenience which means efficiency and the impressiveness due to a university—a building at present occupied for imperial purposes which could very well be carried on elsewhere: we mean Somerset House. There it stands, in sight of the Metropolis, in sight of the world; and who is prepared to maintain that we are presumptuous in asking for even so noble a site? Does any visitor to Dublin who finds Trinity College in the very eye of the city feel anything but respect for the capital in which its university stands placed second to no edifice within its area? Let it be remembered that we are speaking for Learning, the Arts, and Science, and who can gainsay the claim for a building of noble proportions and in the front rank as regards situation? The present uses of Somerset House are as a register office and as the head offices of Inland Revenue. But the former duties could be discharged in some building for the purpose near or forming part of the Law Courts, and the latter suggests location amidst its congeners in Whitehall. Somerset House, as the University building, would lie amid the following institutions: the Inns of Court, the Law Courts and Record Office, King's College, six of the ten Medical schools, the School of Economics, the Birkbeck, the College of Surgeons and their examination hall, the British Museum (for the national library and national collections of antiquities), the libraries of the Foreign, Colonial, and Privy Council Offices and of the Board of Trade; the libraries of the Guildhall, the Royal Colonial Institute, and all the learned societies; the Royal Academy and its school and galleries, the Guildhall School of Music.

As compared with these, what have we at South Kensington? Only the Royal College of Science, the City and Guilds Technical College, the Natural History Museum, the School of Art and the Museum, the Royal College of Music, and the Women's Department of King's College.

And then, as to accessibility for the institutions not near either of these centres, such as University College, two of the remaining four medical schools, the theological colleges, the

Digitized by Google

women's colleges, there is no comparison to be made; as is also the case as to general accessibility for lectures and work to any of the chief classes of people likely to be affected. We look forward to a time when visitors to London will depart with the impression that among metropolitan institutions the University is in the foremost rank; and that for the people of London themselves there will be few buildings with more intimate and more elevated associations. Raised from obscurity and placed on high by imperial and municipal enterprise, it could scarcely fail to attract private benefactions when men realized that it was the centre of education and the centre of learning and science, and that these high causes depended upon it for their prosperity and progress.

This brings us again to what is the main point, the immediately pressing need of provision for a large staff of professors, lecturers, and demonstrators; they must have stipends which will enable them to dispense with other sources of income, and so devote their energies to the University, either in the central body or in the constituent institutions. This must be followed up by a liberal establishment of studentships for the ablest of the young men and women, and a general lowering of fees for all; and further, by a development of equipment in the way of laboratories and the accessories of work. There is no need, we contend, for any fresh institutions at this juncture. Mr. Bailey Saunders knows the situation well, and he speaks of University, King's, and the Guilds Colleges as having 'borne the burden and heat of the day, two of them, at least, under very depressing conditions' (*Times*, December 2, 1903). And he continues, 'The London colleges have not yet had an opportunity of showing what they could accomplish if they had the requisite means. Two of them, the oldest and most important, have for seventy years done good work out of all proportion to their financial resources, but they have done so only by the self-sacrificing efforts of their professors and lecturers. If further facilities must be given, and they undoubtedly must, let us help and encourage existing institutions to supply them.' What is necessary at present is to secure an endowment for professors, not to build a new institution. We are bold enough to think that if Sir Norman

Digitized by Google

Lockyer on one hand, and Lord Rosebery and those who are prepared to spend money for a new technological institution on the other, would give two days to careful study of the existing colleges—one to surveying their actual position, the other to meditating upon their possibilities—and a third day to considering the magnificent design of the University, they would one and all adopt the making efficient of what is already commenced or sketched out as the true policy for to-day, and perhaps without limiting their benefactions to technical studies at all.

The needs indicated could be met only from resources in which we have to speak not of thousands of pounds, but of millions. University and King's Colleges each requires half a million for itself, for example. The University as a whole will require far more. And why not? Is London a provincial city? Yet when Germany decided in 1872 to refound the University of Strassburg, it spent a million upon buildings, and endowed it with 49,000*l.* a year, equivalent to another million and a half. The University of Birmingham asks for five millions, and has issued a detailed statement as to how every pound of it would be spent. In America, the private benefactions to universities in the years 1898–1900 amounted, Sir Norman Lockyer tells us, to nearly 7,000,000*l.* In fact, the President of the British Asociation was led into the region where men talk simply in millions, the region of battleships and army organization, in order to indicate the *scale* of the expenditure required; and he, with severe restraint, no doubt, when in that spacious region, concluded by naming a total of twenty-four millions as that required for the university service of the nation.

We now ask our readers to take the Churchman's view, and look at the new University of London in the light of the supply of a learned clergy, and the general diffusion and deepening of intelligent interest in the manifold studies bearing upon Religion. No one can doubt that the mind of the British nation is religious, and that in our time the religious sentiment is keenly active, and is prepared to respond to increased opportunities for training intelligence to deal with the problems of religious thought and life. Dr. Sanday has

Digitized by Google

expressed the opinion that with the new century we have entered upon a new period. Dr. Headlam has taken the Principalship of King's College in the spirit expressed in the following words:

'The sources of our theology are the continuous revelation of the Old Testament as accepted in the New, the revelation of Christ in the New Testament, the witness of Christian tradition, and the living voice of the Christian Church. I do not believe that the results of recent discovery will be found to impair its authority, but the method of the theologian will be to a certain extent changed by historical and critical research. Using these methods, it is his business to teach the contents of the Christian revelation as answering the needs and corresponding to the aspirations of the present day as of past days.'

And, we ask, can this be done for London unless it has a body of teachers and workers free from all other responsibilities, giving themselves to this extensive and varied study, and holding the results of their criticism, their valuations, their constructive thinking, at the disposal of the religious community?

It is not only of the teaching of candidates for Holy Orders that we are thinking; there is the wider problem of persuading more young men to think seriously of the claims of the ministry upon them, both in the Church of England and in the Nonconformist Churches. And there is the still wider problem of guiding the religious thought of young men and women generally, at an epoch when much that is old is broken up and new formations are varying and flexible. It must be borne in mind that in nearly all the new colleges no religious guidance at all is offered to students, and several of the new universities exclude it from their view altogether. Even those which, like the University of London, recognize it, limit themselves to the guidance involved in the construction of degree courses, and make no direct provision for either teachers or students. The presumption is that the new resources will be supplied by the Churches severally, and that the instruction will be given in some other places than the colleges to which students resort for secular studies. The pressure is, therefore, urgent upon the Churches to do something for the students of the ordinary colleges and schools of the University—apart from those colleges, if it must be so; and,

Digitized by Google

beyond them, for others who would be helped by the establishment of regular lectures and classes near their homes, after the manner of the University Extension Lectures or the London Diocesan Home Reading Union. If we are in face of a new era, energetic guidance must be offered to the intelligence of the members of the Christian Churches beyond what the general pulpits can, by their conditions, supply. When the Renaissance and the religious Reformation opened floodgates, how did the Reformed Churches meet the position? The Protestant States of Germany set up new centres of study and teaching by founding the Universities of Marburg, Königsberg, Jena, Helmstädt, Strassburg, Giessen, Altdorf, all within a century from the Diet of Spires. Nor did the Roman Church stand inactive; the same century saw the foundation of Dillingen, Würzburg, Paderborn, Salzburg, Olmütz, Gratz, and Osnabrück under the jurisdiction of the Roman See. The Churches now must see that the young men and women who resort to colleges in which no religious instruction is offered are not led to regard theological study as an affair concerning only candidates for Holy Orders, while they themselves are to find adequate guidance in hearing sermons on Sundays and reading whatever casual circumstances may throw in their way. It is because of its fundamental recognition that theological study should be a part of a complete academic system, open to all, that King's College has its special claim upon Churchmen, a claim which we can only suppose that Churchmen do not understand when we think of the inadequacy of the support which the College has received in its seventy years of effort.

Still, we may find much encouragement in the honourable recognition accorded to Theology by the new University, within the limits indicated. The recognition has been almost unexpectedly courteous, for instead of being excluded from all degree examinations, as in the old University, it is now constituted into a Faculty, and has been allotted priority of place in the statutory order of the various subjects of study. Besides the 'Faculty' there is a 'Board of Studies,' and a degree course for Bachelor of Divinity parallel with the courses for the other degrees, with a Doctorate for special

Digitized by Google

qualifications. There are two sets of examinations, the one open to all comers, External; the other for Internal students, viz. those attending regular courses at the constituent colleges named on p. 422. The Board of Studies is composed of the recognized teachers, with some co-opted members. For 1904 it will be composed as follows: King's College 5 members, Highbury 2, New and Hackney (jointly) 3, Cheshunt 2, Richmond 2, Regent's Park 2, University College (for Assyriology) 1. The co-opted members are the Dean of Westminster and a Presbyterian, a Unitarian, and a Jewish scholar. The Board has been at work for three years, and the greatest harmony has prevailed. The selection of subjects has been made without difficulty, official appointments have been recommended by a happy combination of regard for personal qualifications and representative character. In this every member has acknowledged the indebtedness of the Board to the influence of its first chairman, the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Robertson, then Principal of King's College. The subjects of the degree course are the Old and New Testaments in the originals and in English, Biblical and Historical Theology, Church History, Philosophy of Theism, Christian Ethics, and Comparative Religion. Two examinations for the B.D. have been held, with five and eight successful candidates respectively. It has proved possible in all these subjects to construct papers to which no exception on grounds of controversy has been taken, and the University considers, we believe, that the advocates for the inclusion of Theology have amply justified their contention that the University would be strengthened by the recognition of a Theological side. At the same time, the supporters of the denominational principle may, we think, fairly claim that their principle is justified; for while the University supervises the common area of Christian Theology, the separate colleges are left free to give their own instruction in particular doctrines and Church history and Pastoralia, over and above what falls within the scope of the degree course. But all this is only a part of what religious men must keep in mind; as yet only a beginning has been made. Theology stands separated from all the other studies, and at present no one takes up any portion

Digitized by Google

of it except young men preparing for the ministry, and all the constituent theological colleges are confined to such students except King's.

If, now, a Churchman asks, How does the existence of the new University affect the advice to be given to a young man who expresses a desire to take Holy Orders? We should bring the considerations above advanced to bear as follows: (1) Can this young man afford to go to Oxford or Cambridge, or are his abilities such that he could win substantial support there by scholarships or exhibitions? If so, he should go there. (2) Does he for good reason prefer to remain at home, or at any rate to stay in London? He will now find both teaching and academic recognition open to him, either at King's or Highbury; or (3) if he must continue to support himself by some remunerative occupation, and can give only a part of his time to his preparation, he can join evening classes at King's, and take the main portion of his preparation in that way—the whole, indeed, if need requires it; but, as a rule, one year of freedom to devote the whole time to preparation will continue to be advised. The fees, however, are far too high; and it is only this year that any exhibitions have been placed at the disposal of King's College: a liberal enlargement of resources in this direction is urgent. The new hostel has opened with great success, and the removal of its debt, with means to extend still farther, would be of signal advantage in helping young men of high character to think of taking Holy Orders, wholly apart from the necessity of having to provide for their support during the time of study from their own earnings or the assistance of friends.

But King's College ought to be in a position to do much more than provide a school for preparation for Holy Orders. It ought to be able to take a part worthy of the Metropolis in religious instruction as a factor in liberal education and in the advancement of religious knowledge, critical, historical, and constructive, and in application to the social and intellectual conditions of the life of a great city. In these studies college students mainly occupied in other faculties should have every opportunity of taking a share.

Digitized by Google

'King's College does not stand, and never has stood, for the subordination of learning and science to ecclesiastical control; but it believes in the power of religious influence in the building of moral character, and in the immense mutual gain which results from the vital contact of science, freely and disinterestedly pursued, with the practice of religion and the study of religious questions.'[1]

And, looking beyond, there is need of an organized system of lectures in higher religious knowledge at various points throughout London and the suburbs, on a plan for which the well-known University Extension Lectures system, with its seventy-eight lecture centres, gives suggestive guidance. Lectures on the Bible in Historical Theology, in Church history, in the philosophical and ethical sides of religion, in the history of early religions and the present great religions of the world, ought to be available for men and women all over London. The Diocesan Home Reading Union has made a commencement in this direction; but the three dioceses should be united in action for the purpose, and, of course, parochial co-operation should be enlisted. But a centre is needed, and that ought to be in the University, and, by right of its past history, at King's College. A large staff there, giving their whole time to the College for work partly within its walls, partly at the various lecture centres, would soon become a factor in diocesan organization that could not fail to be effective for good. In old days it was intended that there should be Divinity schools at two places at least in London: one to be worked by the Chapter of St. Paul's and one by that of Westminster Abbey. The present Chapters are honourably endeavouring to resume this work by the many lectures they are offering, in addition to the service of the pulpits. All this could be co-ordinated with the more regular and more widely extended work we have indicated for the University; and the Bishops of London, Rochester, and London-in-St.-Albans would be placed in a position to assure members of the Church of England that the intelligent study of religion, which is the duty of every thoughtful Christian, was available in every deanery of the three dioceses.

Further, for the advancement of Theology, the Church's

[1] *Official College Appeal for Endowment*, 1902.

Digitized by Google

college should be the natural home of such societies as the Society of Sacred Study (as regards its London branch), the Church Historical Society, and societies concerned with the study of religious principles as giving the basis for social and moral reforms, for the problems of missionary work, and for whatever else is specially dependent upon organized knowledge and systematic thought.

In all this there would be no thought of embarking upon controversial enterprise as between other Christian bodies and ourselves. In the new University we are now working side by side, and if any Nonconformists are reading these lines we hope that we are carrying their sympathy with us. What we contemplate as the future for ourselves we should welcome also for them: that so long as existing divisions exist their colleges should be strengthened for their present work, and extended to support their pulpits in the diffusion of religious knowledge in the Metropolitan area. And we suppose that they would not gainsay Churchmen's endeavours to take our part in the advancement of religious knowledge in the spirit of Hort's words: 'If we are wise now we may keep our position as the *standard* "denomination," though not as the *exclusive* one' (*Life*, ii. 95). It is in this way, and this way only, that it will be possible to work for the higher and deeper unity of the one Church, for which all Churches alike pray.

One other possible objection and we have done. In some reader's mind the thought will have arisen ere this point has been reached, that in the cause of religion the supreme aim is not the advance of knowledge in itself or its diffusion among individual men and women, but worship, activity, and personal holiness, and that for these the parochial and diocesan institutions already provide; if inadequately, then it is they which need all the resources and supplies. We cannot here enter upon so great an argument as this objection raises. We simply assert, and must leave the statement to make its own impression, that when religion is to be the motive power either in personal life or in social activity it cannot proceed far if we are in ignorance of the conditions of human well-being and the true sources of human happiness:

Digitized by Google

we cannot ignore the fact that the history of religion abounds with periods of stagnation and error, and its record is marked by catastrophes due to partial or distorted interpretations of the ways of Divine activity both in Nature and Providence, and, not least, in the interpretation of the Gospel itself. It cannot be taken for granted that the formulations of doctrine or rules of life which the living mind of the Christian community has formed in the past have nothing of value, and may now be dispensed with. Men have to recognize the frequent fruitlessness of unenlightened good intentions, and in the bitterness of disappointment to acknowledge, later if not sooner, that religious intention unguided by religious knowledge, feeling divorced from intelligence, cannot do the work the Christian Church requires, either for personal progress or for the advancement of the Gospel.

To the Churchmen of London, therefore, and of the kingdom and empire, as all concerned with the metropolis, but of London in particular, as a city with its own life to provide for, we commend the cause of religious study in the reorganized University, asking that it be made far stronger where it already exists, and be widely extended in its scope and power.

It is claimed by Germans that while the development of thought in France has been irreligious, their own Aufklärung has been, and is, essentially religious. Which is ours to be, so far as London is concerned? A strong body of religious teachers, a much increased supply of men prepared by a thorough training for Holy Orders, and the highest religious instruction and guidance offered at many centres throughout the city and suburbs, would enable the Church in London to make all that the new knowledge in history, criticism, philosophy, and the sciences is bringing before men to be not an obstacle and a cause of suspicion to so many religiously disposed minds, but fresh ground wherein men may see the realm of natural life transformed into the Kingdom of God.

Digitized by Google

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—Church History and Liturgies.

The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar according to the Coptic Rite. By the Rev. G. Horner. (London : Harrison, 1902.)

This edition of the service used in Egypt at the consecration of a church is the result of a visit paid a few years ago by the Bishop of Salisbury to the Coptic Patriarch. The fine fourteenth-century manuscript whereupon the present text is based was presented to the bishop as a memorial of that occasion, and was by him placed in the hands of Mr. Horner, whose invaluable edition of the Bohairic Gospels indicated him as especially fitted to be its editor. Mr. Horner gave a preliminary account of the manuscript and the rite in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. xxi. (1899).

The text is practically the same as that published for the Propaganda by Tuchi in the eighteenth century ; but with the difference that, while the Roman text is necessarily adapted to the use of the Latinised Copts, the Bishop of Salisbury's manuscript preserves, as one would expect, undeniable Jacobite features, which the editor, however, seems inclined to regard rather as interpolations. A notable feature of the rite is the very large place given to the lessons. There are over twenty of these, and though individually not of great length, they have a high independent value, since several of them are taken from books which the Egyptian Church has not otherwise preserved, *e.g.* Joshua, Judges, Kings, and Chronicles. The importance of these passages did not escape Lagarde, who edited a separate selection of them.

The prayers are of considerable beauty, and have lost little in Mr. Horner's felicitous translations. The incidental hymns are, with two exceptions, not given, their titles only being indicated by rubrics. They appear, like most of the *troparia* found in the Bohairic (that is, the later) liturgies, to be taken from the *Theotokia*. Some curious rubrics, indicating the accompanying ritual, are given at greater length in the descriptions of this rite by contemporary Arabic writers —notably by Ibn Sabbâʿ,[1] whence presumably the details given by Vansleb[2] were taken. The symbolical meaning, for instance, ascribed there to the use of the herb *silq* and of a gourd cup in the aspersions, is that the former was the plant found growing in the

[1] Kitâb el-jauharah el-nafîsah, Cairo, 1902. [2] *Histoire*, p. 219.

Digitized by Google

garden around Christ's tomb, and that the latter is a reminiscence of God's mercy to Jonah, whom He caused the gourd to shade.

Besides the Bohairic texts, Mr. Horner has printed the Arabic translation which accompanies them. He has further given a complete collation of part of Tuchi's text and a sufficient though less exhaustive one of the remainder. He has also collected several references to consecrations to be found in Egyptian literature. To these might perhaps be added the wholly different directory of lessons and homilies for the 'Saturday and Sunday of a church consecration' which was in use in the great Sinuthian monastery,[1] though these possibly refer rather to an anniversary service. Finally, it may be observed that the Arabic of the closing colophon (p. 503) leaves no doubt[2] as to which monastery is intended by the strange name of 'Pitetroas.' It is that of St. George, mentioned also in the catalogues of notable churches and monasteries.[3]

There are plenty of Bohairic liturgies—not to mention the more interesting and hitherto neglected Sa'idic remnants—still awaiting adequate publication. It is to be hoped that when their turn arrives they may fall into hands as competent as those of Mr. Horner.

The Testament of Our Lord. Translated into English from the Syriac. By J. COOPER, D.D., and A. J. MACLEAN, M.A., F.R.G.S. Price 9*s*. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902.)

STUDENTS of ecclesiastical history will be glad to have an English version of this curious and perplexing apocryphal work, and they will find in this volume very material assistance towards the understanding of the text. The volume contains, in addition to the English version of the Testament, an Introduction, about one hundred pages of very valuable illustrative and explanatory notes, two appendices (containing a translation of Ludolf's Latin Abyssinian *Anaphora*, and the last chapter of the Arabic *Didascalia*), and full indices. In the forty-two pages of Introduction we have a clear statement of the nature of the Testament, an account of the manuscripts and of the cognate literature, and some discussion of the date and place of writing. The editors are inclined to assign it to a date about 350 A.D., and to Asia Minor. The translation seems to be a scholarly and accurate piece of work. An exacting critic might perhaps wish for a more close agreement with the original in the first few pages—*e.g.* p. 49, read 'and' before 'it came to pass,' and

[1] See *MSS. coptes du Musée de Leyde*, p. 155.
[2] See p. ix. [3] Amélineau, *La Géographie*, p. 580.

Digitized by Google

'our Lord Jesus' for 'Jesus our Lord': p. 50, l. 5, 'or' for 'and'; l. 12, omit 'and'; l. 15, 'and' for 'who'; p. 51, l. 4, 'and we returned answer' for 'we answered'; p. 52, l. 4, 'haters of' for 'who hate'; p. 52, l. 11, insert 'evil' after 'devices'; p. 56, l. 17, insert 'shall be' after 'woe,' &c. &c. But these are very small points, and the translation in general seems to have been carefully executed. The notes are full of information. On p. 50, l. 12, reference should be made to St. Matt. xiii. 52, and on p. 49 to St. Matt. xix. 28 (Pshitta) for 'new world.' On p. 144 for the appearance to Matthew reference might be made to Lagarde's *Didascalia*, p. 89, l. 1.

The Symbol of the Apostles. By the Very Rev. A. MacDonald, D.D., Vicar-General of the Diocese of Antigonish, Nova Scotia. (New York, 1903.)

There is some vigorous criticism in this small volume, which consists mainly of articles republished from the *Ecclesiastical Review*. It is written in a breezy American style, with somewhat startling headings, such as 'A Boomerang,' where the writer wishes to prove that one of Dr. Swainson's arguments recoils on himself. Dr. MacDonald has read some of the recent books on the subject,[1] but not enough. He appears to know Kattenbusch's book only at second hand,[2] and he tries—we cannot but think, in vain—with a limited command of the materials, to resuscitate the theory of the Apostolic origin of the Apostles' Creed in its old-Roman form. He argues with assurance that the *Disciplina arcani* explains everything, that it is useless to look for precise quotations of the term in the New Testament or the Apostolic Fathers, because all the allusions are veiled. He does not seem to realize the boldness of his assumption (p. 267) that 'the formulary which has ever been the basis of catechetical instruction in the Church must have come into existence' at the time when the Apostles began to preach the Gospel to every creature. But his tone is sincere, and some of his criticisms are just.

The Catechetical Oration of Gregory of Nyssa. Edited by J. H. Srawley. (Cambridge: University Press, 1903.)

Mr. Srawley's article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (vol. iii. No. 11) on the text of the *Oratio Catechetica*, has prepared us to find in this edition incomparably the most trustworthy text that has yet been published. He has collated in full, or examined in doubtful passages, all the earliest MSS. of the treatise, to the number of sixteen, and has printed the variations under the text which he has

[1] *E.g.* those of Harnack, Zahn, Burn, McGiffert.

[2] Through the *Church Quarterly Review* notice, October 1902.

Digitized by Google

chosen. Very seldom, we think, would any competent scholar be disposed to call in question his judgment between the different readings. Krabinger's edition of 1838, of which Mr. Srawley speaks with all due respect, is now left far behind.

In the Introduction the general character of the treatise, its date, genuineness, and literary history are ably handled, and the special features of Gregory's thought and teaching are clearly set out. The statement of his doctrine of the Eucharist is specially valuable. Gregory's authority cannot be justly claimed for the doctrine of transubstantiation, but he certainly teaches a real change of some kind in regard to the elements. Mr. Srawley, with some help from Dr. Pusey and later scholars, has mastered the rather intricate questions of terminology that are involved, and presents the facts firmly and surely.

The value and the great interest, both historical and absolute, of the *Oratio Catechetica*, exhibiting as it does at least the outlines of a theological system—a link between Origen and John of Damascus—are well known. Mr. Srawley has done good service to the cause of exact theology by his complete and accurate edition, in which he gives all the help and guidance that are needed for the understanding of the argument, and the elucidation of the many difficulties of expression which the student of Gregory has to face—although Photius could describe his style as 'charming and lucid and distilling drops of pleasure in the ear.' The volume is entirely worthy to stand side by side with Dr. Mason's excellent edition of the *Theological Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus* in the same series. We hope that Mr. Srawley will continue his work and give us, perhaps, editions of other treatises of Gregory of Nyssa, such as the *Quod non sint tres dii*, and the *De communibus notionibus*.

Life of Ulrich Zwingli. By SAMUEL SIMPSON. Price 5*s*. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903.)

So far as the mere collection of the facts goes, this is a careful life of Zwingli. The writer has evidently spared neither time nor trouble in pursuit of accurate information about his hero. Hero, we say, because the book is rather a biography of Zwingli than a history of the Reformation in German Switzerland, of which Zwingli was the central figure. No one can study that history, indeed, without soon confessing that Zwingli was a fine, bold, honest man, as fearless as Luther, a better scholar, and more self-controlled. Mr. Simpson takes advantage of the contrast; and the pages in which he works it out are the best in the book. But there are serious blots. These arise partly from want of familiarity with certain aspects, parti-

Digitized by Google

cularly theological, of his own subject, partly from lack of acquaintance with the region round it. For example, it is scarcely true theologically to say that Zwingli 'was not so dominated by any one truth,' as was Luther by his tenet of justification by faith. Both, indeed, professed to draw their doctrine from the Bible only; but the system which Zwingli drew from it flows as directly from the conception of the absoluteness of the Divine sovereignty with which he approached the Scriptures as does Luther's system from his central 'gospel.' Such expressions again as 'the corporeal presence of Christ in the Supper as held by the Catholic Church, and in a modified form by Luther,' or 'Luther's compromise theory of the Real Presence,' are not discriminating enough to be of much value; and the history of controversy, which is only of value for the healing of divisions to which it should lead, depends upon exactness of statement.

Again, in examining the author's general acquaintance with the period, it is curious to read of Dominican and Franciscan *monks*, of nuns as engaged in 'repeating Latin masses,' and yet as 'utterly cut off from all Gospel privileges'; and there is a touch of exaggeration, evincing the incapacity to understand a system of one who has no sympathy with it, in the description of cathedrals as 'having long since succumbed to the allurements of mediæval sloth.' Further, besides such blots, there are grave omissions. Nothing is said of two points vital to a just appreciation of Zwingli's work: the non-representative character of the Diet, which explains the disfigurement of Zwingli's reformation by the violent methods of an unrepresented political minority, and the deliberate repudiation by the Zürichers of their Bishop's authority on October 28, 1523, of which von Ranke writes: 'Thus did Zürich sever itself from the bishopric . . . and undertook to found a new form of Church Government on . . . the basis of the Commune or Congregation.' An American should have been the last to overlook this first enunciation of a principle, rooted in his own civil polity, that sovereignty is from below. It is the key to his sympathy with his hero, and also to their common breach with historic Christianity. Mr. Simpson is a laborious worker, not an unpleasing writer, but scarcely a safe or a thorough guide.

A Compendium of the Canon Law, for the Use of the Clergy and Theological Students of the Church in Scotland. By PHILIP H. LEMPRIERE, LL.D. Price 6*s.* 6*d.* (Edinburgh: St. Giles Printing Co.; London and Oxford: Mowbray, 1903.)

DR. LEMPRIERE'S compact little book of Institutes has a wider value than his title indicates. Designed for the use of the Scottish clergy, and dealing in detail with their local conditions, it is at the same

Digitized by Google

time no bad introduction to the general study of Canon Law. Indeed, that much tried remnant the Scottish Church is in a singularly favourable condition for encouraging the scientific treatment of the subject. It has been forced back on general principles, to which it has loyally endeavoured, for the most part with success, to conform in its particular regulations. It lives in a civil community endowed with legal forms and procedure which are near akin to those adopted by the Church. Scottish law is closely related to the Roman Civil Law, and the Institutes of Erskine, to which Dr. Lempriere constantly refers for legal principles, have much more in common with canonical jurisprudence than, for example, Blackstone's *Commentaries*. This is notably the case in regard to the weight attached to judicial precedents, the exaggerated importance of which in English jurisprudence has reacted dangerously on the English Ecclesiastical Courts. Dr. Lempriere quotes Erskine on this subject in a sense to which every canonist would subscribe. We have noted some inaccuracies in detail, which are mostly due to that lack of the historic sense which is a standing danger alike to canonists and to all other lawyers; but they are not serious, and one does not go to a Compendium of Canon Law for history. It is just, by the way, to observe that Dr. Lempriere has read Professor Maitland's Essays, and notes their conclusions in his Appendix, though he seems too much devoted to traditional theory to admit them into his text.

A History of the American Church. To the Close of the Nineteenth Century. By the Right Rev. L. COLEMAN, S.T.D., LL.D., Bishop of Delaware. (Oxford Church Text Book Series.) Price 1*s.* net. (London: Rivingtons, 1903.)

THIS is an excellent addition to an excellent series. The Bishop has made the most of his restricted space, and has borne in mind that he may expect readers both in England and America. It is perhaps not wrong to say that the two greatest points of interest in the American Church turn round the names of Seabury and the Wesleys; but there are other instructive matters which deserve attention, and among them the influence of the Oxford Movement, the history of the use of the *Quicunque Vult*, the general topic of Prayer Book revision, and the progress of American missionary enterprise.

History of the Church and State in Norway from the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century. By T. B. WILLSON, M.A. With Map and Illustrations. (Westminster: Constable and Co., 1903.)

ENGLISH readers know something of early Norwegian history from Carlyle's sketches, from popular histories like that of Boyesen, and

Digitized by Google

still more from the intimate connexion of early British history with the North. But no one, as the author points out, has yet attempted a survey of Norwegian Church History for English readers. On the other hand, Scandinavian and German writers from Munch and Keyser down to A. Taranger, have fully recognised and described what the last-named author's book deals with directly, the influence of the Anglo-Saxon Church upon the Norwegian. 'Christianity over the whole of Norway,' says Keyser, 'both in respect of the permanent conversion of the people and ecclesiastical organization, proceeded exclusively from England; in other words, the Norwegian Church was wholly and completely a daughter of the English Church.' And not only so, but, as Mr. Willson says, her only daughter in Europe. We may therefore heartily welcome the present work, which supplies so notable a deficiency.

The book is well printed, illustrated, and thoroughly readable. It was inevitable that for English readers an outline of political history should be added to the purely ecclesiastical chronicle, and therefore Mr. Willson relinquished his previous purpose of translating the work by Bishop Bang of Christiania, *A Survey of the History of the Norwegian Church in pre-Reformation Times*, and wisely decided to write a book of his own. To us Englishmen it is full of interest. The first Christian King of Norway, son of the fair-haired Harold, who exiled Rolf the Ganger and so indirectly caused the Norman Conquest, was reared at the court of Athelstan, and there baptized. He was unable to induce his countrymen to accept his faith, though he is said to have invited a bishop from England. Mr. Willson discusses in an appendix the question whether this was the 'Sigefridus Norwegensis episcopus' mentioned by William of Malmesbury, and leaves it an open question; but it seems very unlikely.

Some slight influence on the south of the country seems to have been exercised by the Church of Bremen; but the conversion of Norway was the work of Olaf, son of Trygve, and his relative St. Olaf, whose canonization took place soon after his death, when his body was found to have resisted corruption and he became the chief patron saint of Norway. No fewer than eleven churches were dedicated to him in England during the eleventh century, generally in the Danish settlements. Over his remains the chief church of Nidaros, the later Trondhjem, was erected. Mr. Willson does not seem to us to have allowed sufficiently for the possibility that the two Olafs have been much confused by later tradition. If he had consulted the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* of Vigfusson and York Powell, he would have greatly benefited by the admirable historical

Digitized by Google

notes, and would have seen that there are two strata in the Sagas, of which the less authentic consists of late and probably ecclesiastical legends attributing shocking cruelties to both Olafs in the extirpation of heathenism. If St. Olaf and St. Hallvard his cousin (whose claim to saintship is, as Mr. Willson says, peculiar) were natives, our isles had already supplied a female patroness in St. Sunniva, the Irish princess, whose death on the island of Selje provided a martyr for the as yet non-existent Norwegian Church. All through the eleventh century English influence was paramount in the organization of the Church, the formation of dioceses, and the consecration of bishops, the claim of authority over the North from the Archbishop of Bremen being stoutly resisted, though fortified by papal briefs. In fact, Mr. Willson admirably puts the similarity of the Norwegian Church to the English thus:

'The bishops and clergy were very far from being the well-drilled and disciplined ecclesiastical force which the papacy had organized in other parts of Europe. They were ready enough to conform in matters of doctrine, but there was amongst them a strong feeling of dislike to any kind of foreign interference, which was most characteristic of the national spirit, and which was often manifested in England as well, from which country the clergy were largely recruited.'

But as if English influence were always to be dominant in whatever direction, what brought Norway into line with the papal army was the mission of our English Pope, Cardinal Nicholas Breakspeare (Adrian IV.), in 1152.

The subsequent fortunes of kings and archbishops, the claims of the Church rising to high-water mark with the great Archbishop Eystein, and vigorously opposed by the usurper Sverre, the strange anarchy when claimants to the throne constantly appeared offering to submit to the ordeal to prove that they were illegitimate sons of previous monarchs, are well told by Mr. Willson.

The fourteenth century saw the end of Norway's prosperity. The Black Death was a scourge as severe in Norway as in England, but the poorer and more mountainous country could not so easily recover. Its effects were palpable at the very end of the fourteenth century. The union of Kalmar, too, took the life out of the nation and made it a province of Denmark. Danish kings without a drop of Norwegian blood in them, and courtiers equally rapacious, eagerly seized on the German Reformation as an excuse for plunder. As Mr. Willson says, with absolute truth, there was no Reformation movement in Norway whatever. The actors in the movement are all equally contemptible, the wretched Christian II., the victim of an unscrupulous low Dutchwoman, the Church-

Digitized by Google

destroyer, Eske Bilde, the crafty Bishop Hans Reff, who was reinstated as evangelical superintendent, and the blasphemous Bugenhagen, who, on receiving a present from Pedersson, whom he set apart as superintendent in Norway, said, 'Nonne decem mundati sunt, et nemo reversus est nisi hic alienigena.' So closes the history so pleasantly sketched for us by Mr. Willson. To the close of the thirteenth century it is to us of great interest. With the battle of Largs and the death of Haakon, the story ceases to have its special charm for English readers. Might we suggest that it would be useful to have an appendix on the subsequent religious history of Norway? Some interest attaches to the genuine attempt to 'build the waste places' under Christian IV., and since 1814 religious interests have been well cared for. A table of the chief events, with dates, would also make the book much more easy to follow. It thoroughly deserves a second edition.

The Book of Common Prayer. Its Scriptural Foundation and its suitability to the needs of Public Worship. By the Rev. H. Pole, M.A. Price 5*s*. (London : Skeffington, 1902.)

We gladly welcome another book from Mr. Pole, and one that is likely to increase true affection for the Prayer Book. Moreover its appearance is timely, for without being merely the praisers of the bygone times we are convinced that the simple plan of sticking to the Prayer Book is not so common now as it was in the days of Butler of Wantage. Mr. Pole gives excellent addresses on the history of the Prayer Book, its fidelity to the great fundamental principles of public worship, its use of Holy Scripture and especially of the Psalms, the Scriptural character of the Creeds, the provision of the Prayer Book for moral teaching and for the training of the young, the richness of the appointed prayers, the variety of the services, the importance of the Prayer Book cycle as reproducing our Lord's life and teaching, and of the Kalendar as proposing the Lord's disciples for our imitation. These and many other advantages of liturgical services are described so as to promote our heartiest love for the treasures which are enshrined in our authorized formulary of public devotion.

Rome and Reform. By T. L. Kington Oliphant. 2 vols. Price 21*s*. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

The title of this book would lead one to expect a discussion of some such theme as the attitude of the Roman Church towards reforming movements, whether inside or outside of herself. The author apparently has no doubts about the matter; for his preface opens with the words, 'Ranke's great work upon the same subject.' On

Digitized by Google

penetrating further into the book we discover that it consists of a series of sketches of the history, from the Reformation period down to the present time, of those European countries which have tried the experiments in religion of Romanism or Reform, with the results in each case. Russia and Turkey are naturally excluded, but Switzerland is a curious omission, for there the rival experiments and results might be compared in a peculiarly interesting way. Perhaps the literature of this part of the subject was found to be too complicated, for Mr. Oliphant is not a first-hand historian. His work represents a vast amount of reading, and, as his guides are generally well recognized authorities, he seldom goes wrong in important matters of fact. A book of this kind is not to be judged by the errors in minor details which are sure to occur in a field so wide and various as that of European history during the last four hundred years. But it is one thing to avoid mistakes in facts, and another to give unity and clearness of argument to the treatment of even so definite an issue as that of showing that Reform is right and Rome is wrong, which is the avowed purpose of this book. In the multitude of his facts the writer is by no means always successful in doing this, and the result is that a confused impression and a feeling of wonder as to what it all means is occasionally left in the mind of the reader. Naturally this is especially the case where the story is most complicated, as, for instance, with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Yet even here we might compare this book, to its disadvantage, with the late Mr. Wakeman's much less pretentious volume, *The Ascendency of France*, where the same story is told, and practically the same moral is drawn, with a lucidity and unity not less admirable than the judicious impartiality of the treatment.

Mr. Oliphant, it must be allowed, does not fail in the matter of impartiality, and he sets forth clearly the shortcomings of Protestantism in Germany and Scandinavia. Moreover his account of France is generally free from the defects to which we have just called attention, and is perhaps the best written and the most important section of the book. With his general conclusions we have no wish to quarrel: indeed, the facts of history speak for themselves. But Mr. Oliphant is by no means always up to date in his controversial methods. It is not by confuting writers of the date and style of Balmes, as he is at pains to do elaborately, that the Roman system will be beaten in argument at the present day. He is fond, perhaps too fond, of explaining everything by the Jesuits; and again, he waxes indignant over 'the miracles of Loretto and St. Januarius, which are still devoutly insisted upon.' It is a curious reflection that at the present time it is a Jesuit (and he is not alone in his Society)

Digitized by Google

who is one of the most prominent among the destructive critics of relics which for centuries have been the objects of the authorised devotion of the Roman Catholic world.

Description du Speculum Vitae Beati Francisci et Sociorum ejus. Par PAUL SABATIER (Paris : Librairie Fischbacher, 1903).

Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani in Assisi. 1. *Origine e Costitutuzione*, 1902. 2. *Catalogo delle Pergamene e degli antichi Autografi dell' Archivio comunale di Assisi*, 1903.

THE stream of publications connected with the Franciscan movement, which has been so remarkable a feature of historical literature during the last few years, still shows no signs of running dry. We have received from M. Paul Sabatier the sixth (and final) fasciculus of the first volume of his *Opuscules de Critique Historique*. It consists of a minute and careful study of the curious compilation entitled *Speculum Vitae Beati Francisci et Sociorum ejus*, first published in 1504, and again in 1509, and now extremely rare. Even a cursory inspection sufficed to show that it was probably a combination of the two early works whose titles seemed to be merged in its title, viz. the *Speculum Perfectionis* and the *Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum ejus* ; but anything like an exact dissection was impossible until the texts of these two writings had been critically edited. This has now been done by M. Sabatier himself ; and a full description of the *Speculum Vitæ*, disintegrating it into its constituent parts, follows in due course. The result is that it is now clear that the compiler set to work to fuse together the *Speculum* and the *Actus*, though on no very definite plan, and that he added, wherever it seemed to follow best, a few of the most interesting sections from the writings of St. Francis, the Portiuncula *Indulgence*, Lives of Brothers Egidio, Elias and Juniper, the *Legenda Vetus*, and a collection of *exempla*. The unearthing of these fragments is of course the most interesting result of M. Sabatier's work ; how valuable they may prove the future only can show. But whatever their value may turn out ultimately to be, M. Sabatier is to be congratulated on the fulfilment of another section of his laborious and admirable examination of the materials for the history of the Franciscan movement.

The *Origine e Costituzione* contains the Report of the Council on the first year's work of the Society of Franciscan Studies at Assisi, with an account of the First Annual Meeting (with speeches by Count Alessandro Roncelli, *sindaco* of Assisi, M. Paul Sabatier, and Canon Rawnsley), a list of the members, and a list of gifts to the library. The fact that so much has been done in so short a time is a remarkable testimony to the widespread interest

Digitized by Google

which is felt at the present day in matters connected with Saint Francis.

Not less remarkable, in several ways, is the Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Communal Library at Assisi, which is the first literary work to be put forth by the Society. It has been compiled by Signor Alfonso Brizi. In itself it is a good piece of work; but the most remarkable thing is the fact that such a catalogue can be compiled at all. That a little city of the size of Assisi should possess no less than 535 manuscript documents in its library, in addition to many volumes of archives, is extraordinary, especially when we find that they have not been acquired by confiscations from monasteries &c., as would probably be the case in France, but are all documents pertaining to Assisi itself. Nowhere out of Italy would such a thing be possible; and even in Italy it could only be possible where there were special circumstances to give dignity or importance to the place. Here, of course, St. Francis is the centre of everything; and a very large proportion of the documents are either indirectly or directly connected with the fact that he had been born there, and that there, in the headquarters of the Order which took its name from him, his body still lay.

Christianity and Modern Civilization, being chapters from modern European History, with an introductory dialogue on the Philosophy of History. By WILLIAM SAMUEL LILLY. Pp. xx. and 371. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1903.)

THIS book is a mixture of old and new. More than half of it consists of chapters printed in 1886 and forming part of the work called *Chapters in European History*. To these are now added three essays, reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century*, and one on the 'Age of the Martyrs,' which is new. In a book made up in this way we cannot look for the coherence of a formal historical treatise. A unity of idea, however, binds together the whole. In the first essay the author pleads for the spiritual interpretation of history, and maintains that the moral development of mankind under the guidance of religion is the key to history: 'the first great lesson history teaches us, from the collected experiences of our race, is that man lives under the law of progress which is the striving after perfection, and of which the highest expression is the quest of the All-Perfect. "*Fecisti nos ad te*," says Saint Augustine.'

The following chapters are an attempt to illustrate the working of this truth in certain portions of history, and contain an exposition of the part taken by Christianity, and especially by the Roman Church, in the building up of modern civilization. The writer deals

Digitized by Google

successively with the 'nascent Church,' the 'Age of the Martyrs,' the 'Christian Revolution,' *i.e.* the revolution in the minds of men and the nature of society effected by the victory of the Church, a revolution which he illustrates chiefly by the writings of St. Augustine, and the 'Turning Point of the Middle Ages,' in which he attempts to prove that in the great struggle on Investitures, and by the strict enforcement of the decrees against the marriage of the clergy, Gregory VII. was not, as is often thought, enslaving Europe, but was freeing it from the tyranny of Feudalism. 'Had the spirituality been merged in the feudal system, had the priesthood become a caste . . . it is not too much to say that . . . this would have meant the extinction of the Church as a society, perfect and complete in itself, and with her the extinction of the great principles of which she was the sole representative in the world—the principles of the supremacy of law, of the freedom of conscience, of the real equality of men.'

If the book had fulfilled the promise of its title the author would have continued to sketch in broad outlines the history of European development, and shown how even in later times it was the Roman Catholic Church which had been the sole guardian of progress, freedom, and enlightenment. It is needless to say that had he done so, it would have gained infinitely in interest and value. He does not do so. He does not give us a chapter on the Reformation, on the Age of the Councils, on the Church and the Revolution. These omissions characterize all such collections of essays. They may be bound together in one volume, but they do not make a book. Not that the latter chapters of Mr. Lilly's work are without interest. Far from it; we have a very thoughtful and enlightening account of mediæval sacred poetry which we cordially recommend, and this is followed by an extremely interesting account of the procedure of the Inquisition extracted from a manual of its procedure, written at the beginning of the eighteenth century, from which better than from any hostile account one learns what the Inquisition really was. The inclusion of this chapter shows again that, as an apologist for Catholicism, Mr. Lilly wants neither courage nor candour, but while he quotes Döllinger as evidence that the policy of repression of heresy by the sword in the Middle Ages was necessary for the preservation of civilization, here also we miss a clear exposition of his attitude towards the obstinate adherence to these methods by the Roman Church down to quite modern times. The book concludes with a chapter on 'Holy Matrimony,' of which the note is that 'the only real witness in the world for the absolute character of Holy Matrimony is the Catholic Church.' It is a vigorous and slashing maga-

Digitized by Google

zine article on modern divorce laws, with special reference to the United States, but was more suitable to the pages of a magazine than to inclusion in what purports to be a serious work of history.

There is necessarily much in the book with which we disagree. Yet it may be commended as one which, albeit unequal and incomplete, deals with the great problems of history with learning, ingenuity and genuine spontaneous thought.

The Jesuits in Great Britain: An Historical Inquiry into their Political Influence. By WALTER WALSH, F.R.H.S. Price 7*s.* 6*d.* net. (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1903.)

THIS is a readable controversial work seeking to shew that, inasmuch as the record of Jesuit history is treachery, deceit and treason, and inasmuch as this record is approved by modern English Jesuits, England to-day is in danger from their political plots. Mr. Walsh proves his points chiefly by the citation of the opinions of Catholics contemporary and modern. As a historical indictment of the Jesuits the book has, we think, serious faults. It is based almost entirely upon the opinions of men who, though Catholics, were so fanatically hostile to the Order that their opinions do not seem to us quite valid evidence. Had these opinions been those of more unprejudiced witnesses (if any such exist), or had Mr. Walsh given a simple narrative of the uncontroverted facts about the Jesuit mission in England, his book would be more convincing. Although he has shewn much industry in gathering citations, we are not of the opinion that he has justified his statement that he has used 'extensively' the new material now open, and we think that he has seriously erred in neglecting to use the new material for correcting the narrative history of the Order, and in ignoring almost altogether the wealth of manuscript material especially, which is now accessible upon the subject.

II.—OLD TESTAMENT.

The World before Abraham, according to Genesis I.–XI., with an Introduction to the Pentateuch. By H. G. MITCHELL, Professor in Boston University. (Westminster: Constable and Co., 1901.)

THIS book is written in response to 'a demand for commentaries on Genesis written in the light of the results of the most recent researches into its age and structure.' The introduction deals with the question of the structure of the Pentateuch as a whole; then follow an analysis and translation of Gen. i.–xi., the different sources

Digitized by Google

of the narrative being indicated by varied types; while the bulk of the book is occupied with an explanatory commentary upon these eleven chapters. An appendix gives the text of the Babylonian account of the Deluge. The writer certainly deserves high praise for the thoroughness of his conspectus of the theories which have been advanced as to the composition of the Pentateuch and the lucidity of his treatment within very brief compass of so complex a subject. It may be questioned, however, whether, considering the class of student for whom the book is intended, it would not have been wiser to have confined the discussion to the reasonably assured results of criticism, and thus to have gained space for a more detailed statement of the evidence upon which these are based. The writer's summary of the stages by which the Pentateuch was built up represents in substance the view which is ordinarily accepted by critics, viz.

'that J originated about 850, and E about 800 B.C.; that the two, having been more or less revised and enlarged, were united into a composite document before 639 B.C.; that D, which was discovered in 621 B.C., but must have been written some time before and revised in the reign of Manasseh, was incorporated with J E early in the Captivity; and that the Pentateuch was practically completed by the addition of P, a product of the first half of the fifth century B.C., before 444, if not before 458, the date of Ezra's appearance in Palestine.'

The objection that it is 'a thing incredible' that the Pentateuch should be such a patchwork as it is represented by the documentary hypothesis is happily met by comparison of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, the narrative of the storm upon the Sea of Galilee being cited in full, with the use of different types to indicate the different sources, Mark, Luke, and Matthew.

The textual commentary is as full as need be, and forms a storehouse of reference to authorities which has been brought well up to date, and will be found invaluable to the student. It is much to be hoped that Mr. Mitchell will undertake for the remainder of the book of Genesis that which he has so efficiently accomplished for chapters i.–xi.

Six Lectures on the Book of Genesis as the Primary Evangel. By James Green, D.D., Dean of Maritzburg. (London: Rivingtons, 1902.)

The standpoint of the venerable writer of these lectures is similar to that of the late Mr. Andrew Jukes, whose work on *The Types of Genesis* was at one time widely popular. 'In Genesis,' writes Mr. Jukes, 'is hid all scripture, as the tree is in the seed'; and

Digitized by Google

Dean Green's aim is to exhibit, in a kind of spiritual drama, 'man's position on earth as God's vicegerent.' His exposition of the narratives of Genesis is in fact mystical and devotional, and will perhaps appear unsatisfying to those who have habituated themselves to the strictly 'critical' view of the Old Testament literature. It may indeed be fairly objected that pious fancy is too often indulged in a book of this kind, as when Dean Green asserts that 'The Light of the Spirit of God which dwelt within' Adam and Eve 'shone through their bodies and surrounded them with a light so pure, so bright, that, as in the case of the Israelites in regard to Moses, the animal creation was afraid to come nigh them,' &c. Our own feeling is that the Dean would have done well to follow Mr. Jukes's method more closely, and to adhere to the general principles of interpretation observed by the patristic commentators on Genesis—Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory. Nevertheless, the lectures will be found suggestive, in spite of their limitations; and since it is doubtless true that the Book of Genesis (as Canon Girdlestone has said) 'contains those ideas of God and man, of righteousness and judgment, of responsibility and moral government, of failure and hope, which are presupposed through the rest of the Old Testament,' it is not fanciful to discover in these primitive and sacred narratives 'the Primary Evangel.'

The Bible True from the Beginning. By EDW. GOUGH, B.A. (Lond.). Vol. VIII. Price 16*s.* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1903.)

THE enormous work, of which this volume forms an instalment, is a melancholy example of misapplied ingenuity. It would be paying Mr. Gough too high a compliment to class him among recognized 'mystical interpreters' of Holy Scripture. Indeed, we confess ourselves wholly unable to fathom his meaning in such a specimen of exegesis as the following. Writing of St. Matthew's account of the burial of our Lord, Mr. Gough says:

'Observe, that Matthew was writing of a burial on the Grade of Servants, but Mark is here writing of a burial on the Grade of Tongues. A man may have a hard and stony heart on the S. Grade, but he cannot have such a heart on the Grade of Tongues. In the latter case, the Stony Heart must have been taken away, and a clean and tender heart must have been given. This goes to show that this Rock of which Mark speaks is not Joseph's own heart, but that it is Christ, as a Spiritual Rock, who is in Zion (1 Pet. ii. 6).'

A similar remark, in explanation of the words 'On the Sabbath day they rested according to the commandment,' may be quoted:

Digitized by Google

'This is the inferior Sabbath which had begun to dawn even upon the ungodly. While, however, on the Intellectual Side, they rested in a legal fashion, on the Soulical Side they were ready for Godly Service. We read now of the first of the Sabbath. This expression shows that, Soulically, they pertain to Zion, and to the Sabbath with a Baptismal aspect.'

The present volume consists of upwards of 600 closely printed pages, of which the comments already quoted are fair samples. The writer has undoubtedly absorbed a vast amount of learning—of a sort. But he can scarcely be credited with sound judgment when he expresses the opinion that the New Testament was probably 'written by members of such a community as the Essenes.' Nor will Mr. Gough's fiery indignation against priestcraft, 'with its caste and trickery, its knick-nacks [*sic*] and slops'; against 'the triple-headed Cerberus of modern criticism'; and against 'an ecclesiastical Establishment so wedded to various forms of tyranny,' make amends, in the eyes of the great body of Congregationalists, for expressions which seem to deny the literal death, burial, and resurrection of our Lord. But it would perhaps be unfair to take Mr. Gough and his exegetical method at his own valuation. His work is an amazing monument of industry, but we gather from the Introduction that he is prepared to find it received with 'hostility, combined perhaps with indifference.' We regret to be unable to deny this probability.

A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious. By GEORGE AARON BARTON, A.M., Ph.D. Price 12*s.* 6*d.* net. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1902.)

STUDENTS of the primitive evolution of religion all have to acknowledge the great debt which is owed to the researches of the late Professor Robertson Smith in the field of Semitic origins. It is impossible to estimate the gain which might have accrued to this branch of knowledge had he lived to carry to completion the work which he began when he published his lectures on *The Religion of the Semites.* But at least he left behind him a solid basis of achievement and an example of method which was bound sooner or later to stimulate other scholars to equip themselves for the difficult task of following in his footsteps. Such a task has been undertaken by Professor Barton in the work which lies before us. It would be unreasonable, as it is unnecessary, to institute a comparison between this book and *The Religion of the Semites.* The field of research is immense, and the difficulties to be contended with enormous, and it is overmuch to demand that the disciple should be endued with a

Digitized by Google

double portion of the spirit of so great a master. Suffice it to say that Professor Barton has brought to his task such a wealth of knowledge and a power of arranging his facts and drawing his deductions as must make his book a work to be reckoned with by any future student of primitive Semitic religion.

In chapter i., entitled 'The Cradle of the Semites,' Professor Barton discusses the origin of the Semitic family. He accepts the theory of the original unity of the Hamites and Semites, and argues with considerable cogency that North Africa was the original home of this Hamito-Semitic stock, whence the Semitic branch migrated to Arabia. Chapter ii. deals with 'Primitive Semitic Social Life.' Here the view is advocated that the Semites, as far back as their separation from the Hamites, practised polyandry, and kinship was reckoned through the women. This introduces us to the main topic of the book, 'Semitic Religious Origins.' The writer commences chapter iii. with a brief summary of the results achieved by Professor Robertson Smith in *The Religion of the Semites*, which he assumes to hold the field as proved beyond dispute; and, while admitting that in most respects it is as yet impossible to advance beyond the position there taken, he thinks that 'in one respect, however, it is possible to carry the investigation farther than Smith did, and to determine the gender of the chief deities of the primitive Semites, the connexion of their gods with the social organization outlined in the preceding chapter, and some of the transformations wrought in the conception of their nature by changed economic conditions, migrations, and syncretism.' The writer's main point, then, is to prove that, just as primitive Semitic kinship appears to have been reckoned through the female, so the primitive Semitic deities were originally goddesses, and that, with the transformation from polyandry to the patriarchal system, there came a corresponding transformation in the conception of deity, the old mother goddess becoming a masculine deity and a father god, or, in certain cases, the conception of a female deity and her son passing over into that of a male deity and his consort. This Professor Barton seeks to work out, first, in the case of the Southern and Western Semites, then in that of the Babylonians. Finally, he attempts to prove the same for the religion of Israel, and argues at length that the later conception of Yahwe was a development by the same processes elsewhere traced, from the conception of a primitive mother goddess.

It is impossible within the limits of a short review to deal in detail with Professor Barton's arguments, and it would obviously be unjust to fix upon one or more isolated points as the subject of criticism. But it may be said generally that perusal of his work

Digitized by Google

leaves the reader with the impression that he has leapt to his conception of the development of Semitic religion through the observation of one or two more or less striking coincidences between primitive religious belief in Arabia and that which he takes to have been the primitive condition of Semitic society, and that he has his theory ready constructed before he casts about for evidence which may give it a universal application. It will be interesting to see what professed Assyriologists have to say with regard to Professor Barton's chapters on Babylonia. If the Babylonian religion presents us with a highly complicated polytheistic system as far back as documents enable us to trace, any attempt to get behind this and to theorize as to the existence of more primitive conceptions must surely be deemed precarious in the extreme.

It is probable that the confidence with which Professor Barton accepts and builds upon the theories of earlier scholars is to some extent misplaced. Thus, for example, the theory that Yahwe was originally simply a Kenite deity, first introduced to Israel at Sinai, and only then emerging from a crude and primitive conception such as is pictured by Professor Barton, is very likely to be modified in view of earlier and wider traces of the name, the existence of which is accepted by many competent authorities; and the view of the narrative of Exodus that Yahwe was reintroduced by Moses to the chosen people as the God of their fathers may come to be regarded as more in accordance with facts.

Hebrew Ideals from the Story of the Patriarchs, a Study of Old Testament Faith and Life. Part first (Gen. 12–25). By Rev. James Strachan, M.A. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902.)

Mr. Strachan describes his book as 'an attempt to give, not a critical analysis of documents, but a sympathetic interpretation of ideals.' He is no foe to criticism as applied to the Old Testament, but, on the contrary, he cites in his preface the best of modern critical works on Genesis—those of Dillmann, Delitzsch, Gunkel, and Ball, and doubtless he knows them, and has used them to good purpose. Recognizing, however, that criticism deals merely with the dry bones, he seeks to set before his readers the living soul of the narrative. Under such headings as 'Separation,' 'Blessedness,' 'Worship,' 'Truth,' he treats of salient incidents in the lives of the leading characters in Gen. 12–25, and points out, in language which at times rises to eloquence, how we may derive from these chapters lessons which hold true for all time.

Mr. Strachan's little book shows admirably what may be accom-

Digitized by Google

plished in the way of practical application of Old Testament teaching, and offers precisely the kind of work which is needed at the present time.

The Composition of the Hexateuch. By J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A., with an Appendix on Laws and Institutions by George Harford, M.A. Price 18*s.* net. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1902.)

It will be remembered that in 1900 there appeared an elaborate work on the Hexateuch, the most complete treatise on the subject in English. It consists of two volumes: the first contains an introduction by Mr. Estlin Carpenter and Mr. Harford-Battersby, the second gives the text of the Hexateuch in the Revised Version, arranged according to its constituent documents by the members of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology. The present volume is a reprint of Volume I. of the previous work, with additions and rearrangements. It furnishes an exhaustive summary, distinguished by a scholarship at once sober and minute, of the modern criticism of the Hexateuch. The method is to deal fully, one by one, with the principles upon which the critics have proceeded. We are shown historically how the clue was discovered, and when discovered how it was followed up. The author does not, however, treat us to a barren record of abandoned and superseded theories; for all the time he is building up the argument by a comparison of the documents with each other, and by a comparison of the documents with history, until he lands us at the position held by all competent modern scholars, from which it is not likely that they will be dislodged. The critical position thus established, the author goes on to examine minutely the different documents which compose the Hexateuch. He naturally starts with Deuteronomy: in virtue of its well defined character and place it can be easily isolated for literary purposes; then J, E, P, and the unclassified documents are submitted to a thorough investigation. We notice that Steuernagel's recent theory founded upon the use of the singular and plural in the addresses of Deuteronomy is examined, with the conclusion that 'the attempt to ascribe the whole book to a fusion of singular and plural sources in the discourses and laws cannot be sustained,' a conclusion which we believe to be fully justified in face of the indecisive character of the evidence alleged. The collections of characteristic phrases, the synopsis of laws and institutions, the conspectus of the codes, form an extremely valuable appendix to the volume, which the student will be constantly using for reference. Is this, then, the last word on the criticism of the Hexateuch? The volume professes

Digitized by Google

to deal mainly with the composition of the Six Books, and as a summary of the results of a criticism which may be defined as literary it will remain the standard authority in English. But a new critical departure has already started on its way; it is concerned not mainly with the literary facts—they are taken for granted—but with what lie behind them, the stories and symbolical histories in which certain critics are seeking, rightly or wrongly, to find the *origines* of Israel's beliefs. This new venture of criticism in the hands of sober investigators might well lead to greater knowledge. In the history of religion, as well as in the development of laws and institutions, the discoveries which hail from Babylonia and Arabia claim a recognition which they have hardly yet received; they will involve much patient reconstruction and adaptation of existing theories. This newer criticism may be studied in Gunkel's *Commentary on Genesis* and in many articles in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. It raises problems of a complexity hitherto undreamed of; and as it depends not only on the learning but on the imaginative divination of the critic its conclusions cannot be strictly verified. An open mind is more likely to arrive at the truth than controversy, and in the meanwhile no dogmatic utterances are justifiable.

Key to the Hebrew Psalter. By the Rev. G. A. Alcock. (London: Elliot Stock, 1903.)

This book consists of two vocabularies of words which occur in the Psalter, the one Hebrew-English, the other, based on the Authorised and Revised Versions, English-Hebrew. It is likely to make the way easy for beginners who are afraid to use the ordinary dictionaries and grammars. The treatment of the roots, their meanings and affinities, can hardly be called scientific; and we fancy that the usefulness of the book would have been increased if the forms of the verbs, or at least the more unusual ones, had been parsed. A teacher will probably hesitate to put this book into a pupil's hands, but any one who wants to teach himself will do well to use it.

Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings. By the Rev. C. F. Burney, M.A. Price 14*s*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.)

Mr. Burney is to be congratulated upon having produced an admirable piece of work, which, for its accomplished and accurate scholarship, does credit to the Oxford school of Hebraists. He has taken for his model Dr. Driver's *Notes on Samuel*, and has written a commentary worthy to rank beside his exemplar. The introduction gives a clear account of the structure of Kings, supported by detailed

Digitized by Google

evidence, and illustrates with copious examples the characteristics of the different versions. The critical use of the versions for the correction and elucidation of the text is a feature of Mr. Burney's book throughout. His treatment of the construction of the Temple and its furniture, and of the problems of chronology, seems to us thoroughly convincing. This is the kind of commentary which is most needed: it will stimulate the study both of the language and of the subject-matter of the Old Testament.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers. By GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY, M.A., D.D. (International Critical Commentary.) 8vo. Price 12*s*. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1903.)

A CRITICAL commentary on Numbers has long been a *desideratum*. The excellent commentary of Dillmann (1886) was accessible to those acquainted with German; but English students who did not possess this qualification were entirely without resource in studying the text of the book. Now, almost simultaneously with Holzinger's volume in Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum A.T.*, there has appeared Mr. Gray's commentary on Numbers in the *International Critical* series.

Scarcely higher praise can be accorded to this volume than by the statement that it is well worthy of the series in which it appears. The long list of abbreviations employed in the citation of authorities illustrates the author's industry in availing himself of all sources of information, and a study of the commentary at once shows the discrimination with which these sources have been used. While the author keeps himself within bounds in the discussion of points of interest in the text, he does not fail to add a very full series of references to the literature in which the subject in question may be further studied. As a good illustration we may cite the section, p. 43 *sqq*. which deals with the ordeal of jealousy—Numbers v. 11–31.

Since the volumes upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Joshua have not yet appeared, Mr. Gray's volume is the first of the series which has to deal in detail with the question of the documents of the Hexateuch. In a discussion of the sources, in § 6–13 of his introduction, he points out that 'the question of the origin of Numbers could only be adequately discussed in connexion with the wider question of the origin of the Pentateuch,' and he therefore postulates that 'much of what follows should be read in the light of, or supplemented by reference to, such works' on the composition of the books as those of Wellhausen, Driver, and Carpenter and Harford. While, however, the scope of his commentary does not allow the writer to treat generally of the composition of the Hexateuch, he finds in

Digitized by Google

Numbers abundant opportunity for illustration of the theory of the growth of the Hexateuch which may now be said to hold the field; and this not merely as regards discrimination of the main sources, J, E, and P, but also in the minuter distinctions between the main author of the History of Sacred Institutions known as P, and the secondary elements which, though belonging to the same priestly school, appear to be due to other hands than those of the main author. This is excellently illustrated in the analysis of the account of the rebellion of Korah, and of Dathan and Abiram. The analysis of J and E in the story of Balaam appears to be less successful; but this is a problem which has hitherto baffled the ingenuity of critics, and it is scarcely likely ever to meet with an entirely satisfactory solution.

The Book of Psalms, with Introduction and Notes. By A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D., Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge, Regius Professor of Hebrew. Books IV. and V.; Psalms XC.–CL. (The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.) 8vo. Price 2*s.* net. (Cambridge: University Press, 1901.)

THIS third volume completes Professor Kirkpatrick's valuable commentary on the Psalms, the first volume of which appeared in 1892, and the second in 1895. The introduction to the Psalms as a whole, which appeared first in vol. i., and was repeated unaltered in vol. ii., will be found in vol. iii. to have received considerable expansions and additions, and now occupies cxii pp. as against the lxxix pp. of the earlier volumes. Chapter iv., on 'the authorship and age of the Psalms,' has been enlarged, and the writer now explains very clearly why, in a discussion of the authorship of any particular Psalm,

'the answer must often be *non liquet*: and even when a Psalm appears to be connected with the circumstances of the life of a particular individual or period, the most that can be said is that the Psalm illustrates, or is illustrated by, that life or that period.'

On pp. li *sqq.* there will be found an important addition which deals with the theory of 'the collective "I"' of the Psalms, *i.e.* the opinion that 'in many Psalms which seem at first sight to be entirely personal and individual, the speaker is not an individual, but the nation or the godly part of it, the collective "servant of Jehovah."' Professor Kirkpatrick believes that the theory contains elements of truth, but thinks that, as elaborated by Smend, it 'has been pressed to absurd extremes.' His conclusion is that

'the true poet enlarges and generalizes his own feelings and experiences. Thus Tennyson writes of *In Memoriam*: "'I' is not always the author speaking of himself, but the voice of the human race speaking

Digitized by Google

through him." But while the Psalmist speaks in the name of many, he speaks in his own name too. He is not, in the majority of cases at any rate, deliberately substituting the personality of the nation for his own personality. Many Psalms are so intensely personal, that it is impossible to suppose that they did not have their origin in real personal experience; often experience so special and peculiar that it is only by a process of accommodation that it can be used by the congregation.'

Two new chapters have been added to the introduction—chap. x., on 'The Psalter in the Christian Church,' and chap. xi., which gives an account of the most important literature on the Psalter. For the rest, the additions take mostly the form of footnotes and brief insertions tending, it need scarcely be said, to increase the value of this good introduction; though few Hebrew scholars will be prepared to endorse the added suggestion (p. xxvi) that *Muth-labben* in the title of Ps. ix. may possibly mean *Die for the son.*

Readers of the commentary will turn with interest to see what Professor Kirkpatrick has to say upon the much-debated question of our Lord's quotation from Ps. cx. and its supposed bearing upon the authorship of the Psalm. The view taken is substantially that of Bishop Gore, in his essay in *Lux Mundi*, and subsequently in his *Bampton Lectures.* Professor Kirkpatrick points out the fact that our Lord was 'taking his opponents upon their own ground' in assuming the Davidic authorship of the Psalm and its direct reference to the Messiah, and that so doing

'He desired to arouse their consciences to confess that if only they followed out their own beliefs to their legitimate conclusions, they must look for a Messiah who was more than a mere human descendant of David, and therefore they ought not to be scandalized at His claims. But it does not follow that He intended to endorse the correctness of those beliefs in their entirety.'

David the King. By MARCEL DIEULAFOY. Translated from the French by LUCY HOTZ. Price 7*s.* 6*d.* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902.)

M. DIEULAFOY has undertaken to recover the David of actual history from the conventions which have idealized him, in order to reveal the true greatness of his career. The picture is a brilliant one, drawn with the clear outline and artistic sensibility of the French *littérateur*, yet we fear that it will not bear a very close examination. Any account of David which professes to be strictly historical must be based upon a careful criticism of the documents which are used; M. Dieulafoy, however, has a method of his own which renders this unnecessary: 'Only yesterday, whole chapters of

Digitized by Google

the First Book of Samuel were considered apocryphal . . . and behold, the progress of a science far removed from philological or historical criticism, shows the unsoundness of these fine arguments, and restores to the Biblical narrative its value and its scope' (p. 113). The consequence is that all trustworthiness drops out of his treatment of history. To say that 'long before the accession of Saul . . . the men of Levi, guardians of the ark, and privileged interpreters of the ephod, counted on their spiritual authority and influence over the souls of the people and dreamed of a theocracy' (p. 36), is to misunderstand the evidence of the oldest narratives. These contain no trace of an exclusive sacred order; they show us Levites impoverished and few in number; they nowhere affirm any connexion between the house of Levi and Eli or Samuel, such as our author imagines (pp. 43, 287). His insight into the religion of the period goes no deeper than his conception of the history. This is apparent in his account of the rise of the prophets; he deals chiefly with externals, the symptoms of *la grande hystérie*, and such-like; he shows little appreciation of the religious motives and limitations which the life of David exhibits. To quote Ps. 68 in connexion with the ark at Jerusalem is profoundly misleading. The author of 'L'Acropole de Suse' is on firmer ground when he describes the sieges of Jerusalem, Rabbath-Ammon, Beth-Maachah, and the flanking movement at the battle of Rephaim. Of Bathsheba and her intrigues he writes with zest; the whole of the chapter is cleverly worked out, and the characters are vividly realized. For the benefit of a public which retains any recollection of Renan's shallow mockery it is a good thing to vindicate the greatness of David; but M. Dieulafoy may be assured that the keenest historical criticism freely admits it. If David is not to be regarded as a saint, he was a king, a hero, a man; and there is no stronger proof of his greatness than that he became so soon, so naturally, Israel's ideal of the just and patriotic ruler, the creator of Israel's destiny among the nations, and that, with all his dark stains, he could be moulded 'for the root Of man's promised healing Fruit.'

The Song of Solomon, with Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. ANDREW HARPER, D.D. Edin., Principal of St. Andrew's College within the University of Sydney and Professor of Hebrew. (The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.) Price 1*s.* 6*d.* net. (Cambridge: University Press, 1902.)

Two contending theories as to the character of the Song of Songs find currency at the present day. The one, of which Ewald was the principal exponent, regards the book as a dramatic whole, with three

Digitized by Google

principal characters—the Shulammite, her shepherd-lover, and King Solomon. The fidelity of the maiden to her betrothed, in face of the seductions of rank and wealth offered by the king, forms the main theme of the drama; and its culmination is found in chapter viii. 7, which celebrates the unconquerable power of true love. The other theory, which was developed in detail by Budde from the suggestions of Wetzstein in his essay upon 'The Syrian Threshing-board,' takes the book to be merely a collection of songs forming the *répertoire* of some singer at wedding festivals, 'the Shulammite' and 'Solomon' being merely figurative titles of the bride and bridegroom of the occasion.

Professor Harper in his new commentary defends the former theory with great ability and cogency, and it is not too much to hope that he will succeed in convincing his readers of the truth of this view, and so in vindicating the abiding moral beauty and value of the Song of Songs. The notes on the text are a model of all that such a commentary ought to be—perfectly comprehensible to the English reader, and yet containing much that will prove of service to the student of the Hebrew text. Two Appendices give (1) a new translation of the book, with marginal notes to assist the reader in following the change of speakers in the drama, and (2) a detailed consideration of Budde's hypothesis regarding the book.

Religions of Bible Lands. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic, Oxford. (Christian Study Manuals.) Price 1*s.* net. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.)

THIS book contains a deal of interesting and useful information, compressed into a very small space. After an introductory chapter, chap. 2 gives a sketch of Semitic religions; chap. 3 deals with the religion of Egypt; chap. 4 with the religion of Persia. It seems a pity that an account of the Assyrian religion is excluded from chap. 2, for a scarcely adequate reason (cf. p. 4). A few inaccuracies may be noticed here and there; *e.g.* Ashtoreth Chemosh for Ashtor Chemosh, p. 25; Micah for Amos, p. 30. The book would be the better for an index, though the careful analysis of contents in a measure supplies this omission.

The Biblical History of the Hebrews. By F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON, B.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Hon. Canon of Peterborough. Price 6*s.* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons; London: Edward Arnold, 1903.)

ON the whole this short History of Israel is more satisfactory than its predecessors. It appears just when the results of patient, logical criticism have been long enough before the public to allow the author to write, not as an apologist preparing unwilling minds to accept unwelcome truth, but as a theologian, shewing how this truth makes

Digitized by Google

old records live again. It is no exaggeration to say that criticism has caused the living voice of God to be heard to-day in the Old Testament as it has not been heard for a long time. Anyone who reads Canon Foakes-Jackson's fine chapter on the Captivity—that period of the manifold branching of Hebrew thought—will perceive how many perplexed minds are going through the same process now as the Israelites did then, and how God is still answering our appeals through the prophets, poets and scholars of the Exile. Again, the last few years have given men time to sift the difficulties which criticism suggested. The exact and detailed historical accuracy, for instance, of the records of the age of the Patriarchs or of the Wandering, becomes less important when the purpose of revelation is rightly perceived.

But out of the mass of minor difficulties which are thus gradually disposed of one question emerges: has there been any revelation at all? may we, after all, believe that 'the True God revealed Himself to His people, and was not, so to speak, evolved from their inner consciousness'? That sentence might almost be called the theme of this work. It is the answer to the one all-important question which is again and again brought out with irresistible cogency. The author had a great opportunity, and he has risen to it. In his judgment he is sane, and even cautious, distinguishing clearly between what is certain, probable, or merely theoretical. The notes at the end provide sufficient information about the opinions of recognized authorities; but the book is in the best sense of the word original. It has grown out of much pondering on the Hebrew Bible, rather than on the explanations of commentators, and is, therefore, instinct with a peculiar vigour. The style is careful, simple and dignified. It compels attention, for every line expresses real thought, and from beginning to end no facile commonplace will be found. Those who teach Old Testament to this inquiring generation are continually asked, 'is this or that true?' and instead of answering they have to lead their pupils to the deeper problem, 'what is truth itself?' In the study of this book they will find the guidance they need. Some misprints will need correction in a second edition.

III.—New Testament.

Demonic Possession in the New Testament. By William Menzies Alexander, M.A., B.Sc., B.D., C.M., M.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902.) 5*s*.

This is a learned and scientific treatise on a subject which has often been approached on several of its sides, but not on all of them. The writer claims for his work that it is an original research and not

Digitized by Google

a compilation, though he admits that after all it is but a fragment. The examination of the difficult subject with which it deals is conducted systematically and logically. To use the language of inductive research, the general result at which it arrives is an example of the method of Residues. The views of a few eminent writers are stated, and a plausible dilemma, wherein the question has been supposed to be contained, '*Possession in the New Testament was either real or unreal*,' is shewn to be unsound. The value of medical science in deciding what was 'possession' is estimated under the different heads of the extent of this disorder, the areas affected, the factors of causation, the comparative condition of the Jews, the modes of treatment, the methods of Christ. But something *more* than the purely pathological condition remains, after the way has been thus cleared, 'The residual factor becomes the criterion of genuine demonic possession, surviving all natural explanations.' Two types of 'possession' in the Gospels are thus determined—(1) those self-attested and clearly supernatural, comprising the confessions of Jesus by evil spirits, and their suppression by Him; (2) those not self-attested and simply natural. The former are few, and confined to the earlier portion of our Lord's ministry.

After a searching discussion of these two classes, the last three chapters, comprising nearly a third of the volume, are taken up with an examination of three special problems:

(1) The Beelzebul controversy.

(3) The narrative of the event of Gerasa, with a refutation of the criticisms of Woolston, Strauss, and Huxley.

(3) The alleged continuance of possession traced through the Sub-Apostolic, ante-Nicene, post-Nicene, Mediæval, and Modern Times, in which elements of insanity, hypnotism, magic, and witchcraft are carefully distinguished. Eight appendices deal with several cognate topics.

Dr. Menzies Alexander concludes as follows: 'The Incarnation initiated the establishment of the kingdom of heaven upon earth. That determined a counter-movement among the powers of darkness. *Genuine Demonic possession was one of its manifestations.*'

The work abounds in interesting matter, and, coming as it does from one who, while specially qualified to deal with the medical aspect, does not omit the larger questions, it must remain for the present the chief authority upon the subject.

Digitized by Google

Roman Law and History in the New Testament. By the Rev. SEPTIMUS BUSS, LL.B. (London: Rivingtons, 1901.)

IT is very important for the English reader to understand what we may call the environment of the New Testament, and to facilitate such understanding Mr. Buss has collected a mass of information and gossip from Josephus and the various dictionaries, histories, and manuals. But when we have said this, our possibility of praise is ended. To begin with, Hellenism or the Grecized civilization of the Macedonian monarchies of the East had as much influence on the New Testament as Roman Law and History; but with the former our author does not seem to have a familiar acquaintance, and he gives the impression—certainly an English reader would carry away the impression—that Roman law and customs, pure and simple, prevailed over the scenes of New Testament history. A full account of Roman marriage ceremonies and of the Roman law of adoption is given to illustrate, as we suppose, St. Paul's teaching about adoption in the Epistle to the Galatians, but not a hint is given that it is by no means certain what laws of adoption prevailed in Galatia.

Secondly, the book is certainly not up to date. The old traditional defence of 'Cyrenius's Taxing' is given, without any reference to the new light thrown upon the subject of 'enrolment' by the Egyptian papyri, or to Professor Ramsay's *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* A great deal of information is given about Syria and other provinces, but Galatia is dismissed in a page and a half without any reference to what we may call the South Galatian theory. There is no allusion to the recent discussion about the dates of the appointments of Felix and Festus, upon which the chronology of the greater part of the Acts depends. Similarly, difficulties are not faced; or, if faced, are evaded in a most facile manner, *e.g.* the meaning of Elymas, the title of Philippi, the Nazirite vow. References as a rule are not given, so it is not easy to test the statements by which knots are so easily untied.

But our chief quarrel with the book is its slovenliness—not merely that it is unscholarly. 'Herod of Chalchis' (p. 262), 'Adamas nottissimus' (p. 263), ἐῤῥωσω (*bis* p. 372), 'Pergamus' (always), are chance specimens that meet the eye. But the English is marked by similar carelessness. Here is an enigmatical sentence:—'These were by the *jus gentium*' (p. 363). Again, what does this mean—'Antony was very liberal in his donations to Cleopatra, making her the sovereign of Cœle-Syria, Judæa, and Cyprus, *under the name of Chalcis*'[1] (p. 321)? Who or what was to possess the

[1] The italics here and elsewhere are ours.

Digitized by Google

name of Chalcis? In the next sentence we are told that Antony made *Herod* king of Judæa. Again, what is the grammar of this sentence :—'If then St. Paul's sister was an inhabitant of the city, why not have stayed with her' (p. 327)? 'Vitellius receiving a snub from the Emperor' (p. 317), and 'Annas alone [of all 'the actors in the tragedy' of the crucifixion] continued to flourish like a green bay tree'—are instances of questionable taste rather than of style. On p. 369 we are told of an abortive conspiracy against Herod the Great. 'The plot, however, was detected, and the ten conspirators were led out to die, *rejoicing in their deeds*'—what these deeds were we are not told; reference has been made only to one deed, the assassination of Herod, which they failed to accomplish. Corresponding to the style of the English, the whole arrangement and order of the book suffers from similar carelessness. Repetitions abound, but the most characteristic defect is the want of logical connexion. Logical inconsequence marks the succession of paragraphs, and even of sentences. We may give an instance or two. After a paragraph describing St. Paul's intense desire, indeed his purpose, to visit *Rome*, the next paragraph begins '*To Jerusalem therefore* he was bound to go' (p. 326). Again, speaking of the slave population at Rome, the writer says (p. 363): 'As the lower class of citizens could not afford to keep slaves, it came about that many citizens possessed households comprising hundreds of slaves, and some even owned thousands.' The logical sequitur in '*as . . . it came about*' is, we must confess, somewhat obscure. The conclusion of chap. xiii. illustrates the writer's sense of proportion. After describing the way in which a governor of Syria dispersed a meeting of five or six dependent potentates at Tiberias, the writer draws this moral. 'Thus did [the Romans'] provincial governors, armed with full authority from the central source of power, appoint and pepose [*sic*] kings and princes at pleasure, and *play football with the crowns of the world*.' On the preceding page (p. 320) a paragraph, which simply tells how three Eastern kings bequeathed their kingdoms to Rome, viz. Pergamum, Cyrene, Bithynia, concludes—'Thus Rome opened its arms to embrace the East.'

We have chosen rather to dwell on the form than on the matter of this book, for the former is generally an index to the character of the latter. And if it be said that we are too captious or critical over a work which is obviously not meant for scholars, our reply is that no man ought to write a book unless he is prepared to give enough time and trouble to arrange his matter carefully, to be clear as to the logical sequence of his thoughts, to clothe his thoughts in at least plain and grammatical English, and lastly,

Digitized by Google

to correct his proof-sheets with at least some approximation to accuracy.

The Wisdom of James the Just. By the Right Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, D.D., Hon. D.C.L. Oxon., Lord Bishop of Ripon. Price 5*s*. (London : Isbister, 1903.)

This is an excellent series of meditations on the Epistle of St. James, intended chiefly, it would seem, for people who do not know Greek. The author is in sympathy with the Apostle, especially with 'his sturdy philosophy of life' and his discipline of the tongue. 'There is,' he says, 'a magic and binding force about words,' and he brings home the meaning of the text with many happy phrases which illustrate that truth. The Introduction affects simplicity almost too much, but it ends with an admirable piece of writing on the Address to 'the twelve tribes of the dispersion.'

The Pauline Epistles. Introductory and Expository Studies. By the Rev. R. D. Shaw, M.A., B.D. Price 8*s*. net. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 1903.)

Mr. Shaw accepts the thirteen Epistles as being entirely St. Paul's, arranges them in the usual groups, and thinks the Pastorals were written after the Apostle had been released from his first imprisonment. He has surveyed the critical literature and justifies his right to hold his own opinions. On some points he may be open to an answer. For instance, he meets Dr. Moffat's sentence on the Pastorals—'the official and ecclesiastical spirit dominates the three Epistles'—thus : 'It certainly does not dominate 2 Timothy. Nor does it occupy the other two at any inordinate length. The perspective is lost if we fail to keep first things first. The paramount aim of 1 Timothy and Titus is not to advance Church orders, but to conserve Christian life and truth.' The dominant, however, is not the key-note, and though this be the paramount aim of the Epistles, yet it has been argued that their method and language betray ecclesiastical surroundings which St. Paul could not have known. That is what needs clearing up, and here, as in some other places, Mr. Shaw hardly comes to close quarters with his opponents. His power lies in another direction. Nothing gives a stronger impression of St. Paul's being a real man, who did write all these letters, than finding some one in our own days who, by constant study of them, has actually become a friend of the writer. Such men do not always enter into the whole of the Apostle's large mind ; they understand him in the same intimate though partial way in which we understand our personal friends. Mr. Shaw hardly notices St. Paul's

Digitized by Google

remarkable genius for philosophy, but he has learnt in daily conversation, as it were, the simplicity of his faith and the complexity of his thought and feeling, and nothing in this book is more pleasing than the unconscious touches which show how certain habits of the Apostle have impressed themselves upon the author; hence he rarely misses the true meaning of the abrupt sentences, and can reconcile differences which startle the mere student.

Great pains have been taken to represent vividly the scenery and life of the ancient world. Some of the descriptions are almost too elaborate, yet the rich style yields happy phrases, and the frequent quotations are never mere ornaments. What is said about episcopacy may be inadequate, but it is very wise and charitable. The Pauline doctrine, that 'unity should be visible,' is insisted on.

IV.—Philology.

A Compendious Syriac Dictionary, founded upon the *Thesaurus Syriacus* of R. Payne Smith, D.D. Edited by J. Payne Smith. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.)

With this part, extending from ܫ to the end of the alphabet and including a list of Addenda to the earlier parts and a preface, Mrs. Margoliouth's shortened edition of the late Dean Payne Smith's work is completed. Occupying as it does a middle position between the great bulk of the *Thesaurus* and the extreme brevity of Brockelmann, this should be welcomed by all Syriac scholars as the most convenient dictionary for ordinary reference which has yet appeared. The authoress indeed, in defending the unusual order of the words, says that the book is meant for beginners; but it is hard to believe that anyone advanced enough to use it would not prefer to look for words under their roots. The meanings are arranged under fewer heads than in the *Thesaurus*, and references (not examples) are omitted, as well as most proper names; but all meanings are intended to be included, though we notice that under ܐܣܛܝܣ the application to a deposed cleric is absent. In a few cases also errors are corrected, ܫܦܝܪ being derived from *καλῶς* instead of *κλέος*, and ܐܣܛܝܣ from *φιλοσοφῆσαι* instead of *φιλοσόφησις* (though the statement that it is feminine has been inadvertently retained). Similarly ܐܦܝܣܛܘܠܐ is now derived from *πληροφορῆσαι*, though in the parallel cases of ܐܦܘܣܛܠܐ and ܐܦܘܣܦܘܢܝܣ the derivation from *περιόδευσις* and *προσφώνησις* is strangely allowed to stand. Other uncorrected errors are the assertion that ܐܒܐ may mean

Digitized by Google

'judge,' though in the passage cited it has its proper meaning of 'tribe,' and the rendering of ܕܐ ܡܚܡܫܐ (6th version) by 'Hexapla.' On the other hand, under ܦܣܘܩ the meaning 'profligacy' has been wrongly added; Smith's 'improbitas' means 'importunity,' as the citations show. The weakest point is the explanation of proper names and technical terms. To call 'patrician' 'a Byzantine or Persian rank' is the same as to call 'marquis' a French or Japanese rank, and to render ܩܦܦܛܘܩܝܢ 'Capitol, temple of Jupiter' is the same as to render ἀκρόπολις 'Acropolis, temple of Athene.' 'Secretary,' again, is hardly a proper rendering of ܩܘܣܛܘܪ (quaestor), and 'prefect' for ܦܪܘܦܣܛ (praepositus) is indefensible. Under ܩܪܒܝ the derivation from *καράβιον* is, probably accidentally, omitted. No attempt seems to have been made to increase the vocabulary, though from *Anecd. Syr.* iii. 256, 21, ܡܫܡܫ should have been added.

For the beginner, for whom the work is meant, some of the explanations will be puzzling: thus, when he is told under ܐ that ܡܝܬ ܪܚܝܠ ܒܟܪ ܒܢܝܡܝܢ means 'Rachel died,' he will not be much enlightened as to the meaning of the preposition; nor will he understand why ܥܝܢ ܓܕܝ is apparently transliterated 'Engedi' and ܥܝܢ ܙܪܕܐ 'Ain Warda.' Such trifles apart, the work is admirable.

V.—Biography.

Studies in Contemporary Biography. By the Right Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L., M.P. Price 10*s.* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903.)

We are sincerely grateful to Mr. Bryce for the republication of these essays. Written in almost every case from personal knowledge as obituary notices in English and American publications, they are in style and matter far above the level of such work. For clear, kindly, sympathetic criticism, for the art by which in a few pages the character and personality of the subject are brought out, we know few collections of essays equal to them. If Mr. Bryce has not all the brilliance of Bagehot, with whom it is most natural to compare him, there is less of the overstraining of a point and the apparent working for effect which sometimes spoils even Bagehot's best work. It is natural that most attention has been directed to the longer and more studied essays on Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone, with which the book opens and concludes; we value it even more highly for the

Digitized by Google

shorter studies on the lives of scholars, men of letters and theologians, which occupy the greater part of it. Dean Stanley, Archbishop Tait, Bishop Fraser, Lord Acton, Henry Sidgwick, are among the most successful, as well as that on Mr. Godkin, the editor of the *New York Nation*. It is not of Professor Sidgwick alone that the writer makes one feel how true it is 'that he was even more remarkable than his books.' It is one of the great merits of the work that Mr. Bryce knows exactly how to use his personal knowledge of the men of whom he writes. He never descends to the trivialities and the egoisms of the man who keeps a diary; he is aware that his own acquaintance with any individual is of no importance to his readers unless he has heard or observed something illuminating or instructive; but, on the other hand, the occasional touch of personal reminiscences added to the narrative and criticism gives a greater reality to his judgment. It is not the writer, but the man behind the writer, with whom he chiefly deals.

And how much does the touch of personal knowledge vivify the written work, as in the case of Freeman, of whose conversation Mr. Bryce notes that 'you learned more by listening to him than by conversing with him. He had not the quick intellectual sympathy and effusion which feels its way to the hearts of an audience, and indeed derives inspiration from the sight of an audience': or as in the case of Stanley, 'In private that which struck one most was the quick eagerness with which his imagination fastened upon any new fact, caught its bearings, and clothed it with colour. His curiosity remained inexhaustible.' Speaking of his inability to comprehend the dogmatic aspect of religion, 'the weak point,' the writer says, 'in his imagination was that he seemed never to understand the position [of Dr. Pusey and those who thought with him]; nor to realize how sacred and how momentous were statements which he saw in a purely imaginative light. What most incensed them was his habit of assuming that, except in mere forms of expression, there were really no differences at all between them.' Generally speaking, in dealing with ecclesiastical matters, Mr. Bryce shews, as we should expect, a knowledge and comprehension which always makes his criticism valuable, much more so than is generally the case with those who belong to his school. Something we may notice of the conscious pose of the politician who has to guard himself against any appearance of approving of Establishments or Bishops in general; but this never leads him into injustice to individuals. Sometimes one finds a touch of deep insight, as in that passage on Manning, in which he points out that 'the leading Tractarians showed an affinity to Rome by their power of handling language with something of the same kind of art

Digitized by Google

which Roman ecclesiastics most cultivate—an exact precision of phrase and a subtle delicacy of suggestion.' But surely there is no justification for the suggestion that Mr. Gladstone ever came near to being a Roman Catholic.

The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove, C.B. Hon. D.C.L. (Durham), Hon. LL.D. (Glasgow), formerly Director of the Royal College of Music. By CHARLES L. GRAVES. (London : Macmillan and Co. 1903.)

MR. GRAVES has made excellent use of a good subject in his *Life and Letters of Sir George Grove*. His work describes a career of singular versatility and of continuous and unbroken success wrought out for himself by one who started in life with no advantage beyond an intelligent training at Clapham, under the well-known Charles Pritchard, and an innate aptitude for unremitting labour. The brief record of his boyhood forecasts with remarkable exactitude the divergent lines of his multifarious life-work. The compiler of the Appendix of Hebrew topographical words in Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, and the sub-editor of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* to whose lot fell all the obscure names in Holy Scripture, taught himself the Hebrew alphabet as a child before he went to Clapham Grammar School. So passionate was his early attachment to music, that he used to play Bach's Fugue in E with his brother every morning before breakfast, before starting for their three-mile walk to town ; and one of the first guineas ever given him was spent on a folio copy of the *Messiah*. At fifteen Grove, already well founded in the rudiments of science, natural history and geography, with a fair knowledge of Latin, and something more than a smattering of Greek, was taken from school and articled to Mr. Alexander Gordon, a civil engineer. Professional experience in London and Malines, followed by the practical exercise of his craft at Glasgow, 'where he worked both in the pattern and fitting-shops like a common mechanic,' led to Grove's appointment as Resident Engineer to superintend the erection of a cast-iron lighthouse at Morant Point at the eastern extremity of Jamaica. He was not yet fully of age, and the Secretary of the Lighthouse Commissioners was somewhat dismayed on the arrival of an engineer who had 'no sign of whiskers.' The successful completion of this difficult work fully justified the choice, and led to subsequent employment in Bermuda and in a subordinate position upon the Britannia Bridge over the Menai Straits. This latter engagement was the turning point in Grove's life. He attracted there the kindly notice of Mr. Robert Stephenson, Mr. Brunel, and Sir Charles Barry. The railway panic of 1846

Digitized by Google

caused a dearth of work for civil engineers, and 'these three friends,' Grove wrote in after years, 'forced me into the Secretaryship of the Society of Arts, just then vacated by Mr. Scott Russell.' Little more than two years later he became Secretary of the Crystal Palace; a position which yet further developed his passion for music, and with which he combined from May 1868 the editorship of Macmillan's Mazagine. In 1873 his connexion with the Crystal Palace was resigned that he might devote himself to the *Dictionary of Music*. Ten years later he was selected as the first Director of the new Royal College of Music, and by his able conduct of a very trying office contributed materially to the brilliant success of the institution.

As we turn from this bare outline of Grove's career, we realize the impossibility of filling in even the most salient details that crowd thick and fast on Mr. Graves's pages. Besides and beyond his official occupations, Grove enriched his life with literary studies that would have absorbed the entire energies of most men. He constantly read till midnight, he was an early riser, and a book always lay by the side of his bed. If the course of his life was largely influenced by his friends, no man ever repaid kindness with more ungrudging service, or threw himself with more unsparing energy into their pursuits. When Fergusson (then a new friend) lamented to him that there was no index of the proper names of the Bible, 'we set to work at once' (Grove writes) 'my wife and I, and we made a complete list of every occurrence of every proper name in the Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha, with their equivalents in Hebrew, Septuagint, Greek, and Latin.' On his first introduction to Stanley, then Canon of Canterbury, the Canon showed him what he was engaged on (the Appendix to *Sinai and Palestine*). 'He set me alight in a moment, and I fairly blazed up. I rubbed up my Hebrew, I got up German enough to plough through Ewald and Ritter, and plunged with delight into a sea of Biblical research' (p. 148). These incidents are characteristic of Grove's enthusiasm, his industry, and his genius for friendship, which was practically illimitable. When enjoying the intimacy of all the most noted men of his day, and overwhelmed besides with official and literary correspondence, he would rise early to write long letters of encouragement and affectionate advice to young and obscure students at the College of Music. We must not omit that the book before us is replete with good stories and with interesting notices of Grove's foremost contemporaries in the fields of literature and music, which under its author's skilful treatment so sparkle on his page that they carry on the reader unweariedly to the end. We could only have

Digitized by Google

wished that the sunset of a life, so strenuous, so unselfish, and so thoughtful of others, had been less overshadowed with gloom, and that higher hopes had more manifestly cheered him, 'when his sensitiveness was smitten with the sadness of decay.'

Life and Letters of Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Bishop of Durham. By his son, ARTHUR WESTCOTT. With Illustrations. In Two Volumes. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903).

THE conditions of modern life are, we suppose, responsible for many of the blemishes in contemporary English literature, and this is especially noticeable in the department of biography. The Memoirs of Men of our Time must be brought out with urgent haste, lest public interest in them should have evaporated in the stress of our feverish activity. Hence in place of a truly artistic miniature or a cabinet portrait, finished alike in style and in proportion, the secret of which French authors seem to have monopolised, we have an elongated monograph entitled *Life and Letters*, the two being not always skilfully blended, and the whole too often unduly protracted. From these current defects Mr. Arthur Westcott's narrative is not wholly free. Nearly eighty pages are occupied with letters written by Westcott to his wife before his marriage at the age of twenty-seven, and a really considerable number of the briefest and most unimportant extracts from his later correspondence might have been omitted and the space so gained employed with advantage to the elucidation of things now hopelessly obscure. The author's plan of devoting each chapter to the record of a certain number of years and then supplementing the account by letters relating to the same period, does not commend itself, as the interest of the letters is anticipated before we come to read them.

These criticisms, offered in no carping spirit, hardly overshadow the charm of Dr. Westcott's character or the admirable way in which his son's filial affection, insight, and industry have combined to portray it. A singularly attractive personality, a man of wide learning beyond the field of theological study in which his labours were most conspicuous, Westcott displayed early in life the germs of his subsequent greatness. The boy's natural aptitude for sensible pursuits was fostered by judicious and sympathetic home training and by the unique power of his master, James Prince Lee, to bring out and strengthen the highest intellectual and moral powers of his pupils. What light is cast on his splendid Cambridge career by this brief extract from an intimate friend of his under graduate days:

Digitized by Google

'He held his own way with some conscious purpose, I believe, of not becoming a disciple of any one. . . . There seemed to be no subject of which he did not learn something, and his whole soul was in his studies. Profoundly reverent, affectionate, single-minded, enthusiastic, blameless, he seemed to those who knew him an example of the purest Christian goodness. Cambridge can hardly have had at any time a more ideal young student' (i. 55).

How well equipped he was became apparent when two years after taking his degree he won the Norrisian Prize with an essay which was published the year following (1851) under the title of *The Elements of the Gospel Harmony*. This work, which was called in subsequent editions *An Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, was a remarkable *tour de force* for a man of five-and-twenty, and still holds its place after a lapse of half a century as a standard theological treatise.

During the seventeen years spent as an assistant-master at Harrow (1852–1869) Westcott's application to study must have been really amazing. If in the earlier part of them he published comparatively little, he was gathering stores for the vast outpouring that flowed in ever-increasing volume from 1860 to 1900. The bibliographical appendix supplies us with the titles of over a hundred writings put forth in these forty years. Many indeed were sermons or magazine articles or brief tracts, but all marked by originality and independence of thought and replete with sound learning; while his more important works, such as his Greek Text of the New Testament and his Commentaries on St. John's Gospel and Epistles, and that on the Epistle to the Hebrews, are monumental. Of Westcott's singular hold over boys of exceptional intellect we have ample testimony, while he lacked almost all capacity for maintaining discipline. Some of his fellow-masters at Harrow regarded him rather as a visionary recluse; others, the younger men especially, found in him writes Dr. Butler, 'a very dear friend, a wise counsellor, and one whose ideal of life, personal and professional, was noble, simple, and self-sacrificing. His biographer emphatically claims for him that 'during the long years of his Harrow life he was heart and soul a Harrow master; his best was continually given to his boys, and he found time to keep up correspondence with many of them after they had left the school' (i. 190).

Some very interesting 'appreciations' by those who were closely associated with Westcott at different periods add greatly to the value of these volumes. Life at Harrow and Peterborough, at Westminster, Cambridge, and Durham, is brought out in vivid relief, and Westcott's power of so adapting himself as to bring all his wealth of

Digitized by Google

knowledge and reflection to bear upon the duties and the difficulties of each successive position he filled is well portrayed. How wonderfully diversified and how admirably developed must the combination of gifts have been which could call forth the enthusiastic panegyrics inserted in the *Life and Letters* from men eminent in varied walks of life as divines and artists, statesmen and scholars. Yet, for one essential element in Westcott's life the reader will search these pages in vain. Of his principal achievement, the production, with Dr. Hort, of the revised text of the Greek Testament, the account is singularly meagre.

'The twenty-eight years of patient labour' (we read) 'represented by this work were begun and ended at Cambridge. This great work should loom very large in any record of my father's life, but its character is such that it really merits separate treatment, which it is hoped a careful digestion of the mass of correspondence on the subject may enable some one to bestow' (i. 398).

We sincerely hope that this does not imply that the history of what is, in many ways, the most interesting part of Dr. Westcott's life may possibly be suffered to remain unwritten.

We have not space to speak of Westcott's episcopate. It differed materially from the ordinary type, and was largely, perhaps even somewhat excessively, occupied with social problems. Yet who shall say what good its Divine Head was working for His Church when He inspired its foremost leader in the North with the wisdom, sympathy, and energy that enabled him to intervene with effect in the great coal strike of 1892, and to earn the gratitude of a vast industrial community? As we realize how large a part he took in the discussion of recent Church and national developments—Biblical revision, cathedral revival, clergy preparation, social union, missions and missionaries, peace, opium, temperance—and remember that it was in his sixty-sixth year that this man, whose life had thus far been essentially academic and remote from affairs, was called to so arduous a task, St. Paul's words come home to us with exceptional emphasis, that all gifts, whether of administration or learning, proceed from the selfsame Spirit who divideth to every man severally as He wills.

It is no easy task to sum up briefly so complex a life. On many important questions Westcott's views differed materially from those advocated in these pages, a difference possibly exaggerated by the occasional obscurity and individuality of his language. But we offer our sincerest tribute of admiration for his example of a strenuous life of self-sacrifice and devotion to duty in more than exceptional measure, of singular simplicity and unworldliness, of deep personal

Digitized by Google

piety, of simple living and high thinking in the best sense in an age which sorely needs such patterns as Brooke Foss Westcott's career supplies it.

Selected Letters of William Bright, D.D. Edited by B. J. KIDD, B.D. With an Introductory Memoir by P. G. MEDD, M.A. (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, and Co., 1903.)

OUR first duty is to express a deep gratitude, which will, we are sure, be shared by many, for this memorial of one of the most striking personalities in the English Church during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Introductory Memoir is by one whose name is indissolubly associated with that of Canon Bright, and is, it is almost needless to say, well written, as also are the appreciative notices by Canons Driver, Sanday, Scott-Holland, and Randolph. But, as Oxford men, they all dwell naturally upon the Oxford Bright; and we should like to have seen the Rugby Bright and the Glenalmond Bright a little more prominently brought out. It is true that Rugby and Glenalmond can only claim about ten of the seventy-six years of his life; but no one could know Canon Bright well without observing the curious and life-long impression which Rugby's great head master, Dr. Arnold, made upon him. Without being tinged in the very least degree with what may be called 'Arnoldism' in religion, he derived from Arnold a way of looking at things which differentiated him from many with whose theological views he sympathised. It is difficult to express the difference in words; but, as it was once said after one of his great speeches in Convocation, 'Rugby and Oxford made a very happy mixture.' Again, though Canon Medd has shown both wisdom and Christian charity in passing lightly over the unhappy episode which closed Bright's Glenalmond career, yet his six years in the beautiful, breezy Highlands, and his connexion there with an ancient church, which had neither the advantages nor the disadvantages of being 'established,' had a life-long effect upon his churchmanship and his mental attitude generally. He was, in the best sense of the word, 'liberal,' though Oxford Liberals might disown him, and Oxford Conservatives might indignantly protest against the epithet being applied to him.

Dr. Bright's true character appears in these 'Selected Letters,' which are conveniently arranged under seven different headings. Some have regretted that more letters have not been inserted under the seventh heading, 'Personal'; but it seems to us that in all of them the writer's personality is very conspicuous; and his letters on public subjects are so wise, so learned, so suggestive, so thoroughly imbued with the true spirit of the English Church,

Digitized by Google

that we could ill have spared any of these to make room for letters on the details of his daily life which, after all, was a very uneventful one. What strikes one most in all the letters is that, whoever his correspondent may be, Bright always gives him his best; and his best is very good. Whether the letter be addressed to 'the Editor of the *Guardian*,' or to 'the Venerable Archdeacon ——,' or to 'Canon ——' or to 'the Rev. ——,' or to 'a candidate for Holy Orders,' or to 'a student at a Theological College,' or to 'an Undergraduate,' he pours forth the rich stores of his deep, extensive and accurate knowledge, grudging no pains in writing to the youngest and humblest, and not hesitating to express just what he thinks to the oldest and most dignified. The result is that one has in these letters the wise judgment of a thoroughly loyal English Churchman on almost all the religious questions which have come to the front during the last half-century, that judgment being in every case fortified by apposite and accurate quotations from standard authorities. No one was ever more 'ready always to give an answer to every man that asked him a reason of the hope that was in him.' Indeed he extended the principle so far as to give his reason to men that did *not* ask him, and who had—well, let us say, the courage to answer *him*. This led him, in the opinion of his friends, to give too much of his valuable time to paper-warfare with combatants who were hardly worthy of his steel. One was sometimes inclined to exclaim, 'What *does* it matter what mistakes this or that foolish person may make! Oh! what would one give if the pains and energy expended on such work had been devoted to the production of some more of his exquisite hymns, of some really *magnum opus* which no one was more capable of producing than himself?' But we must take men as we find them; and as the very dust of Bright's writings was gold, we have nothing but the warmest welcome to give to everything that fell from his pen. Mr. Kidd has done *his* part of the work exceedingly well, and if he can see his way to giving us another volume of Bright's letters, or, as the present one will be sure to pass into a second edition, of amplifying it largely, we shall be all the better pleased.

Henry Cary Shuttleworth. A Memoir. With a Portrait. Edited by GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1903.)

THIS enthusiastic memoir, appropriately dedicated to the Rev. M. H. Noel, formerly Vicar of St. Barnabas, Oxford, is the work of several hands. Mr. Russell gives a list of his various helpers, among whom is Dr. Wace, who gives a very generous tribute to his younger

Digitized by Google

colleague at King's College, London. Mr. Shuttleworth had special gifts, amounting to genius, in dealing with young people, especially with young men, and whether as a curate in Oxford or as a minor canon at St. Paul's, or as the musical and social incumbent of a City church, he threw himself without counting the cost into any work which seemed likely to promote the moral and spiritual welfare of his young friends. The Shuttleworth Club is an enduring memorial of the work which he inaugurated, and to which he brought literary, artistic, and theatrical tastes, uncommon powers of work and influence, and a strong interest in various social questions, which he approached from a Liberal, not to say Radical, point of view.

My Life-Work. By SAMUEL SMITH, M.P. With Portrait and Illustrations. Price 5*s.* net. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.)

FORTY-FIVE chapters and eighteen appendices, covering in all between six and seven hundred pages, must be recognized as affording ample room for the autobiographical materials of the majority of Members of Parliament. But Mr. Smith does not merely talk about himself. He has been a great traveller; he has met many interesting persons; he has been deeply engaged in many social, political, and religious causes; and his book is full of entertainment and instruction. We can admire his integrity of purpose and enjoy much of his book without endorsing all that he says, or approving of the attitude which he has taken up on some public affairs.

VI. PHILOSOPHY.

Texts to illustrate a Course of Elementary Lectures on Greek Philosophy after Aristotle, selected and arranged by J. ADAM, M.A., LL.D. (London: Macmillan, 1902.)

THE object of this small volume—uniform with a similar one by Dr. Jackson on the earlier period—is twofold. It is put together (*a*) in the interests of the lecturer on post-Aristotelian ancient philosophy, (*b*) for the general student of the subject.

The importance of its contents is not to be measured by its compass of seventy pages. The subjects comprised are among the most weighty that have ever occupied, or ever can occupy, the human mind. It is well that the scope is enlarged so as to include comprehensive and discriminating extracts from Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, for at first sight it would seem from the Preface that the limits were between the death of Aristotle and the birth of Christ. Herein is contained the pith and essence of some of the

Digitized by Google

great systems of Greek dogma, the *pemmican* (if we may venture on the expression) of philosophic thought. The volume professes to be no more than *texts* to illustrate a course of elementary lectures, under six different heads, which are clearly defined, with dates prefixed to each. To criticize the selection as to any apparent omission is difficult, since the rejoinder is easy: 'Oh! that would be treated in the lectures themselves.' But, granted that nothing could well have been left out which is herein included, we may remark on a few seeming omissions.

On the *anima mundi* (No. 136) we rather look for a reference to Virgil's 'deum namque ire per omnes Terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum,' etc., a passage which might have been quoted, if not here, with the famous passage from the sixth Æneid (No. 231). Perhaps a brief space might have been assigned to one or two lines of Ovid. That poet, though the last writer to trouble himself with any research, and devoid as he was of all sense of mystery or idea of the infinite, yet displays in his *Metamorphoses* some genuine psychological insight in depicting the passions (*e.g.* Envy, ii. 778), and has at least one remarkable though unconscious anticipation of modern science, where he puts into the mouth of Pythagoras (*Met.* xv. 165) the pregnant saying, 'Omnia mutantur, nihil interit.' But still more do we regret that we look in vain for any reference to Horace, who might surely have supplied some apposite texts. Eclectic as he undoubtedly was, interested in all philosophies, but binding himself to none, feeling that the problems of life were too complex to be embraced by any single rule, he was not more eclectic than Cicero, to whom several pages are devoted; and of the two writers we feel more drawn towards the poet, as he is free from the Ciceronian fault of vanity. As a treasure-house on the art and management of life, outside the strict schools of moralists, what can surpass the *Epistles of Horace*, 'idealized common sense,' as they have been well styled? Again, a few of Lucan's most stirring lines, fluctuating though he is between different systems, and in general rhetorical rather than philosophic, might have furnished a text. Still more so might Persius from his deep moral earnestness.

If these two adherents of Stoicism are too crude and immature to be regarded as representative, their extreme youth must always be remembered in their favour. In these and many other exponents of the systems that so long dominated the mind of the ancients germs of solid truth are traceable, and we are reminded of Keble's words (*Christian Year*, third Sunday in Lent).

> As little children lisp and tell of heaven,
> So thoughts beyond their thoughts to those high bards were given.

Digitized by Google

Periodicals.

The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. V. No. 17. October 1903. Macmillan and Co.). 'Against the Stream,' by J. Beveridge. The writer discusses at length the controversy in the Norwegian Church, of which he gave an outline in the *Critical Review* (July 1903). 'The Greek Monasteries in South Italy (III.),' by K. Lake. 'The Site of Capernaum,' by W. Sanday. Dr. Sanday adduces fresh reasons for adopting the Tell Hûm site, which he had discarded for Khân Minyeh in his recent work, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*. 'Some Recently Discovered Fragments of Irish Sacramentaries, by H. M. Bannister. In 'The Old Latin Texts of the Minor Prophets (I.)' Mr. W. O. E. Oesterley prints a revised text of Hosea from a large number of MSS. and versions. Mr. C. H. Turner and Mr. F. C. Burkitt contribute notes on Codex k of the Old Latin Gospels with the results of a recollation of the MS. 'Some Further Notes on the MSS. of the Writings of St. Athanasius,' by K. Lake. A description of five hitherto uncollated MSS. at Mount Athos. 'The Christology of Clement of Alexandria,' by V. Ermoni. Bishop Dowden continues his notes on Bishops of St. Andrews. Mr. W. E. Crum, in 'A Study in the History of Egyptian Monasticism,' reviews J. Leitpoldt's *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums*.' Mr. C. H. Turner and Dom Butler contribute very interesting 'chronicles' of Patristica and Hagiographica.

The Expositor (Nos. XLVI.–XLVIII. October–December 1903. Hodder and Stoughton). 'The Atonement and the Modern Mind (III.),' by J. Denney. 'The Teaching of Christ in the Fourth Gospel,' by H. B. Swete. '"The Name of Jehovah in the Abrahamic Age,"' by C. H. W. Johns. A plea for suspension of judgment upon the whole question of the identity of Hammurabi and the influence of Babylonian upon Hebrew ideas. 'The Value-Judgments of Religion (II. *continued*): Critical and Constructive,' by A. E. Garvie. 'The Life of Christ according to St. Mark' (*continued*, November), by W. H. Bennett. 'Post-Exilic Judaism,' by J. Moffatt. November: 'Studies in the First Epistle of John: I. The Advocate and the Propitiation,' by G. G. Findlay. 'The Resurrection of our Lord: I. The Evangelic Testimony,' by D. Smith. 'The Value-Judgments of Religion (II. *continued*): The Relation of Religious Knowledge to Science and Philosophy,' by A. E. Garvie. 'The Apostolic Benediction,' by J. H. Bernard. A discussion of the meaning of II. Cor. xiii. 14, and incidentally its relationship to Matt. xxviii. 19. 'The Epistle to Hebrews as the Work of Barnabas,' by J. V. Bartlet. December: 'Travel and Correspondence among the Early Christians,' by W. M. Ramsay. 'Notes from the Papyri (III.),' by J. H. Moulton. Illustrates the use of numerous Biblical words in secular Greek documents. 'The Teaching of Christ' (*concluded*), by H. B. Swete. 'Studies in the First Epistle of John: II. The True Knowledge of God,' by G. G. Findlay. 'Foreign Literature on the New Testament,' by J. Moffatt.

The Critical Review (Vol. XIII. Nos. 5, 6. September–November 1903. Williams and Norgate). 'Notes on the "Roman Hall Mark,"' by H. Hayman. In reply to an article in the previous number on 'The title *Catholic* and the Roman Church,' the writer traces the history of the title from the time of Ignatius to the Fifth Century. 'Duff, *Spinoza's Political and Ethical Philosophy*,' by J. Iverach. 'Wernle, *The Beginnings of Christianity*,' by D. Purves. 'Prof. Wernle's analysis of the "Pauline Soteriology" is a great piece of work. . . . Though he regards some of St. Paul's doctrines as "disastrous creations," yet

Digitized by Google

there is always a "kernel," for the sake of which we receive the "husk."' 'Peters, *Der jüngst wiederaufgefundene hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus*,' by G. Buchanan Gray. Dr. Peters' book is a text based on the Hebrew MSS., with a German translation and critical notes. He refuses to accept the theory of re-translation from the versions even in individual passages. 'Macdonald, *The Religious Sense in its Scientific Aspect*,' by J. Lendrum. 'Diettrich, *Ijôb 'dâdh's Stellung in der Auslegungsgeschichte des Alten Testaments*,' by W. Emery Barnes. An interesting review of the Biblical Commentaries of the Nestorian Bishop of Hedatha. 'Hammond, *Aristotle's De Anima* and *Parva Naturalia*,' by H. Hayman. Prof. Salmond reviews among other books: Strong, *Authority in the Church* and *A Manual of Theology*, 2nd edition; Pullan, *The Christian Tradition*; Bodington, *Books of Devotion*; Archdeacon Wilson, *Six Lectures on Pastoral Theology*; Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*. The reviewer commends the identification of Capernaum with Khân Minyeh rather than Tell Hûm—a view which Dr. Sanday has since felt obliged to abandon. '*Critical Questions*: a course of sermons at St. Mark's, Marylebone Road.' These sermons, by Drs. Kirkpatrick, Swete, Knowling, Robertson, Sanday, and Headlam, are 'careful and weighty statements on subjects which are exercising many minds with peculiar force and urgency at present.' November: 'Adams Brown, *The Essence of Christianity: a Study in the History of Definition*,' by H. R. Mackintosh. The book is an interesting historical discussion of philosophical theories. 'The Norwegians and the Old Testament,' by J. Beveridge. 'Wright, *A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*, second edition,' by S. D. F. Salmond. 'Wernle, *Die Reichsgottesh offnung in den ältesten christlichen Dokumenten und bei Jesus*,' and O. Holtzmann, *War Jesus Ekstatiker? Eine Untersuchung zum Leben Jesu*,' by J. Lendrum. 'C. Schmidt, *Die alten Petrus Akten . . . nebst einem neuentdeckten Fragment*,' by J. H. Wilkinson. Dr. Schmidt regards the Encratite Acts as from the first Catholic and not Gnostic. The new fragment is the Coptic version of the story of Peter and Petronilla from Akhmim. 'L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*,' by G. G. Cameron. The Babylonian and Assyrian legends—translations and texts. 'W. S. Lilly, *Christianity and Modern Civilisation*,' by H. Hayman. 'R. G. Murison, *History of Egypt*,' by A. Tomory. A model of compactness. 'J. C. Oman, *The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*, and M. Dods' *Forerunners of Dante. An Account of some of the more important Visions of the Unseen World, from the Earliest Times*,' by S. D. F. Salmond.

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. II. No. 1. October 1903. Williams and Norgate). 'St. Paul and the Idea of Evolution,' by E. Caird. A deeply interesting discussion by the Master of Balliol of the evolution of Christian doctrine in St. Paul's thought. 'The Present Attitude of Reflective Thought towards Religion (II.),' by H. Jones. Part I. appeared January 1903. 'Mr. F. W. H. Myers on *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*,' by G. F. Stout. A careful examination of the facts adduced, leading to a suspended judgment in regard to 'psychical' phenomena. 'Babylon and the Bible,' by T. K. Cheyne. A criticism of Delitzsch and Winckler. 'Morality in Æschylus,' by L. Campbell. 'Plato's Conception of Death,' by B. Bosanquet. 'From Agnosticism to Theism,' by C. F. Dole. 'Doctrinal Significance of a Miraculous Birth,' by C. E. Beeby. A lengthy discussion of the logical consequences of the doctrine, largely illustrated from statements attributed to Bishop Gore. Mr. Beeby's difficulty is that if, as he asserts, 'the doctrine carries with it logically the

Digitized by Google

consequence that Christ, as a human organism, should be not a natural organism but a new miraculous kind of organism . . . to many the loss is nothing less than the very root and hope of the Gospel man-ward, Christ our example.' But is the initial assumption valid, and what does he mean by saying that we are now bound to 'a principle of Sacramentarianism'? Mr. C. G. Montefiore replies to Professor Menzies' criticism of his article on 'Jewish Scholarship and Christian Silence.' 'Romanus' discusses favourably the Abbé Loisy as a theologian. Fr. E. L. Taunton criticizes the article on 'The Liberal Catholic Movement in England,' and Mr. A. Pinchard writes on Lowes Dickinson's *Optimism and Immortality* in the April number. The Reviews include 'Carpenter and Wicksteed, *Studies in Theology*,' by M. A. Ward; 'Carpenter, *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century*,' by W. Sanday; 'Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*,' by J. V. Bartlet; '*Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. IV.,' by R. T. Herford and A. Menzies; 'Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*,' by A. S. Peake; 'A. F. Kirkpatrick (and others), *Critical Questions*,' by St. G. Stock (the reviewer describes the Virgin Birth as a 'semi-Pagan accretion to Christianity'); 'Westcott's *Life and Letters*,' by E. P. Boys-Smith; 'Lobstein, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*,' by A. Caldecott. There is a useful bibliography of recent literature.

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. VII. No. 4. October 1903. Chicago). 'Richard Wagner and Christianity,' by H. Weinel. 'The Idea of God held by North American Indians,' by L. M. Conard. The Indians are polytheists: 'The Great Spirit or Master of Life is a modern conception borrowed from Christians and adapted to Indian capacities.' 'The Interpretation of the Prophecy of Habakkuk,' by W. R. Betteridge. Professor W. B. Smith continues his very interesting comparison of 'The Pauline MSS. F (Augiensis) and G (Boernerianus).' 'The Codex Augiensis reproduces its archetype with servile fidelity, and the archetype in question was not the Codex Boernerianus.' Recent theological literature: 'Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch: Äthiopischer Text.*' 'Adams Brown, *The Essence of Christianity*,' by A. T. Swing. 'Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century*,' by J. P. Peters. Deals with the excavation of Nippur. 'Friedrich, *Ignaz von Döllinger*,' by W. Rauschenbusch. 'Wissowa, *Religion und Kultur der Römer*,' by G. J. Laing. 'Cooper and Maclean, *The Testament of Our Lord, translated from the Syriac*,' by Eb. Nestle. 'O. Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristenthum*,' by B. W. Bacon. Recent literature on the New Testament (including Armitage Robinson, *The Study of the Gospels*) and on Systematic Theology.

The Princeton Theological Review. (Vol. I. No. 4. October 1903. Philadelphia: MacCaller and Co.) 'Our Lord's Teaching concerning Himself,' by J. P. Sheraton. 'The Imprecations in the Psalms,' by C. Martin. An attempt at justification of the expressions. 'Vicarious Suffering the Order of Nature,' by J. Cooper. 'Vicarious suffering . . . instead of being unreasonable in itself, contrary to the course of nature, and making God a tyrant in exacting the punishment from His innocent Son which is due to man the culprit, is the exemplar of the highest virtue . . . the embodiment of nature's grandest ordinances.' In 'The Question of Authorship: Practice *versus* Theory,' Professor W. M. McPheeters continues his discussion of the Higher Criticism from the 'Conservative' standpoint. 'The Outlook of Science and Faith,' by G. Macloskie. 'Gnosticism as a Philosophy of Religion,' by J. Lindsay. 'The finest feature of Gnostic theology, after every deduction for error, is its aspiration after a theology which should really embrace a world-view—comprehensive and broad.'

Digitized by Google

'New Points of View for the Study of the Greek of the New Testament,' by S. Dickey. Reviews: 'Wobbermin, *Der Christliche Gottesglaube*,' by C. W. Hodge. '*Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. IV.,' by B. B. Warfield. The work is 'a sustained attack on the Christian Scriptures.' 'R. D. Shaw, *The Pauline Epistles*,' by L. B. Crane. 'J. M. King, *The Theology of Christ's Teaching*,' by G. Voss. 'Drummond and Upton, *Life and Letters of James Martineau*,' by H. C. Minton. 'Adams Brown, *The Essence of Christianity*,' by J. Orr. 'Loofs, *Grundlinien der Kirchengeschichte*,' by F. W. Loetscher. 'W. Barry, *The Papal Monarchy* (590–1303),' by A. C. Zenos. 'Bishop Moule, *Justification by Faith*,' by B. B. Warfield. 'F. H. L. Paton, *Lomai of Lenakel*,' by P. Martin. 'R. G. Moulton, *The Moral System of Shakespeare*,' by T. W. Hunt.

The Dublin Review (Vol. CXXXIII. No. 267. October 1903. Burns and Oates). 'Leo XIII.—a Retrospect,' by W. Barry. 'The New Pontificate,' by the Editor. 'Those who know most of Pius X. are the most emphatic in their assurance that no Bishop in Christendom is more inflexible in all that concerns the rights and liberty of the Church.' 'The First Gatha of the Avesta,' by the Bishop of Salford. 'Modern Spiritualism: its Psychological Phenomena,' by T. Croskell. Interesting and condemnatory. 'Mediæval Hospitals,' by E. Speakman. 'The Concordat of 1801,' by D. M. O'Connor. Historical. 'The Growing Estrangement from God,' by J. G. Raupert. 'The Position of the Catholics of Scotland in 1715,' by J. R. Erskine. 'The Writings of the Venerable English Martyrs,' by J. H. Pollen, S.J. A study of Father Robert Southwell and others. 'The Tao-Têh King,' by E. H. Parker. Reviews: 'Burney, *Notes on Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings*.' '"Scrutator," *Back to Rome*.' 'Béquinot, *La Très Sainte Eucharistie: Exposition de la Foi des douze premiers siècles de l'Eglise sur le dogme de la Présence Réelle d'après les Ecrits des Pères*.'

The Independent Review (Vol. I. No. 1. October 1903. Fisher Unwin). An excellent first number, including, among other articles, 'Social Reform,' by Canon Barnett. 'Elementary Education. A Retrospect and an Outlook,' by A. Birrell. 'The Obligation of the Creeds,' by W. Sanday. A most important discussion of the question with reference to current opinions. 'Ecclesiasticism,' by G. Lowes Dickinson. 'The Evolution of Scotland,' by H. Macpherson. 'A German's Appeal to the English,' by Theodor Mommsen. Reviews.

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XVI. No. 61. October 1903. Macmillan and Co.) 'Hebrew and Aramaic Papyri,' by A. Cowley. With beautiful facsimiles. 'A Conservative View of Judaism,' by L. Magnus. In reply to Mr. C. G. Montefiore. 'The Reform Movement in Judaism (II.),' by D. Philipson. 'A Florentine Service-Book at the British Museum,' by G. Margoliouth. With an elaborate Hebrew list of contents. 'The Arabic Portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge (III.),' by H. Hirschfeld. 'The Jews of Moldavia at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century,' by E. Schwarzfeld. 'Auto de Fé and Jew,' by E. N. Adler. With an elaborate list and two fine facsimiles. 'Die Schauplätze des Bar-Kochbakrieges und die auf diesen bezogenen Jüdischen Nachrichten,' by A. Büchler. 'Some Poems of Jehuda Halevi,' translated by M. Simon.

The Expository Times (Vol. XV. Nos. 1–3, October–December 1903. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark). 'John the Forerunner.' 'The Secret of the Triumph of Christianity over the Ancient World,' by G. Grützmacher. 'Problems in the Gospels' (II.), by C. A. Briggs. Deals with the Twelve and the Seventy.

Digitized by Google

'Feine, *Jesus Christus und Paulus*,' by W. Taylor Smith. 'Grill, *Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums*, and *Die Persische Mysterienreligion im römischen Reich und das Christentum*,' by J. Moffatt. 'The Atonement considered as Forgiveness,' by E. P. Boys-Smith. 'The Theology of Auguste Sabatier of Paris,' by E. Ménégoz. 'The Songs of the Ascents (VII.),' by D. Smith. 'G. Buchanan Gray, *Numbers* (International Critical Commentary),' by J. A. Selbie. 'Babylonian Monotheism: A Personal Explanation,' by C. H. W. Johns. 'Abraham, the Friend of God,' by Eb. Nestle. 'Christ's Teaching about Divorce,' by W. C. Allen. 'A Great Heap of Stones,' by W. O. E. Oesterley. November: 'A new Discovery in the Hebrew Bible': a Review of 'Kennedy, *The Note-line in the Hebrew Scriptures, commonly called Pāsēq or Pīsq*.' 'Has the Garden of Eden really been found in Babylonian?' 'Professor Sanday on the Obligation of the Creeds.' 'Christ, he Wisdom of God,' by H. B. Swete. 'J. B. Chabot, I. Guidi (and others), *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*,' by A. Bonus. 'Löhr, *Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos*,' by J. Taylor. 'Problems in the Gospels (III.): Where was Jesus during the Absence of the Twelve?' by C. A. Briggs. 'Christianity a Prophetic Religion,' by W. F. Cobb. 'Recent Biblical and Oriental Archæology,' by A. H. Sayce. 'St. Peter in the Jewish Liturgy,' by G. H. Box. December: 'The Year's Discoveries in Palestine.' 'A *Church Quarterly* Reviewer on the late A. B. Davidson.' 'Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*.' Discusses the site of Capernaum. 'The Spiritual Discipline of Science,' by J. Campbell Gibson. 'Zscharnack, *Der Dienst der Frau in den ersten Jahrhunderten der christlichen Kirche*,' by J. Croskery. 'Holzinger, *Numeri*,' by J. Taylor. 'Scripture Teaching in Girls' Schools,' by H. L. Powell. 'St. Luke's Passion-Narrative considered with Reference to the Synoptic Problem,' by the Rev. Sir J. C. Hawkins, Bart. 'The Scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac,' by R. A. S. Macalister. 'The Destination of the Epistle to the Hebrews,' by D. Walker.

The Edinburgh Review (No. 406. October 1903. Longmans). 'The Pontificate of Leo XIII.' 'Modern Spiritualism.' A review of works by Mr. F. W. H. Myers, Mr. Podmore, and Dr. A. R. Wallace. 'The Revelations of Radium.' 'Oxford in 1903.' A discussion of possibilities of progress.

The Quarterly Review (No. 396. October, 1903. John Murray). 'Sophocles and the Greek Genius.' 'The Religion of Napoleon I.' 'La France et les Congrégations.' 'Mr. Morley's *Life of Gladstone*.'

The Classical Review (Vol. XVII. Nos. 6, 7. November–December 1903. David Nutt). Among other articles of interest are 'Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak,' by A. B. Cook, and a short notice by J. P. Postgate of Dr. Traube's beautiful facsimile reproduction of the oldest manuscript of Jerome's translation of Eusebius' Chronicle from the Leyden, Paris, and Vatican fragments. Mr. Cook endeavours at great length to show that Zeus at Ammon, in Crete, at Dodona, and elsewhere, was 'conceived as a triple divinity (sky-god + water-god + earth-god), dwelling in a sacred oak and served by a priestly king, who was 'regarded as an incarnation of Zeus himself, and whose duty it was to maintain the sun's heat by magical means.' December: 'Polybius's Conception of Τύχη,' by W. Warde Fowler. 'Plato and Orpheus,' by F. M. Cornford. 'O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*,' by J. E. Harrison.

The Contemporary Review (Nos. 454–456. October–December 1903). 'Pius IX. and Leo XIII.,' by an English Roman Catholic. 'Persecutions in France To-

Digitized by Google

Day and Fifty Years Ago,' by Hannah Lynch. 'Christianity in the Modern World,' by D. S. Cairns. 'The Ox and Ass Legend of the Nativity,' by Austen West.

The Catholic World (October–December 1903). 'Dr. Briggs and the Catholic Church,' by Geoffrey Devereux. 'Christian Unity,' by a missionary. 'Leo XIII.: A Critic's Mistakes,' by the Rev. John Burke. 'The Church in France and the Briand Bill,' by Manuel de Moreira.

The Monthly Review (Nos. 37–39. October–December 1903). 'A Study at Assisi,' by Basil de Sélincourt. 'Charles II. and Reunion with Rome,' by the Rev. Arthur Stapylton Barnes.

The English Historical Review (Vol. XVIII. No. 72. October 1903. Longmans). 'Chroniclers' Estimates of Numbers and Official Records,' by Sir J. H. Ramsay, Bart. A very necessary criticism for all periods of history. In 'James I. and Sir Edward Coke' Mr. R. G. Usher gives a very interesting account of the dispute between James, Archbishop Bancroft, and Coke as to the King's power to withdraw cases from the courts and hear them himself. 'The Huntingdon Song School and the School of St. Gregory's, Canterbury,' by M. Bateson. The most interesting articles to the general reader will probably be: 'Letters of Napoleon I., 1794–1807, from Lord Crawford's Collection,' by H. A. L. Fisher, and 'Letters from Colonel William Napier to Sir John Colborne,' by G. C. Moore Smith. Reviews: 'B. Keil, *Anonymus Argentinensis: Fragmente zur Geschichte des perikleischen Athen aus einem Strassburger Papyrus*,' by G. E. Underhill. 'Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*,' by F. York Powell. 'Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, ii. 2, *Die Loslösung Italiens vom Oriente*,' by T. Hodgkin. 'Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks*,' by G. Le Strange. 'Gairdner, *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century, from the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Death of Mary*,' by J. P. Whitney. 'H. A. L. Fisher, *Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship: Germany*,' by A. W. Ward.

The Economic Review (Vol. XIII. No. 4. October 1903. Rivingtons). 'The Unemployed and the Unemployable,' by Canon Barnett. 'The unemployed ought to be left to their friends and to the trade-unions. The unemployable it is both the interest and the duty of society to undertake.' The suggested remedy is to replace the workhouses and casual wards with 'labour schools'—a 'school of restraint' for men and women, and a 'school of freedom' for men only. 'The Value of Social Clubs for Working Men,' by H. S. Woollcombe. 'Some Notes on Mr. Booth's Account of Church Work in London,' by H. Rashdall. Admitting the facts stated, suggests certain counter-considerations. The numbers affected directly by religious effort are a small proportion of the whole population; yet the numbers are enormous taken collectively. There is a much larger circle affected by a 'social' influence. This vague diffusion of religious ideas is a thing not to be despised, though not to be acquiesced in. The distinction between morality and religion has also been too sharply drawn. 'Rural Depopulation,' by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge. A very interesting article. 'Patten, *Heredity and Social Progress*,' by R. R. Marett.

Hermathena (No. XXIX. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co.) 'Wendt's Theory of the Fourth Gospel,' by F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock. 'The Problem of Second Corinthians,' by J. H. Kennedy. 'The Spirit of Man: A Prolegomenon in Spiritual Metaphysic,' by Alexander R. Eager.

Digitized by Google

Revue Biblique Internationale (Vol. XII. No. 4. October 1903. Paris: V. Lecoffre). P. Batiffol: 'L'Eucharistie dans le Nouveau Testament, d'après des critiques récents.' M. Hyvernat: 'Petite Introduction à l'Étude de la Massore.' A. Durand: 'La Divinité de Jésus-Christ dans S. Paul, Rom. ix. 5.' Mélanges: H. Vincent, 'Les Ruines d' 'Amwas.' S. Ronzevalle: 'Notes d'Archéologie Orientale. Un Bas-relief babylonien.' Both beautifully illustrated. Chronique: H. Vincent, 'Notes d'Épigraphie Palestinienne; Les Ruines de Beit Cha'ar; Fouilles diverses en Palestine.' Reviews: 'Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter.*' 'Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*,' by M. J. Lagrange. 'Cheyne, *Critica Biblica.*' C'est un jeu, mais ce n'est pas même un jeu amusant. 'Charles, *The Book of Jubilees: or the little Genesis.*' 'G. A. Cooke, *A Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions.*' 'W. O. E. Oesterley, *Studies in the Greek and Latin Versions of the Book of Amos.*' 'Agnes Smith Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca: the Protevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariae.*' 'Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das A.T.*'

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (1903. No. 2. Paris: Picard). L. Petit: 'Vie et Office de Saint Euthyme le jeune. Texte grec.' Fr. Tournebize: 'Histoire pratique et religieuse de l'Arménie.' The present instalment of this valuable series of articles contains the history from the sixth to the eleventh centuries. J. Pargoire: 'Mont Saint-Auxence: Étude historique et topographique' (*suite*). S. Vailhé: 'Le Patriarcat maronite d'Antioche.' L. Clugnet: 'Vie de Sainte Marine: VII. Texte français' (*suite*). Mélanges: H. Lammens, 'Notes de Géographie ecclésiastique syrienne.' A discussion of the situation of Erra, Thelsea (=Thersea), and the bishopric of Seleucia. Fr. Tournebize: S. Weber, *Die Katholische Kirche in Armenien.* L. Clugnet: G. Schlumberger, *Expédition des 'Almugavares' ou routiers catalans en Orient de l'an 1302 à l'an 1311*, and *Le tombeau d'une impératrice byzantine à Valence, en Espagne.* L. Clugnet: H. Oldenberg, *La Religion du Véda* and *Le Bouddha, sa vie, sa doctrine, sa communauté.*

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (Vol. IV. No. 4. October 1903. Louvain). 'À la Mémoire de Léon XIII.,' by C. de T'Serclaes. An appreciative defence against the charge of opportunism. 'L'Angleterre remuée jusqu'au fond de ses entrailles par les décisions pontificales concernant les ordinations anglicanes' is a little exaggerated. 'De l'Origine du *Magnificat* et de son Attribution dans le Troisième Évangile à Marie ou à Élisabeth,' by P. Ladeuze. A learned discussion in an adverse sense of the reasons adduced by Harnack, Loisy, and others for preferring the attribution to Elisabeth. 'Remi Drieux, évêque de Bruges, et les troubles des Pays-Bas' (*concluded*), by A. C. de Schrevel. 'Les préparatifs de l'expédition au secours de Candie au printemps 1669, d'après la correspondance des nonces de Paris, de Madrid et de Venise,' by C. Terlinden.

Analecta Bollandiana (Vol. XXII. No. 4. October 1903. Brussels). A. Galante: 'De Vitae SS. Xenophontis et sociorum codicibus Florentinis.' H. Delahaye: (1) 'SS. Ionae et Barachisii martyrum in Perside Acta graeca'; (2) 'Un Fragment de Ménologe trouvé à Jérusalem' [based on E. J. Goodspeed, *A martyrological Fragment from Jerusalem*, in Am. Journ. Philol. Vol. XXIII. (1902)]. L. Celier: 'S. Léonce honoré en Périgord.' A. Poncelet: (1) 'La Vie de S. Willibrord par le prêtre Egbert'; (2) 'Sanctae Catharinae virginis et martyris translatio e miracula Rotomagensia saec. XI.'; (3) 'Treverensia?' [a review of P. H. Krones, *Einiges 'Trierische' aus den Bollandisten* in Stud. u. Mitteil. aus dem Benedikt.- u.-Zisterz. Orden, vol. xxiv. (1903)]. J. Van den

Digitized by Google

Gheyn: 'Translatio sanctae Reineldis in monasterium Laubiense.' Bulletin des Publications hagiographiques. U. Chevalier: 'Supplementum ad Repertorium Hymnologicum (*Soli in excelsis Deo—Te laudat orbis*).' Indices to Vol. XXII. (*continued*).

Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique (No. 9. November 1903). 'La Critique actuelle et les Évangiles, d'après M. W. Sanday.' A translation of Dr. Sanday's paper read at the Church Congress. 'La Science morale et la Sociologie.'

Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana (Anno IX. Nos. 1–3). G. Wilpert: 'La scoperta delle basiliche cimiteriali dei Santi Marco e Marcelliano e Damaso.' G. Bonavenia: 'Soluzione di un problema intorno al Cimitero di Priscilla.' A. Profumo: 'L'Incendio neroniano ed i Cristiani.' R. Kanzler: 'Di un nuovo cimitero anonimo sulla via Latina.' O. Marucchi: 'La recente controversia sul Cimitero Ostriano e sulla sede primitiva di S. Pietro in Roma.'

Teologisk Tidsskrift (Vol. IV. No. 6. 1903). Kjöbenhavn). Chr. Glarbo: 'Om Bestemmelsen af Dogmets Begreb.' J. O. Andersen: 'Danmarks Kirkeliv i 1901–2' (*continued*). L. Koch: 'C. Skovgaard-Petersen: *Menneskeheden uden Kristus. Die religiöse Menneskетyper. Kan der leves paa Rationalisme? Kendsgerninger til Svar.*'

The East and the West (Vol. I. No. 4. October 1903). 'A Study in the Character of the Chinese,' by the Rev. J. Campbell Gibson, D.D. 'The Christian Martyrs of Japan in the Seventeenth Century,' by S. Ballard. 'Education in South Africa—Our Opportunity and our Duty,' by the Rev. S. A. Donaldson. 'The Anglican Church in the South Pacific,' by the Right Rev. Bishop Montgomery. 'The Higher Criticism incompatible with Missionary Work,' by James Munro. 'The Higher Criticism considered as an aid to missionary work,' by X. P.

Books received.

Owing to the difficulty of dealing with the large number of books sent us for review, we propose to issue each quarter a complete list of all received. The more important will be reviewed or noticed in articles as space permits.

Old Testament.

Smith, H. P.—*Old Testament History* (International Theological Library). Pp. xxv + 512. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) 12*s.*

Matheson, G.—*The Representative Men of the Bible. Part II., Ishmael to Daniel.* Pp. xi + 351. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 6*s.*

Lee, J. Fitzgerald.—*The Greater Exodus.* Pp. xi + 132. (Elliot Stock.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net. A criticism of the Pentateuch based on the archæology of Mexico and Peru.

Kennedy, J.—*The Note-line in the Hebrew Scriptures commonly called Pāsēq or Pĕsîq.* Pp. ix + 129. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

Cullen, J.—*The Book of the Covenant in Moab: A Critical Inquiry into the Original Form of Deuteronomy.* Pp. x + 244. (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons.) 5*s.* net.

Cheyne, T. K.—*Critica Biblica*, Part IV. (First and Second Kings). Pp. 314–396. (A. and C. Black.) 3*s.* Jerahmeel (*continued*).

Cook, S. A.—*The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi.* Pp. xviii + 307. (A. and C. Black.)

Barnes, W. Emery.—*Isaiah XL.–LXVI.* (the Churchman's Bible). Pp. xxxviii + 172. (Methuen.) 2*s.* net. The introduction and explanations of the

Digitized by Google

text are simple and scholarly, and the appearance of the book itself is attractive.

DAVIDSON, A. B. (the late).—*Old Testament Prophecy.* Edited by J. A. PATERSON. Pp. xiii + 507. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

PINCHES, THEOPHILUS G.—*The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia.* Second Edition. Pp. viii + 592. (London: S.P.C.K.) A second edition, revised, of the work reviewed in our article.

NEW TESTAMENT.

WRIGHT, A. *A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*, pp. lxxii + 319. (Macmillan and Co.) 10*s.* net. Second edition, revised and enlarged.

ROBINSON, J. ARMITAGE (Dean of Westminster). *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians.* Pp. viii + 314. (Macmillan and Co.) 12*s.*

STANTON, V. H. *The Gospels as Historical Documents.* Part. i. *The Early Use of the Gospels.* Pp. xv + 288. (Cambridge University Press.) 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

DONEHOO, J. DE Q. *The Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ.* Pp. lix + 531. (New York: The Macmillan Co.) 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

The Expositor's Greek Testament. Edited by the Rev. W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D. Vol. III. II. Cor., by the Very Rev. J. H. BERNARD, D.D. Galatians, by the Rev. FREDERIC KENDALL, M.A. Ephesians, by the Rev. S. D. F. SALMOND. Philippians, by the Rev. H. A. A. KENNEDY, D.Sc. Colossians, by Professor A. S. PEAKE. Pp. 547. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.) 28*s.*

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

SOUTTAR, R. *A Short History of Ancient Peoples*, with an Introduction by Prof. SAYCE. Pp. xxiv + 728. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 12*s.*

CODRINGTON, T. *Roman Roads in Britain.* Pp. iv + 392. (S.P.C.K.) 5*s.* With large folding map.

GREEN, J. R. *Historical Studies.* Pp. viii + 365. (Macmillan and Co.) 4*s.* net. Eversley Series. Reprinted chiefly from the *Saturday Review.*

GREEN, J. R. *Stray Studies. Second Series.* Pp. viii + 276. (Macmillan and Co.) 4*s.* net. Eversley Series. Reprinted from the *Saturday Review.*

HENDERSON, B. W. *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero.* Pp. xiv + 529. (Methuen.) 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

CARLYLE, R. W. and A. J. *A History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West.* Vol. I. *The Second Century to the Ninth.* By A. J. CARLYLE. Pp. xvii + 314. (Edinburgh: Blackwood.) 15*s.* net.

SIDGWICK, H. (the late). *The Development of European Polity.* Pp. xxvi + 454. (Macmillan and Co.) 10*s.* net.

CHURCH HISTORY.

HENSON, H. HENSLEY. *English Religion in the Seventeenth Century.* (St. Margaret's Lectures, 1903.) Pp. xvii + 265. (Murray.) 6*s.* net.

WORDSWORTH, CHR. *St. Nicholas' Hospital, Salisbury.* (Wilts Records Society.) Pp. lxxxviii + 386. (Salisbury: Brown and Co.) 15*s.* Contains a Fifteenth-century Cartulary and other Records.

HUTTON, W. H. *The English Church from the Accession of Charles I. to the Death of Anne.* (Being Part VI. of *A History of the English Church*, edited by

Digitized by Google

[the late] W. R. W. STEPHENS and W. HUNT.) Pp. ix + 368. (Macmillan and Co.) 7*s.* 6*d.*

NEALE, J. M. (the late). *A History of the Church from the Day of Pentecost to the Council of Chalcedon: for the Use of Children.* Pp. vii + 192. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net. A timely reprint of an excellent book.

COLLINS, W. E. *The Study of Ecclesiastical History* (Robinson's *Handbook for the Clergy*). Pp. xiii + 166. (Longmans.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

WATERMAN, L. *Tables of Episcopal Descent,* A.D. 668–1902. With an Introductory Note by Rev. Prof. T. RICHEY. Pp. v + 79. (New York: E. S. Gorham.) Illustrates the transmission of the Episcopate in the English and American Lines from Stigand to the present day.

SMITH, A. H. *Rex Christus. An Outline Study of China.* Pp. xi. + 256. (New York: The Macmillan Co.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

COLLINS, W. E. (PROF.) *Church and State in England before the Conquest.* Pp. 23. (London: S.P.C.K.) 2*d.*

Suggestions for the Study of Early Church History. (London: S.P.C.K.) 3*d.*

Two useful pamphlets published by the Church Historical Society. But would it not be better if all the books published in a series were the same size?

BIOGRAPHY.

BROWNE (Right Rev. G. F., Bishop of Bristol).—*St. Aldhelm: his Life and Times.* Pp. 366. (S.P.C.K.) 5*s.* A very interesting study in early English history.

CRAUFORD, A. M.—*Recollections of James Martineau.* Pp. xiii + 233. (Edinburgh: G. A. Morton). 3*s.* 6*d.* net. Includes some letters and an essay on his religion. The material is a little thin, and the style 'Boswellian.'

STODDART, A. M.—*The Life of Francis of Assisi.* Pp. xiv + 247. (Methuen.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

HUTCHINGS, W. H.—*Life and Letters of T. T. Carter, of Clewer.* Pp. 340. (Longmans.) 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

BARBER, W. T. A.—*Raymond Lull, the Illuminated Doctor: A Study in Mediæval Missions.* Pp. 172. (Wesleyan Methodist Book Room.) 2*s.* 6*d.* A very interesting little study of this thirteenth-century missionary to the Moslems.

PHILOSOPHY.

ILLINGWORTH, J. R.—*Personality, Human and Divine.* Pp. 124. (Macmillan and Co.) 6*d.* The publication of so notable a book as Mr. Illingworth's Bampton Lectures in the sixpenny series is an event to which special attention must be drawn. It is earnestly to be hoped that its success will justify the publishers in further reprints of the kind.

SCHILLER, F. C. S.—*Humanism: Philosophical Essays.* Pp. xxv + 297. (Macmillan and Co.) 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

STEPHEN, SIR LESLIE.—*An Agnostic's Apology.* Pp. 367. (Smith, Elder and Co.). 7*s.* 6*d.* A new edition.

WALLACE, A. RUSSEL.—*Man's Place in the Universe.* Pp. xii + 330. (Chapman and Hall.) 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

APOLOGETICS.

CAILLARD, E. M.—*Individual Immortality.* Pp. viii + 136. (Murray.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Digitized by Google

Christian Apologetics, A Series of Addresses delivered before the Christian Association of University College, London. By G. HENSLOW, H. WACE, D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, R. E. WELSH, G. T. MANLEY, and C. WILSON. With an introduction by W. D. MCLAREN, edited by W. W. SETON. Pp. xxii + 133. (Murray.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

HEADLAM, A. C.—*The Sources and Authority of Dogmatic Theology: an Inaugural Lecture at King's College, London.* Pp. 49. (Macmillan.) 1*s.* net.

LOOFS, FRIEDRICH.—*Anti-Haeckel: an Exposure of Haeckel's Views of Christianity.* Translated by the Rev. H. R. MACKINTOSH. Pp. xiv + 94. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.) 6*d.* A well-printed sixpenny pamphlet in the Christian Defence Series.

PRACTICAL AND DEVOTIONAL THEOLOGY.

FORD, H.—*The Decadence of Preaching.* With a Preface by Archdeacon SINCLAIR. Pp. vii + 75. (Elliot Stock.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

MENZIES, F. (the late).—*Some Village Sermons.* With a Brief Memoir by the Rev. I. GREGORY SMITH. Pp. xvii + 148. (Oxford: J. Parker and Co.) 2*s.* 6*d.*

DIXON, H. L.—*On Saying Grace.* Pp. xvi + 263. (Oxford: J. Parker and Co.) 5*s.*

WESTCOTT (the late Bishop).—*Common Prayers for Family Use.* Pp. 36. (Macmillan and Co.) 1*s.* net. Drawn up by the late Bishop of Durham for use in his house at Harrow in 1864, and used in his family to the end of his life.

GAYFORD, S. C.—*The Future State* (Oxford Church Text Books). Pp. 128. (Rivingtons.) 1*s.*

DRUMMOND, R. J.—*Faith's Perplexities.* Pp. xi + 312. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 5*s.*

LEWIS, H. ELVET.—*By the River Chebar. Some Applications of Ezekiel's Visions.* Pp. xi + 182. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

MAY, G. LACEY.—*Watchful Servants: Twenty Readings for the Sick and Aged.* Pp. vi + 148. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.) 2*s.* net.

LONGRIDGE, FLORENCE. *Bible Lessons for the Primary Class,* with a Preface by the Bishop of COVENTRY. Pp. 200. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

HEALY, S. *Definite Church Teaching:* new and revised edition. Pp. iv + 123. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.) 6*d.* net.

VAUX, J. E. *Prayers for the Dead: A Simple Argument for Thoughtful Folk.* Pp. 16. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.) 1*d.*

NEVILL, H. *A Daily Text-Book for Invalids,* with Introduction by Canon GARRY. Second edition. Pp. 194. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.)

FREEMAN, FLORA L. *The Sunshine of Every-Day Life,* with Preface by Rev. C. H. SHARPE. Pp. viii + 276. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

HUGHES, MARY U. *The King of Kings.* Illustrated by drawings adapted from the Old Masters by URSULA WOOD. Pp. 69. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.) 5*s.* net.

DENNEY, J. *The Atonement and the Modern Mind.* Pp. vi + 117. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 2*s.* 6*d.*

MACLAREN, A. *Last Sheaves: Sermons.* Pp. xii + 310. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 5*s.*

Digitized by Google

My Catechism Book: A Simple Explanation of the Church Catechism for Young Children. Pp. 84. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.) *2s. 6d.* net.

FIELD, J. E. *The Prayer Book as the Interpreter of Holy Scripture. A Lecture.* Pp. 23. (S.P.C.K.) *2d.*

Communicants' Prayers. With a Preface by the Bishop of ST. ANDREWS. Pp. 54. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray.) *4d.* net. Based largely upon the Prayer-Book. Simple and devotional.

HEBERT, S. *Glimpses into Paradise.* Pp. xii + 330. (London: James Finch and Co.) *2s. 6d.* net.

PROBY, W. H. B. *Conscience and its Limitations: A Sermon.* Pp. 15. (Glasgow: D. Hobbs and Co.)

ANGLICANUS. *Whosoever Will: a New Translation of the Athanasian Creed.* Pp. 28. (Skeffington and Son.) *6d.*

WALPOLE, G. H. S. *The People's Psalter: a Plain Book for those who wish to use the Psalms in Church with Intelligence and Devotion.* Pp. xxvii + 244. (Elliot Stock.) *2s.* net. The Psalms are carefully divided into paragraphs, and each Psalm is prefaced by a few lines as to its 'occasion, application, and use.'

SHEPHEARD, H. B. *The Parables of Man and of God.* Pp. viii + 146. (Longmans.) *3s.* net.

NEWLAND-SMITH, J. N. *The Catechist's Handbook.* Pp. xxiv + 226. (Grant Richards.) *3s.* net.

MOBERLY, R. C. (the late PROF.) *Sorrow, Sin, and Beauty: Three Short Series of Addresses.* Pp. vii + 212. (Murray.) *2s. 6d.* New edition.

ROCHESTER, EDWARD, BISHOP OF. *The Church's Failures and the Work of Christ. A Charge at his Second Visitation.* Pp. 48. (Macmillan and Co.) *1s.* net.

CURRY, S. S. *Vocal and Literary Interpretation of the Bible.* With an Introduction by F. G. PEABODY, D.D. Pp. xvii + 384. (New York: The Macmillan Co.) *6s. 6d.* net.

KEATINGE, J. *The Priest: His Character and Work.* Pp. xvi + 323. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.) *5s.* net.

Præparatio: Notes of Preparation for Holy Communion (Holy Days). With Preface by G. CONGREVE, S.S.J.E. Pp. xvi + 302. (Longmans.) *6s.* net.

WILLIAMS, P. *Bible Illustrations of the Teaching of each Sunday.* Pp. iv + 183. (London: Church of England Sunday School Institute.) *1s. 6d.* Useful but somewhat fanciful occasionally.

HOBSON, E., SWEETAPPLE, H. D. S., WAGSTAFF, J. *A Five Years' Course of Bible and Prayer-Book Teaching.* Revised edition. Lessons for the *second* year. Pp. vii + 206. (London: Church of England Sunday School Institute.) *2s.*

TYRRELL, G. (S.J.) *Lex Orandi, or Prayer and Creed.* Pp. xxxiv + 216. (Longmans.) *5s.* net.

DUTHOIT, W. Thomas à Kempis' *Prayers and Meditations on the Life of Christ.* Pp. xxviii + 330. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.) *5s.* net.

CAMPBELL, R. J. *City Temple Sermons.* Pp. xi + 258. (Hodder and Stoughton.) *6s.*

PEABODY, F. G. *The Religion of an Educated Man.* Three lectures to the students of Haverford College. Pp. 89. (New York: The Macmillan Co.) *4s. 6d.* net. The subjects of the lectures are: (i.) Religion as Education, (ii.) The Blessing of Christ to the Scholar, (iii.) Knowledge and Service.

Digitized by Google

McNABB, V. J. (O.P.) *Where Believers may doubt: or Studies in Biblical Inspiration and other Problems of Faith.* Pp. ix + 114. (Burns and Oates.) 3*s.* 6*d.* A very interesting little book.

PROTHERO, R. E. *The Psalms in Human Life.* Pp. xi + 415. (John Murray.) 10*s.* 6*d.* net. A valuable historical inquiry into the influence of the Psalms upon some of the greatest men and movements in all ages.

RANDOLPH, B. W. *Ember Thoughts: Addresses given at Ely.* Pp. 102. (Longmans.) 2*s.* net.

KNIGHT, G. H. *The Master's Questions to His Disciples: Thoughts Devotional and Practical for the Silent Hour.* Pp. xv + 367. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 5*s.*

HEDLEY, J. C., O.S.B. (Bishop of NEWPORT). *A Bishop and his Flock.* Pp. viii + 414. (Burns and Oates.) 6*s.*

NEWBOLT, W. C. E. *The Church Catechism.* (Oxford Library of Practical Theology.) Pp. 332. (Longmans.) 5*s.*

MORRISON, G. H. *Sun-Rise. Addresses from a City Pulpit.* Pp. xi + 310. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 5*s.*

MORGAN, G. CAMPBELL. *The Crises of the Christ.* Pp. viii + 430. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 7*s.* 6*d.*

MACKRELL (Mrs. P.). *Hymns of the Christian Centuries.* Pp. xv + 280. (George Allen.) 5*s.* net.

DAVIDSON, A. B. (the late). *Waiting upon God.* Pp. ix + 578. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) 6*s.*

STEVENSON, MORLEY. *The Spiritual Teaching of the Holy Grail.* Pp. viii + 91. (London: Wells Gardner.) 2*s.* 6*d.*

PHILOLOGY.

HARDIE, W. R. *Lectures on Classical Subjects.* Pp. x + 348. (Macmillan and Co.) 7*s.* net. A series of most interesting literary studies, including essays on the 'Feeling for Nature,' the 'Supernatural,' the 'Vein of Romance,' the 'Language' and the 'Metrical Form of Poetry,' in Greek and Latin authors.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

RHODES, D. P. *A Pleasure-book of Grindelwald.* Pp. xv + 235. (New York: The Macmillan Co.) 6*s.* net. With map and many illustrations.

PIGOU, F. (Dean of Bristol). *Odds and Ends.* Pp. 349. (Edward Arnold.) 16*s.* A further collection of reminiscences by the author of 'Phases of My Life.'

Bible, The Conquests of the. Pp. 113. (British and Foreign Bible Society.) A popular Illustrated Report of the Work of the Society, 1902–3.

WARD, WILFRID. *Problems and Persons.* Pp. liv + 377. (Longmans.) 14*s.* net.

COBHAM, C. D. (translated by). *Ilmu Hal: A Manual of the Doctrine and Practice of Islam.* Second edition. Pp. 14. (Nicosia, Cyprus, 1902.) Interesting.

BERNARDAKIS, D. N. *A Catechism approved and adopted for use in the Primary Schools of the Great Church of Christ.* Translated by C. D. COBHAM, with a Preface by the Ven. BERESFORD POTTER. Pp. v + 37. (Cyprus: Government Printing Office, Nicosia.) A useful little pamphlet.

TOLSTOY (Count LEO). *Appeal to Social Reformers.* Pp. 26. (London: The Free Age Press.) 1*d.*

Digitized by Google

COURTHOPE, W. J. *History of English Poetry.* Vols. III. and IV.: pp. xxxii + 533, xxix + 476. (Macmillan and Co.) 10*s.* each net. Vol. III. deals with the Intellectual Conflict of the seventeenth century, the decadent influence of the feudal monarchy, and the growth of the national genius. Vol. IV. sketches the development and decline of the poetic drama, and the influence of the court and the people.

The Church Worker. Vol. XXII. 1903. Pp. 192. (London: Church of England Sunday School Institute.) Useful and well printed.

Golden Sunbeams. November–December 1903. (S.P.C.K.) 1*d.* each. Also Vol. VII. 1903. Pp. 192. 1*s.* 4*d.* A quaint and well-printed little magazine for children.

The Dawn of Day. November–December 1903. (S.P.C.K.) 1*d.* each. Also bound vol. for 1903, pp. 286. 1*s.* A very cheap bound magazine.

DOBSON, AUSTIN. *Fanny Burney.* ('English Men of Letters' series.) Pp. vii + 216. (Macmillan and Co.) 2*s.* net.

BURNEY, FANNY. *Evelina: or the History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World.* With an Introduction by AUSTIN DOBSON and Illustrations by HUGH THOMSON. Pp. xxxv + 477. (Macmillan and Co.) 6*s.*

WELCKER, A. *A Dream of Realms Beyond Us.* Seventh American Edition. Pp. 38. (San Francisco: Cubery and Co.) Paper covers. 40*s.* The author complains that British reviewers have failed to understand the inner meaning of his verses. We regretfully share in their disability.

GOAD, H. E. *The Blind Prophet: A Dramatic Poem.* Pp. xii + 189. (Rivingtons.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

GIBSON, J. *Guide to the Civil Service.* ('Start in Life' series.) Pp. viii + 268. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 3*s.* 6*d.* The book is crammed with facts and examination papers, and does not contain a superfluous word.

LAWRENCE, A. *Journalism as a Profession.* ('Start in Life' series.) With a Preface by W. ROBERTSON NICOLL and a Chapter by A. C. HARMSWORTH. Pp. x + 189. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 3*s.* 6*d.* Good journalism.

'LAWYER, A.' *Guide to the Legal Profession.* ('Start in Life' series.) Pp. viii + 292. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 3*s.* 6*d.* Contains much useful information, but the statement that seventeen colleges in Oxford 'do not offer or profess to offer any inducement by way of scholarship, prize, or fellowship to the study of law' is ridiculous, and the average cost of living there is greatly overestimated.

The Boys' and Girls' Companion, 1903. Pp. 192. (London: Church of England Sunday School Institute.) 2*s.* Printing very clear; the illustrations are a little stiff in drawing.

HOLLINS, J. *The Salvation Army: a Short Study of its Defects and Possibilities.* Pp. 100. (London: The Modern Language Press, Limited.) 1*s.*

CARROLL, J. S. *Exiles of Eternity: An Exposition of Dante's Inferno.* Pp. lxiii + 510. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

KIDD, W. *The Direction of Hair in Animals and Man.* Pp. xii + 154. (A. and C. Black.)

AVEBURY, LORD. *Essays and Addresses,* 1900–1903. Pp. 296. (Macmillan and Co.) 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

VICARIUS. *Junius' Letters. The Author Mystery Cleared.* Pp. 46. (Elliot Stock.) 2*s.* 6*d.* The author confidently claims to have solved the mystery.

The Oxford Point of View. (Vol. II. No. 8. November 1903. Oxford:

Digitized by Google

Alden and Co.) Pp. xii + 67. Price 1*s.* net. Contains a clever but pessimistic article on 'The Religion of the Undergraduate.'

Christmas Gift Books.

Jacberns, R. *Three Rascals.* Pp. 308. (Macmillan.) 4*s.* 6*d.* A very bright and well-illustrated little story.

Mount, A. F. '*Robin, Dear.*' Pp. 162. (S.P.C.K.) 1*s.* 6*d.* A story of canal life.

Roberts, J. *The Land of Nod,* and other stories. Pp. 157. (S.P.C.K.) 1*s.* 6*d.*

Mercer, C. A. *The Island of Refuge; or A Family of Four.* Pp. 155. (S.P.C.K.) 1*s.* 6*d.*

Finnemore, E. P. *The Mark of Cain.* Pp. 254. (S.P.C.K.) 2*s.* 6*d.*

Finnemore, E. P. *Mrs. Groom's Legacy.* Pp. 223. (S.P.C.K.) 2*s.*

Fenn, G. Manville. *Fitz the Filibuster.* Pp. 511. (S.P.C.K.) 5*s.*

Harrison, F. *The New Tutor.* Pp. 383. (S.P.C.K.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

Daunt, A. *Frank Warleigh's Holidays.* Pp. 222. (S.P.C.K.) 2*s.*

Cooper, E. E. *Calder Creek.* Pp. 246. (S.P.C.K.) 2*s.* 6*d.*

Carroll, Lewis. *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland: adapted for very Little Folks from the Original Story.* Pp. 128. (Macmillan and Co.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

———————. *Through the Looking Glass, and what Alice found there: adapted for very Little Folks from the Original Story.* Pp. 128. (Macmillan and Co.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

Two charming little books. Each contains thirty-two of the coloured illustrations by Sir John Tenniel, and the story is told in continuous form.

Directories, Diaries, &c.

Who's Who, 1904. Pp. xx + 1700. (A. and C. Black.) 7*s.* 6*d.* net. More portly and more useful every year.

Who's Who Year-Book, 1904. Pp. 112. (A. and C. Black.) 1*s.* net. Much useful information in a small space, but we have noted several inaccuracies in minor details.

The Living Church Annual, 1904. Pp. 416. (The Living Churchman Co.: Milwaukee, Wis.) Price 35*c.* A directory of the Episcopal Church of America.

The Catholic Directory, Ecclesiastical Register and Almanac, 1904. Pp. xxviii + 620. (Burns and Oates.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net. Most valuable.

We have also received a number of Almanacks, Churchman's Almanacks, and Pocket Diaries published by the S.P.C.K. in all sizes and at all prices. They seem excellent so far as we have tested them, and would make useful presents.

Digitized by Google

INDEX TO VOL. LVII.

ADAM, Dr. J., *Texts to illustrate . . . Greek Philosophy after Aristotle*, 476
Alcock, Rev. G. A., *Key to the Hebrew Psalter*, 455
Alexander, Dr. M., *Demonic Possession in New Testament*, 461
Askwith, Rev. E. H., *An Introduction to the Thessalonian Epistles*, 225
Austin, Mr. A., *Haunts of Ancient Peace*, 199
Australia, Some notes on the Church in, 146 *sqq.*: conditions of Church work: immense distances and sparse population, 146; ecclesiastical statistics, discipline, and polity, 147; examples of amount of a Sunday's work for one clergyman, 148; character of those among whom he works, 149; liberal pecuniary support rendered by congregations, 150; the system of clerical Assurance, 152; isolation of country clergy, 153; independence of action, *ib.*; difficulties and temptations, 154; Synods introduced by Bishop Short, 155; General Synod: its constitution, 156; its authority, work, and procedure, 158; Australia a paradise for the religious quack, 160; social characteristics, 161; position of the Church compared with that of other religious bodies, 162; Church work and services, 163; lack of religious knowledge among children, 164; methods of Roman Church and other bodies, 165; Australia is still in a quasi-missionary stage, 166
Avebury, Lord, *The Scenery of England, and the Causes to which it is due*, 201

BACHE, Miss C., *Brother Musicians: Reminiscences of Edward and Walter Bache*, 206
Bacon, Rev. Dr. B. W., *The Sermon on the Mount*, 225
Bacon, Roger, The Greek Grammar of, and a Fragment of his Hebrew Grammar (ed. Rev. E. Nolan, and Dr. Hirsch), 211
Ball, Dr. W. E., *St. Paul and the Roman Law, &c.*, 226
Barton, Prof., *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, 451
Bayliss, Sir Wyke, *Rex Regum: a Painter's Study of the Portrait of Christ from the Time of the Apostles to the Present Day*, 207
Birrell, Mr. A., *William Hazlitt*, 198
Boyd Carpenter, Bishop, *The Wisdom of James the Just*, 465
Bright, W., D.D., Selected Letters of (ed. B. J. Kidd), 474
Brooke, Rev. Stopford A., *The Poetry of Robert Browning*, 194
Bryce, Rt. Hon. J., *Studies in Contemporary Biography*, 467
Burney, Rev. C. F., *Notes on Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings*, 455
Buss, Rev. S., *Roman Law and History in New Testament*, 463

CARPENTER, Mr. Estlin, *The Composition of the Hexateuch*, 454
Church Worship and Church Order, 1 *sqq.*: causes of the present disputes in the Church, 3; grounds for hopes of a settlement: the recent *Declaration of Clergy on Ritual*, *ib.*; statement of the signatories' principles: loyalty to the Prayer Book, and to the authority of the Bishops, 4; their

Digitized by Google

position towards the services in the Prayer Book, 5; the Archbishop's reply on this point: the 'reasonable elasticity' allowed by the modification of 1865, 6; the Bishop's dispensing power, 7; his duty as to regulation of services in all churches of his diocese, 8; the *Declaration* on the Ornaments Rubric, 9; the various decisions of the Courts on it, 10; difficulty of the position thence resulting, 11; the *Declaration's* desire for the complete restoration of the synodical action of the Church, 12; but its recommendation ought to be, not a temporary expedient, but the normal custom, 13; suggestions for the work of diocesan synods, 14; the liturgical authority of the Bishop, 15; clerical obedience to it should be absolute, 16; corporate action desiderated in place of private enterprise, 17; public opinion must be educated, *ib.*; the services must be for edification: different types of temperament of people to be considered, 18; religious prejudice must be respected, 19; the question of music: Mr. Baden Powell's *Choralia* criticized, 20; examples of lack of uniformity: a chaos of *uses*, 22; points on which there is no need of uniformity, 24; historic continuity as applied to worship, 25; criticisms of some archaeological investigations by liturgiologists, 25; their two faults: over-scrupulousness and antiquarianism, 27; futility of their efforts for reunion, 28

Coleman, Bishop (Delaware), *A History of the American Church*, 440

DANTE, The Imperialism of, 167 *sqq.*; the poet's 'all-surveying, all-embracing mind,' 167; vitality of his political theories, 168; characteristics of his times and surroundings, 169; complete divorce between religion and daily life, 170; character of the Italian republics, 171; Dante's ideal remedies: liberty, justice, and peace, 172; his *De Monarchia* compared with Godwin's *Political Justice*, *ib.*; the factor of 'sin' in Dante's ideal, 173; equal laws for all was no part of his ideal, 174; man's fallen nature needed two guides—the Emperor and the Church, 175; the respective work of the Emperor and the Pope in Dante's ideal, 176; the position held in his scheme by Rome and the Papacy, 177; the special hindrances to the realization of his ideal, 179; application of the opening allegory to his Vision, *ib.*; Italian conception of liberty confronted with that of the Teutonic invader, 180; lack of unity among Italian republics, 181; similarity of ancient and mediæval republics, 182; influence of France on Italy, 183; the vice of the Papal temporal power: avarice and greed, *ib.*; Dante's panacea: Imperialism, 184; the potentialities of British Imperialism, 185

Dickson, Prof. E., *Music in the History of the Western Church*, 205

Dieulafoy, M. Marcel, *David the King* (tr. Lucy Hotz), 458

Dinsmore, Mr. C. A., *The Teachings of Dante*, 188

EDUCATION Acts, The, and After, 396 *sqq.*: character of the Acts, 397; grotesque complaints against them, *ib.*; misstatements by Dr. Horton, 398; difficulties to be met by managers of Church schools, 400; principles to be followed in County Council elections, 401; the ideal school to be aimed at, 402; what religious instruction should be, 403; the rights of parents, 404; religious instruction under the Prussian system, 405; details of the method, 406; regulations for Protestants and for Catholics, 407; obstacles to such a system in England, 408; a proposal

Digitized by Google

which would obviate them, 409; the secular system might be acceptable as a refuge from something worse, 410; the Free Church Council's proposal: 'simple Biblical instruction according to a syllabus,' 411; no test for teachers' qualifications, 412; emphatic objections to these propositions, *ib.*

Ellicott, Bishop (Gloucester), *Addresses on the Revised Version of Holy Scripture*, 217

FOAKES-JACKSON, Canon, *Biblical History of the Hebrews*, 460

GOLDEN LEGEND, The, 29 *sqq.*: criticism of M. de Wyzema's edition of Jacobus de Voragine's work, 30; explanation of the influence of mediæval legendary history, 31; effect of its pictures of morality and heroic self-sacrifice, 32; the heterogeneous character of De Voragine's materials: examples, 33; lack of purpose in the miracles, 34; astounding credulity, 35; exaggerated results of persecution and martyrdom, 36; fierce recriminations of martyrs on their judges, 37; marvels connected with babes and sucklings, *ib.*; active interference of the spirit world, angels and demons, 38; legend of St. Fursy: contest with demons for a soul, 39; interview between St. Dominic and the Prince of darkness, 40; account of the office and ministry of angels, 41; things which De Voragine says are to be taken symbolically, 42; some poetic features of the *Golden Legend*, 43; illustrations of the Virgin-cult: John Beleth's discovery of the Virgin's natal day, 44; the feasts of the Annunciation and the Purification (Candlemas), *ib.*; stories connected with festivals of the Virgin, 45; and of the influence of devotion to her, 46; the legend of the Assumption, 47 *sqq.*; fantastic and alluring flights of fancy, 49; the quaint simplicity with which they are described, 50; use of the book as an object-lesson of the state of life in the middle ages, 51

Gough, Mr. E., *The Bible true from the Beginning*, 450

Graves, Mr. C. L., *Life and Letters of Sir G. Grove*, 469

Gray, Rev. G. B., *Commentary on Numbers*, 456

Green, Dean (Maritzburg), *The Book of Genesis as the Primary Evangel*, 449

Gregory of Nyssa, The Catechetical Oration of (ed. by Rev. J. H. Srawley), 437

HARPER, Prof., *The Song of Solomon*, 459

Harrison, Mr. Frederic, *John Ruskin*, 192

Hassall, Mr. A., *Mazarin*, 200

Holy Eucharist, The: an Historical Inquiry (Parts VIII., IX.), 52 *sqq.*: Presbyterian views at the Savoy Conference (1661): kneeling at the reception of Communion, 53; a change of words in Prayer Book of 1662, *ib.*; Bishop Cosin's share in that revision, 54; his statement of Anglican doctrine of the Eucharist, and of Roman 'differences,' 55; his explanation of 'the real Body and Blood of Christ,' 56; and of the 'sacrifice' and the 'altar,' 58; some apparent changes in his views are probably the work of another writer, 59; Bishop Jeremy Taylor: his explanation of 'real spiritual presence,' 60; of the Eucharistic sacrifice: statements in *Holy Living*, 61; Herbert Thorndike: his life and 'profound theological writings,' 63; he rejects Transubstantiation and other 'opinions' of the 'factions,' 64; statement of his doctrine on the Eucharist: against Zwinglian and Calvinistic views, 65; asserts the 'mystical' presence, but refuses to define 'the manner' thereof, 66; the

Digitized by Google

consecration is effected, not by the recital of the words, but by the use of prayer, 67; 'the bodily substance of the elements' is not destroyed, 68; the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice, 69; it is 'propitiatory and impetratory,' 70; the need of receiving the Holy Communion: non-communicating presence, 71; Thorndike's views on 'reservation' and the Communion of the sick, 73; on adoration of our Lord in the Sacrament, *ib.*; doctrines taught by writers *temp.* James II., 74; the Nonjurors, 75; John Johnson: the Eucharist is a 'proper sacrifice,' 'expiatory and propitiatory,' 76; his doctrine as to the presence, 77; Nonjurors' correspondence with Bishops of the Greek Church (1716–25), 78.—Eighteenth century: Hoadly's *Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper*: mainly Zwinglian, 362; various views of the writers in the controversy which followed, 363 *sqq.*; Dr. Thomas Brett closely follows John Johnson, 366; the doctrine of John Hales reasserted, 367; statement of Dr. Waterland's doctrine, 369; nineteenth century teaching: Alexander Knox, 373; Hugh Stowell, 374; the Oxford Movement: William Palmer, 374; Archdeacon Denison and other Tractarian divines, 375; declaration of English Church Union (1900), 377; Conference at Fulham Palace: statements by Prof. Moule, Lord Halifax, Canon Gore, 378; Canon Gore's work *The Body of Christ*, 379; Eucharistic doctrine in the East: Cyril Lucar's *Confession* (1629), 380; Peter Mogila's *Orthodox Confession*, 382; Lucar's doctrine condemned, 383; the *Confession* of Dositheus, *ib.*; the Council of Bethlehem (1838), 385; Russian and Greek Catechisms: treatment of Transubstantiation, 386; teaching of Roman Catholic divines on the sacrifice: Lessius, Melchior Canus, 389; Bellarmine, 390; De Lugo, Franzelin, 391; recent writers in France, Germany, England, 393; the supra-local character of Christ's presence in the sacraments: Franzelin, Newman, Manning, 395; conclusion, 396

Horner, Rev. G., *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar according to the Coptic Rite*, 435

JESUIT Philanthropist, A, 318 *sqq.*: the witch-mania of the middle ages, 319; the trials by the Inquisitors, 320; witchcraft believed after the Renaissance, 321; Institor and Sprenger's *Malleus Maleficarum* (1489), its rules for taking evidence, and for torture, 322; results of Inquisitors' consequent action, 323; the Reformers strongly believed in witchcraft and approved of its punishment, 323; various assailants of the persecutors' principles and practice, 324; two assailants, Cornelius Loos and Dr. Hade, both suffered martyrs' deaths, *ib.*; Sprenger's dogma upheld by a Jesuit, Martin del Rio, 325; statistics of the Würzburg horrors (1627–9), 326; appearance of a deliverer, the Jesuit Friedrich von Spee, *ib.*; his previous career, *ib.*; appointed to act as confessor to condemned witches, 327; his estimate of the Inquisitors and their methods, *ib.*; witch-trials timidly arraigned by the Jesuits Tanner and Laymann, 328; Spee's anonymous denunciation, *Cautio Criminalis*, 329; description of an actual trial, 330; his later occupation, 331; his sacred poetry, 333; influence of his writings, 334; later outbursts of the witch-mania, 335; Spee's death—one of self-sacrifice, 336

Joan of Arc, 131 *sqq.*: the authentic documents of the examination

Digitized by Google

(1456) which led to the 'rehabilitation' of the Maid, 132; the present day process for her Beatification, 133; interest taken therein by Leo XIII. and by the French bishops and people, 135; the late Cardinal Howard's share in it, 136 *n.*; Joan's lowly birth, 136; the summons she receives from mysterious voices, *ib.*; her visit to the 'Dauphin' and the result, 137; the relief of Orleans, followed by a national rising, 138; her holy influence with the army, 139; extraordinary capacity for war, *ib.*; a series of victories, *ib.*; she is taken prisoner, 140; her imprisonment, *ib.*; her behaviour during her trial, 141; her alleged recantation, 142; Bishop of Beauvais' sentence, *ib.*; Joan's 'relapse': her death at the stake, 143; the base treatment her story has received in literature, 144; time's rehabilitation, 145

KING, Rev. Dr. T. M., *The Theology of Christ's Teaching*, 223
Kirkpatrick, Prof., *The Book of Psalms*, 457

LABANCA, Prof., *Gesù Cristo nella Letteratura Contemporanea*, 229
Lake, Rev. Kirsopp, *Codex I. of the Gospels and its Allies*, 219; *Texts from Mount Athos*, *ib.*
Laurie, Prof. S. S., *The Training of Teachers*, 209
Lempriere, Dr., *A Compendium of the Canon Law*, 439
Lilly, Mr. W. S., *Christianity and Modern Civilization*, 446
Lyall, Sir A., *Alfred Tennyson*, 193

MACDONALD, Very Rev. A., *The Symbol of the Apostles*, 437
Margoliouth, Mrs., *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, 466
Margoliouth, Prof., *Religions of Bible Lands*, 460
Mark, Mr. H. Thiselton, *The Teacher and the Child*, 210

Martinengo Cesaresco, Countess, *Lombard Studies*, 203
Mitchell, Prof. H. G., *The World before Abraham*, 448
Monotheism in Semitic Religions, 300 *sqq.*; Dr. Pinches' recent collection of Babylonian and Assyrian documents bearing upon the Old Testament, 301; some defects in the work pointed out, 301; the two accounts of the Deluge, 302; story of Sargon of Agadè: a parallel to the story of Moses, *ib.*; Prof. Delitzsch's *Babel und Bibel*, 303: Prof. Sayce's *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, *ib.*; Dr. Curtiss's *Primitive Semitic Religion to-day*: investigations among peasants and Bedouin of Syria and Sinai, 304; survivals of a religion older than the Babylonian Empire, 305; a vague profession of belief in one God, with a firmer belief in the local saint (weli), *ib.*; the evidences of excessive polytheism in Babylonian and Assyrian religions, 306; the Semites had one name for God, El or Il: its meaning and use, 307; occurrence of 'Yahweh,' the God of Israel, *ib.*; the worship of El contained at least the germ of monotheism, 308; a struggle between polytheism and monotheism, 309; the religion of the Phœnicians: Baal, 311; later signs of monotheism, 312; influence of the Jewish Diaspora; Palmyrene texts, 313; the sacred guilds of Tanais, 314; the development of monotheism in Israel, 315 *sqq.*

NOTES on Books received, Pamphlets, &c., 237, 485

OLIPHANT, Mr. T. L. K., *Rome and Reform*, 443

PAUL, Mr. Herbert, *Matthew Arnold*, 190
Periodicals, 231, 478
Philosophy of Phrases, A (review of Rev. Dr. Fairbairn's *The*

Digitized by Google

POL

Philosophy of the Christian Religion), 257 *sqq.*: the art and eloquence of the work, 257; his stated object: 'to construe Christianity through religion,' 258; examination of his statements: that mystery is essential to religion as a moral agent, 259; that Nature is intelligible and that man transcends Nature, 261; is Nature intelligible? 262; his argument from the uniformity of natural sequences, 264; that man is not only the interpreter of Nature: he also 'in a sense constitutes it,' 264; 'Personality' is 'the very condition through which Nature, as known to science, is,' 267; treatment of 'Esse est percipi,' *ib.*; Dr. Fairbairn's 'creative Intelligence,' 268; 'we cannot think without thinking God,' 269; 'human consciousness of supra-sensible Being,' 270; 'the action of Nature upon mind,' 271; his treatment of the Personality of Christ, 272 *sqq.*; the 'supreme Personality as the vehicle of the highest good to the race,' 275; criticism of his treatment of Christ as the Founder of a new religion, *ib.*; unexplained 'collectivism' of the author's Christology, 279; his opinion that our Lord universalized the Divine Fatherhood, 280; that 'Christ is the sole institution for worship which has Divine authority in the Christian religion,' *ib.*; final estimate of Dr. Fairbairn's apologetic, 282

Pole, Rev. H., *The Book of Common Prayer*, 443

Power, Rev. M., S.J., *Anglo-Jewish Calendar*, 229

Puritan Utopia, A (review of Rev. W. Begley's edition of *Nova Solyma*), 101 *sqq.*: some defects in Mr. Begley's work as editor, 100; slip-shod translation, 102; the original writer's dexterity in Latin versification, 102: the central notion of the book, 104; its attribution to Milton: Mr. Begley's bad management

SOU

of his arguments, 106; the attribution, though probably right, cannot yet be deemed certain, 107; evidence that the author was an Englishman, a cultivated Puritan, and an accomplished Latin scholar, 108; evidence pointing to its Miltonic authorship: comparison with works of the poet, 110; its ideal of Education, 111; political science, 112; military exercise, gymnastics: a games-master, 113; scholarships, classical schools, 114; religious teaching, 115; the Armada Epic: its Miltonic metaphors and similes, 117; the 'Bridal Song of Heavenly Love,' 118; details suggestive of Milton, 119; argument from the limited scope of the romance, 121; the author's Calvinistic treatment of sin, 122; the work helps towards a better estimate of Puritanism, 124; its ideal of a Puritan Christian State, 127; estimate of the work as a romance, 129

READE, Rev. C., *The Smith Family*, 200

Roberts, Dr. W. Rhys, *Demetrius on Style*, 212

Robinson, Dean (Westminster), *The Study of the Gospels*, 218

Russell, Mr. G. W. E., *Henry Cary Shuttleworth*, 475

SABATIER, P., *Description du Speculum Vitae Beati Francisci et Sociorum ejus*, 445

Schmidtke, Dr., *Die Evangelien eines alten Unzialcodex* (*B* ℵ-text) *&c.*, 221

Shaw, Rev. R. D., *The Pauline Epistles*, 465

Simpson, Mr. S., *Life of Ulrich Zwingli*, 438

Smith, S., M.P., *My Life-Work*, 476

South Africa, the Church in, 241 *sqq.*: struggles for the faith the Church has had to pass through, 241; the present rare opportunity for extending missionary work among natives, 243; the duty of evangelization of these is para-

Digitized by Google

mount, 244; social and political questions involved, 244; origin and history of 'the Ethiopian Church' and the 'Ethiopian Order': status of its readers or catechists, 245; suggestions for their beneficial use, 247; racial agitation for acquisition of social and political rights, *ib.*; relation of the Church with the white population: danger of tampering with the Church constitution, 248; criticism of action of Natal Diocesan Synod, *ib.*; attacks of militant Protestantism on alleged 'ritualism,' 250; complete reply to these, *ib.*; extravagant claims to Church membership, 252; position of Anglican Communion in a new country, *ib.*; the great work before it in South Africa, 253; statistics of the comparative strength of the denominations, 254; zeal of the Boers for denominational religious instruction, 255; state of education in South Africa, 256

Stephen, Sir Leslie, *George Eliot*, 189

Stevens, Prof. G. B., *The Teaching of Jesus*, 221

Stokes, Dr. Whitley, and Strachan, Dr. J., *Thesaurus Palaeo-Hibernicus*, 213

Strachan, Dr. J., *Hebrew Ideals*, 453

Synoptic Gospels, The Criticism of the: their historical value, 284 *sqq.*: the strata in the mine of Gospel material, 284; two groups of strata affecting St. Mark, St. Matthew, and St. Luke, 285; in all three alike Christ is *Divine*, 286; the work of the textual critic, 287; mischief of *a priori* criticism, 288; criticism of Prof. P. Gardner's *Historical Christianity*, 289; 'the teaching of Jesus is in its main outlines recoverable,' *ib.*; but the application of criticism to 'the deeds of the Master' is 'much more destructive,' 290; the author's treatment of the miracles recorded: that there is not sufficient evidence for them, and that they 'would have been ascribed to Christ' 'whether actual or not,' *ib.*; refutation of these statements, 291; detailed reply to his view that fabrication of the Gospel miracles is undoubted, because we can 'see them growing,' 292; exegesis of the 'sign of Jonah,' 293; the two accounts of Christ's directions for preparing the Last Supper, 294; early date of the bulk of the miraculous element in the Gospels, 295; St. Paul's teaching fits in with their records, *ib.*; Prof. Schmiedel's treatment of Gospel miracles, 296; statement of the historical character of the resurrection, 298

TESTAMENT of our Lord, The, trans. from the Syriac by Dr. J. Cooper and Mr. A. J. Maclean, 436

Twentieth-Century New Testament, The, 218

UNIVERSITY of London, The, 414 *sqq.*: defective British University equipment, 414; plans suggested for amendment, 415; 415; the old Universities need expansion as places for a liberal education, 416; the great centres of population need provision of places of training for professions, 417; the advancement of knowledge: conspectus of recent institutions in London, 419; of provincial Universities and Colleges, 420; history of the University of London, 421; its organization, 422; lack of endowments, 423; need of an appropriate seat, 424; and of provision for professors, 426; the sum required, and the claim on Churchmen, 427; the 'Faculty' of Theology and 'Board' of Studies: its members, 429; a good chance for students for Holy Orders: King's College: suggestions for advance of its utility, 431; the pressing need of religious study, 433

Digitized by Google

WAL

WALSH, Mr. W., *The Jesuits in Great Britain*, 448
Welsh Methodism: its origin and growth, 80 *sqq.*: Wales in early years of George I.: its political, literary, and religious conditions, 81; bad habits of the people, 82; a religious and social awakening: work of Griffith Jones and his helpers, 83; his 'circulating charity schools,' *ib.*; 'Madam Bevan's Charity,' 84; intervention of Thomas Charles and the Methodists, 85; improved condition of Wales at Jones's death (1761), *ib.*; cold attitude of the Bishops towards him and his work, 86; work of Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland, 87; their 'Methodist monastery' at Trevecca, 88; Harris and many of his followers join the local Militia, *ib.*; his death (as a Churchman), 89; account of Rowland, *ib.*; marvellous effect of his preaching upon the people, 90; Bishop Squire's efforts to dam the current of (as yet orthodox) national feeling, 91; Rowland's position after his inhibition: the 'Rowlandists,' 92; he claimed to be a Churchman to his death, *ib.*; his persecution by certain Methodists, 92 *n.*; Thomas Charles: how he became a Methodist, 93; how he came to assent to the Great Schism: Methodist ordinations, 95; condition of the Welsh Church in early nineteenth century, 96; failure of bishops to understand the national outburst of religious zeal, 97; the real causes of the Great Schism, 98; scandals of non-residence and pluralities, 99; the keynote of regeneration struck in 1870, 100; need of Welsh-speaking Church officials, *ib.*
Westcott, Rev. A., *Life and Letters of Bishop Westcott*, 471
Willson, Mr. T. B., *History of the Church and State in Norway*, 440

YONGE

YONGE, CHARLOTTE MARY: *Her Life and Letters* (by Miss C. Coleridge), 337 *sqq.*: Miss Yonge's share in the Oxford Movement, 337; her works embodied its spirit, 338; her audience, 339; many great names among her admirers, *ib.*; a younger class now her readers: the causes, 340; she had little contact with the outer world, 341; how she thought out her stories, 343; her biographer's presentment of her, 344; her surroundings: Mr. Keble and his wife, 345; her daily life, 346; her terror of intellectual pride, 347; out of touch with modern problems, 348; absence of vanity, *ib.*; her daily teaching in Otterbourne schools, 349; zeal for Foreign Missions, *ib.*; enormous output of work, 350; the characters in her books were to her real personalities, 351; number of her various works, 352; Mr. Keble her continual censor, *ib.*; defects of her style and composition, 354; her truthfulness to nature, 356; sketch of a day's life at Elderfield, 357; how Miss Yonge spent the profits produced by her works, 359

PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO. LTD., NEW-STREET SQUARE
LONDON

Digitized by Google

Bills for insertion should be sent to SPOTTISWOODE & CO. Ltd., New-street Square, London.

The Poor Clergy Relief Corporation.

ESTABLISHED 1856. INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER 1867.

38 TAVISTOCK PLACE,
TAVISTOCK SQUARE,
LONDON, W.C.

Patrons:
THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

President:
THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

THE ONLY SOCIETY of the kind which gives Immediate Assistance to the Clergy, their Widows and Orphan Daughters, in ALL PARTS OF THE EMPIRE.

At each Fortnightly Meeting of the Committee some Hundreds of Pounds are distributed (besides valuable gifts of Clothing), and a large Fund is required to meet the ever-increasing appeals for help.

DONATIONS AND ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS, and gifts of Clothing of every description, will be most gratefully received by MANDEVILLE B. PHILLIPS, Secretary, 38 Tavistock Place, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.

The Society has aided, to May 1903, more than 22,000 cases of Clerical Distress, with grants ranging from £5 to £75.

Digitized by Google

HIS MAJESTY'S PRINTERS,

EYRE & SPOTTISWOODE,

Bible Warehouse.

New 'Royal' India Paper Bibles.

Text, Central Reference, and Illustrated Teachers' Edition.

The 'Royal' India paper is the lightest, thinnest, and most opaque Bible Paper made.

WEIGHT 11¼ ozs. **A VERY PORTABLE BOOK.** WEIGHT 11¼ ozs.

Printed in clear black type of Minion size, with Central References and Indexed Atlas.

Size 7 × 4⅞ × ¾ inches. **Prices from 6s.**

SPECIAL NOTICE.—Every Bible printed on 'Royal' India paper has stamped upon the inside of its cover 'Royal' India Edition.

Day Unto Day Uttereth Speech.

A YEAR-BOOK OF THE BIBLE AND NATURE.

Compiled by Hon. M. CORDELIA LEIGH.

A Book of Short Poetical and other readings for Every Day in the Year.

Selections, by permission, from the Works of GEORGE MACDONALD, MATTHEW ARNOLD, CHRISTINA ROSSETTI, ANDREW LANG, ROBERT BROWNING, DR. TODHUNTER, &c.

Price 5s.

. . . THE . . .

Pocket Remembrancer of History and Biography.

A compact volume containing over 26,000 references.

Compiled by G. F. BARWICK, B.A.,
of the British Museum, and General Editor of the E.F.G. Series, of which the 'Remembrancer' is the Sixth Volume.

Bound in Art Linen. Price 1s. 6d.

LONDON: 33 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

Digitized by Google

Messrs. LONGMANS & CO.'S
NEW BOOKS.

THIRD EDITION.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF THOMAS THELLUSSON CARTER

Warden of the House of Mercy, Clewer, and Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

Edited by the Ven. W. H. HUTCHINGS, M.A.

Archdeacon of Cleveland.

With 3 Portraits and 8 other Illustrations. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.

Edited by the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's; and the Rev. DARWELL STONE, M.A., Librarian of the Pusey House, Oxford.

THE CHURCH CATECHISM: the Christian's Manual. By the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

HANDBOOKS FOR THE CLERGY.

Edited by the Rev. ARTHUR W. ROBINSON, B.D., Vicar of All Hallows Barking by the Tower.

THE STUDY OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. By the Right Rev. W. E. COLLINS, D.D., Bishop of Gibraltar. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

PRAEPARATIO: HOLY DAYS; or, Notes of Preparation for Holy Communion, founded on the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for every Holy Day and Saint's Day in the Year. With Preface by the Rev. GEORGE CONGREVE, M.A., of the Society of St. John-the-Evangelist, Cowley. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* net.

ALSO RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

PRAEPARATIO: SUNDAYS; or, Notes of Peparation for Holy Communion, founded on the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for every Sunday in the Year. With Preface by the Rev. GEORGE CONGREVE, S.S.J.E. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* net.

EMBER THOUGHTS. Addresses given at Ely. By B. W. RANDOLPH, D.D., Principal of Ely Theological College, Hon. Canon of Ely. Fcp. 8vo. 2*s.* net.

STUDIES ON THE GOSPELS. By VINCENT ROSE, O.P., Professor in the University of Fribourg. Authorised English Version, by ROBERT FRASER, D.D., Domestic Prelate of H.H. Pius X. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* net.

*** *This Work deals with the current attack on the authenticity and authority of the Gospels, and though written by a Catholic theologian, it deals very largely with matters that are common ground with both Catholics and Protestants.*

In view of recent controversy, the chapter on 'The Supernatural Conception' has a special interest.

LEX ORANDI; or, Prayer and Creed. By the Rev. GEORGE TYRRELL, S.J., Author of 'Hard Sayings' &c. Crown 8vo. 5*s.* net.

THE PARABLES OF MAN AND OF GOD. By HAROLD B. SHEPHEARD, M.A. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* net.

SCOTSMAN.—'It is an ingenious and thoroughly worked-out argument in favour of a divine revelation, and contends that the so-called truths of science and philosophy are only so many parables adumbrating a higher truth.'

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., 39 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.; New York, and Bombay.

Digitized by Google

FROM MR. MURRAY'S THEOLOGICAL LIST.

Mr. Murray's Theological List will be sent post free on application.

THE PSALMS IN HUMAN LIFE. By ROWLAND F. PROTHERO, M.V.O., formerly Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford; Author of the 'Life of Dean Stanley.' Demy 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.* net. [*Just out.*

STANDARD.—'Mr. Prothero possesses the wide knowledge, the literary restraint, the moral fervour, and the historic imagination which are requisite, and "The Psalms in Human Life" is, in consequence, not merely a remarkable but an impressive book, and one which appeals to scholars of all creeds.'

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, 1804-1854. By WILLIAM CANTON. With Portraits and other Illustrations. 2 Vols. Demy 8vo. 16*s.* net each. [*Ready immediately.*

SERMON AND PREACHER. Essays on Preaching. By the Rev. W. J. FOXELL, M.A., London, Rector of St. Swithin's, London Stone, with St. Mary Bothaw, E.C. Large crown 8vo. [*Ready immediately.*

NOTES ON THE PSALTER. Extracts of Parallel Passages from the Prayer-Book, Septuagint and Vulgate Versions of the Psalter. By the Rev. CHARLES EVANS, M.A., Hon. Canon of Worcester; sometime Headmaster of King Edward's School, Birmingham. Large crown 8vo. [*Ready immediately.*

CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS. A Series of Addresses delivered before the Christian Association of University College, London. By the Rev. Professor GEORGE HENSLOW; the Very Rev. HENRY WACE, D.D.; the Rev. Professor D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt.; the Rev. R. E. WELSH; the Rev. G. T. MANLEY; and the Rev. C. W. WILSON. Edited by W. W. SETON, M.A., with an Introduction by the Rev. W. D. MCLAREN, M.A., and Speeches on the Lectures by LORD KELVIN; Sir ROBERT ANDERSON, K.C.B., LL.D.; Sir DYCE DUCKWORTH, M.D., LL.D.; Sir THOMAS BARLOW, Bart., M.D., K.C.V.O.; and AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, Esq., K.C. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

ST. MARGARET'S LECTURES.

FIRST SERIES.

CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. Six Lectures delivered in St. Margaret's, Westminster, in Lent, 1902. By the Rev. WM. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D.; F. G. KENYON, D.Litt., Ph.D.; FRANCIS CRAWFORD BURKITT, M.A.; The Rev. F. H. CHASE, D.D.; The Very Rev. J. H. BERNARD, D.D.; The Rev. A. C. HEADLAM, B.D. Second Impression. Large crown 8vo. 6*s.* net.

SECOND SERIES.—JUST OUT.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH RELIGION IN THE XVIIth CENTURY. By H. HENSLEY HENSON, B.D., Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster. Large crown 8vo. 6*s.* net.

INDIVIDUAL IMMORTALITY. By E. M. CAILLARD, Author of 'Progressive Revelation,' &c. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE OUTLOOK.—'The book is entirely detached from bitterness and partisanship, and deserves a warm welcome from all who feel and think.'

DAILY NEWS.—'This is a really valuable contribution to the discussion of a great problem.'

A CHEAP EDITION.

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS OF CANTERBURY. By the late ARTHUR P. STANLEY, Dean of Westminster. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* net. [*Ready immediately.*

THE LANDING OF AUGUSTINE—THE MURDER OF BECKET—EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE—BECKET'S SHRINE.

JOHN MURRAY, Albemarle Street, W.

Digitized by Google

SMITH, ELDER, & CO.'S NEW BOOKS.

Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co. have pleasure in announcing the publication, on February 1st, of a

Popular 6s. Edition of Mr. Sidney Lee's Life of Queen Victoria.

When the original Half-Guinea Edition was published some twelve months since, the **Quarterly Review** expressed the opinion generally entertained of the volume, as follows: 'Mr. Sidney Lee has performed, with marked success, a work which required, in no common measure, a combination of assiduous labour, skilful arrangement, and unfailing tact. . . . Our interest is sustained from the first page to the last; and, what is much more important, the book has that weight and authority which make it a fair basis for forming an estimate of the influence, political and constitutional, of Queen Victoria's personality upon her country and her age, and of the general results of the reign.'

QUEEN VICTORIA: a Biography.

By SIDNEY LEE, Editor of the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' With Portraits, Map, and Facsimile Letter. Crown 8vo. 6s. [*Ready February 1st.*

NEW WORK BY THE AUTHOR OF 'DOWNY V. GREEN.'

Shortly. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

DWALA: a Romance. By GEORGE C. CALDERON, Author of 'The Adventures of Downy V. Green, Rhodes Scholar at Oxford.'

HILL TOWNS OF ITALY. By EGERTON R. WILLIAMS, Junr. With 36 Illustrations and a Coloured Map. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net (probably).

LEGAL T LEAVES. By EDWARD F. TURNER, Author of 'T Leaves,' 'Tantler's Sister,' 'More T Leaves,' &c. Crown 8vo. 5s.

OUTLOOK.—'All capital. The author has a bright, attractive style, abundant humour, and command of pathos.'

BRITISH WEEKLY.—'Extremely clever and amusing, and written from intimate personal knowledge.'

DOCTORS AND THEIR WORK; or, Medicine, Quackery, and Disease. By R. BRUDENELL CARTER, F.R.C.S., Knight of Justice of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, Ex-President of the Medical Society of London, &c. &c. Crown 8vo. 6s.

ACADEMY.—'Contains many pages worth their weight in radium. . . . A book of this order can do nothing but good.'

SEA-WRACK. By FRANK T. BULLEN, F.R.G.S., Author of 'The Cruise of the "Cachalot."' 'The Log of a Sea-Waif,' &c. SECOND IMPRESSION. With 8 Illustrations by ARTHUR TWIDLE. Crown 8vo. 6s.

SPECTATOR.—'Characteristic of Mr. Bullen's best work.'

JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS: A Biography. By HORATIO F. BROWN. New Edition in One Volume, with a Portrait and a New Preface. Large crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

WORLD.—'A worthy literary memorial of a singularly brilliant and attractive personality.'

THE RISING GENERATION. By CONSTANCE E. MAUD, Author of 'An English Girl in Paris,' &c. With cover designed by Mr. JACOMB HOOD. Crown 8vo. 6s.

GUARDIAN.—'A more thoroughly healthy, refreshing book from beginning to end it would be difficult to find.'

MRS. BROWNING'S WORKS. In THREE POCKET VOLUMES. Printed upon India Paper, with a Portrait Frontispiece to each volume. Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d. each net in limp cloth.; or 3s. net in leather.

STANDARD.—'A charming edition of the verse and prose of the greatest of English poetesses.'

AN AGNOSTIC'S APOLOGY. By Sir LESLIE STEPHEN, K.C.B. NEW, REVISED, AND CHEAPER EDITION. Large crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

TWELVE YEARS IN A MONASTERY. By JOSEPH MCCABE, Author of 'Peter Abelard,' 'Life in a Modern Monastery,' &c. NEW, REVISED, AND CHEAPER EDITION. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

RECORD.—'A remarkable work, which is indeed more valuable than when it was first given to the world six years ago.'

London: SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 Waterloo Place, S.W.

Digitized by Google

SADLER'S COMMENTARIES

ON THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

With Notes Critical and Practical, Introductions and Excursuses.

In 12 vols. crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. each.

'Mr. Sadler's Commentary is decidedly one of the most unbackneyed and original of any we have. It will often be found to give help when others fail to do so.'—GUARDIAN.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MARK.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN.

THE ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THE EPISTLES TO THE GALATIANS, EPHESIANS, AND PHILIPPIANS.

THE EPISTLES TO THE COLOSSIANS, THESSALONIANS, AND TIMOTHY.

THE EPISTLES TO TITUS, PHILEMON, AND THE HEBREWS.

THE EPISTLES OF SS. JAMES, PETER, JOHN, AND JUDE.

THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE.

UNIFORM WITH THE 'CHURCH COMMENTARY.'

SERMON OUTLINES FOR THE CLERGY AND LAY PREACHERS.

321 Outlines, arranged according to the Church's Year. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s.

CHURCH DOCTRINE—BIBLE TRUTH. By the Rev. M. F. SADLER. Forty-ninth Thousand. Fcp. 8vo. 2s.

THE CHURCH TEACHER'S MANUAL OF CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION: being the Church Catechism Expanded and Explained in Question and Answer. For the use of Clergymen, Parents and Teachers. By the Rev. M. F. SADLER. Forty-sixth Thousand. Fcp. 8vo. 2s.

Messrs. Bell's Complete Catalogue Post Free on application.

London: GEORGE BELL & SONS, York Street, Covent Garden.

Digitized by Google

BEMROSE AND SONS' LIST.

NOW READY.

CHURCH CONGRESS OFFICIAL REPORT. Held at Bristol, October 1903. Containing the Sermons and Papers in Full, and Reports of all the Speeches, Revised by the Speakers. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

NOW READY.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF OLD ENGLISH PORCELAIN AND ITS MANUFACTORIES; with an Artistic, Industrial, and Critical Appreciation of their Productions. By M. L. SOLON, Author of 'The Art of the Old English Potter' &c.

In One Handsome Volume royal 8vo. beautifully Illustrated with Twenty Full-page Coloured Collotype and Photo-Chromotype Plates, and Forty-eight Collotype Plates on Tint. **Price Two Guineas net.** The edition is limited to 1,250 copies. Prospectus on application.

NOW READY.

MEMORIALS OF OLD OXFORDSHIRE. Edited by the Rev. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of 'Memorials of Old Buckinghamshire.' Dedicated by kind permission to the Right Hon. the Earl of Jersey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. Demy 8vo. handsome binding, cloth extra, gilt top, price 15*s.* net. With numerous Illustrations.

Among the contributors are Lord Dillon, President of the Society of Antiquaries, Professor Burrows, H. Hurst, Walter Money, F.S.A., Theodore Andrea Cook, F.S.A., Rev. J. E. Field, M.A., A. J. Evans, M.A., Rev. J. Pearman, Hon. B. Stapleton, C. E. Keyser, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., W. J. Monk, Rev. Alan Cheales, Mrs. Sturge Henderson, Mrs. Climenson, Dr. Macnamara, and other eminent writers.

IN PREPARATION.

BLACK JACKS AND LEATHER BOTTLES: being some Account of Leather Drinking Vessels in England, and Incidentally of other Ancient Vessels. By OLIVER BAKER, R.E.

The Book will be profusely Illustrated with Drawings and Photographs by the Author and other Artists. A Frontispiece and Three Full-page Plates will be in Colours, in addition to a Photogravure Plate and some 120 Tone Blocks and Facsimile Pen Drawings. Bound in art linen with gilt top, price, *to Subscribers*, Two Guineas net. Prospectus post free on application.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SEPULCHRAL CROSS-SLABS, With reference to other Emblems found thereon. By K. E. STYAN. With Notes and Seventy-one Plates and Illustrations of Examples found in the British Isles. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.* net. This volume is intended as a short popular history on the Sepulchral Cross-Slabs of the early centuries, for the use of both students and general readers.

'Really a work of art. The slabs selected by the author for her well-drawn illustrations number about seventy. In the introductory chapters a good deal of information is given which will help visitors to churches where these monuments of piety have escaped the spoiler's hands to fix approximately the dates of the slabs. We almost believe that some of the parish priests, who at present are not much inclined to value such treasures, may be led to take more care of them if they will learn from Miss Styan what there is to admire in them.'
CHURCH TIMES.

IN PREPARATION.

THE REGISTERS OF THE PARISH OF ASKHAM, IN THE COUNTY OF WESTMORLAND, from 1566 to 1812. Copied by MARY B. NOBLE, Editor of the 'Bampton Parish Registers' and Author of 'A History of Bampton.' To be published by subscription. Demy 8vo. cloth, price One Guinea net. Prospectus on application.

These Registers contain many interesting entries of the Sandford, Myddleton, Collinson, Bowman, Law, Holme, Wilkinson, and Langhorne families and others, and some reference to Parochial events. A List of Vicars will be added, and some Local Notes.

QUARTERLY, PRICE 2*s.* 6*d.*

THE RELIQUARY.

An Illustrated Magazine for Antiquaries, Artists, and Collectors.

Edited by J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A.

The JANUARY part contains:

ABOUT ALMANACKS. By W. HENEAGE LEGGE. Illustrated.
SOME SUGGESTION AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE PENANNULAR BROOCH. By EDWARD LOVETT. Illustrated.
A CHAT ABOUT SPOONS. By RICHARD QUICK. Illustrated.
THE CHURCH OF ST. LEVAN. By CHARLOTTE MASON. Illustrated.
SOME CROSSES AT HORNBY AND MELLING IN LONSDALE. By W. COLLINGWOOD. Illustrated.
THE EVOLUTION OF THE MITRE. By H. P. PHEASEY. Illustrated.

London: BEMROSE & SONS, Ltd., 4 Snow Hill, E.C.; and Derby.

Digitized by Google

The STANDARD says: 'THE TREASURY is very attractive.'

The GUARDIAN says: 'THE TREASURY has just completed the first year of its spirited venture, on the success of which the Editor is to be heartily congratulated.'

The PALL MALL GAZETTE says: 'The new volume of THE TREASURY starts off with a number of conspicuous excellence.'

THE TREASURY

An Illustrated Church Magazine.

Edited by ANTHONY DEANE.

THE TREASURY made its first appearance in October 1902. Its purpose was defined then as that of providing a popular Magazine for Sunday and general reading, marked by a distinctively Church tone, and the warm welcome accorded to it justifies the Proprietors in hoping that this purpose has been largely fulfilled. That it is 'capable of meeting a very real need' is the testimony given to it by the Archbishop of Canterbury, while many other members of the Episcopal bench have spoken of it in terms of warm praise. The welcome bestowed upon it by every section of the press, both religious and secular, has been most cordial, while among the general public THE TREASURY has made friends for itself in every part of the English-speaking world.

BEGIN THE NEW YEAR BY ORDERING YOUR BOOKSELLER TO SUPPLY IT REGULARLY.

Price SIXPENCE Monthly.

(By Post, 8½*d.*)

London: G. J. PALMER & SONS, Portugal Street, Strand, W.C.

Digitized by Google

Published by T. & T. CLARK, Edinburgh.

OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY. By the late Professor A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D. Edited by Professor J. A. PATERSON, D.D. Just Published, 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

Old Testament Prophecy was Dr. Davidson's favourite study, and in this Volume are contained the final results of forty years' strenuous thinking on this profoundly interesting subject.

THE NOTE-LINE IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES: Commonly called PÂSEQ or PESIQ. By J. KENNEDY, D.D., New College Library, Edinburgh. Post 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

METHODIST TIMES.—'Every real student of Hebrew should read this learned and very useful Volume.'

OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY. By Professor H. P. SMITH, D.D., Amherst College, U.S.A. (New Vol. 'International Theological Library.') Post 8vo. 12*s.*

From the Preface.—'The purpose of this Volume is to put into narrative form the results of recent Old Testament study. . . . As in secular history new treatises are poured from the Press year by year, so it must be with Biblical and ecclesiastical history. No science is ever complete, and Biblical science is no exception to the rule. The new, and in some respects startling, results of recent Biblical science call for a new historical reconstruction.'

THE BOOK OF NUMBERS. (New Vol. 'International Critical Commentary.' By Professor G. BUCHANAN GRAY, D.D., Oxford. With Map. Post 8vo. 12*s.*

CHURCH BELLS.—'Indispensable to every English student.'

NEW MAP OF PALESTINE. Topographical, Physical, and Biblical. Compiled from the latest Surveys and Researches, including the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, showing all identified Bible Sites, together with Modern Place Names. By J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S., and Professor G. A. SMITH, LL.D. With Complete Index. Prices: On cloth, and in cloth case with Index, 10*s.* 6*d.*; mounted on rollers and varnished, with Index, 15*s.*

APOSTOLIC ORDER AND UNITY. By ROBERT BRUCE, M.A., D.D., Vicar of St. Nicholas, and Hon. Canon, Durham. Crown. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.—'Masterly, thoughtful, convincing. We could wish that Dr. Bruce's lucid and scholarly treatise were in the hands of all our younger clergy.'

HAMMURABI'S CODE OF LAWS. B.C. 2285–2242. The Oldest Code of Laws in the world. Translated by C. H. W. JOHNS, M.A., Lecturer on Assyriology, Queens' College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

GUARDIAN.—'The most important "find" in the annals of Assyriology. For its bearings upon the Old Testament it is a particularly welcome document.'

THE RELIGIONS OF ANCIENT EGYPT AND BABYLONIA. The Ancient Egyptian and Babylonian Conception of the Divine. By Professor A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D., Oxford. Post 8vo. 8*s.* net.

SPECTATOR.—'Extremely interesting . . . . One can have no guide in these complex subjects more learned, or more considerate of his readers' difficulties.'

THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY. A Study in the History of Definition. By Professor W. ADAMS BROWN, D.D., New York. Post 8vo. 6*s.* net.

Dr. Hastings in the *Expository Times.*—'A remarkable book. . . . There is no book of recent issue in America that is more likely to appeal to the English student.'

THE HISTORICAL NEW TESTAMENT. Being the Literature of the New Testament, arranged in the order of its Literary Growth and according to the dates of the Documents. A New Translation. Edited, with Prolegomena, Historical Tables, Critical Notes, and an Appendix, by JAMES MOFFATT, D.D. Second Edition, 8vo. 16*s.*

Professor W. Sanday, D.D., in the *Expository Times.*—'It represents wide reading, which is yet well under control; strong and independent judgment, along with clear and able presentation.'

DR. HASTINGS' BIBLE DICTIONARY. Four Volumes. Price in cloth, 28*s.* each. Also in various half-morocco bindings. Prices on application. Full Prospectus, with Specimen Page, free on application.

This great work has taken its place, as the *Times* says, as 'the standard authority for Biblical students of the present generation.' In this country and America, in the Colonies, and even among people of other languages and of various creeds, it is in constant and increasing demand.

N.B.—An EXTRA Volume, containing a number of large and important articles, together with INDEXES to the whole work, and special Maps, is in the Press, and will be published early in 1904.

LEXICON SYRIACUM. By C. BROCKELMANN. With Preface by Professor NÖLDEKE. In handsome roxburghe binding. 30*s.* net.

Professor A. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D.—'Will be welcomed on all hands as fulfilling what has long been the most conspicuous *lacuna* in Semitic Bibliography.'

NEW DETAILED CATALOGUE FREE ON APPLICATION.

Edinburgh: T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street.
London: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT, & CO., LTD.

Digitized by Google

THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER.

XIX- -XX

The JANUARY Number commences a New Volume, and contains Contributions by

SIR ROBERT GIFFEN, K.C.B.—Ineffectual Preferences.
BENJAMIN KIDD.—The Larger Basis of Colonial Preference.
DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.—The 'Yellow Peril' Bogey.
The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH.—Educational Concordats.
D. C. LATHBURY (*Editor of 'The Pilot'*).—How Long will the Education Act Last?
Hon. Sir ALGERNON WEST, G.C.B. (*Chairman, Theatres Committee, L.C.C.*).—Some Notes as to London Theatres Past and Present.
PRINCESS KROPOTKIN.—Lending Libraries and Cheap Books.
ANTONIA ZIMMERN, B.Sc.—The New Discoveries in Electricity.
ERNEST RHYS.—A Knight of the Sangreal.
W. S. BARCLAY.—Life in Tierra del Fuego.
R. B. MARSTON (*Editor of 'The Fishing Gazette'*).—The Increase of Fish-destroying Birds and Seals.
SIR ROBERT ANDERSON, K.C.B., LL.D.—The Home Office Scheme for 'Professional Criminals.'
DR. ARABELLA KENEALY.—The Curse of Corsets.
HERBERT A. GILES (*Professor of Chinese at Cambridge*).—Jade.
OSWALD P. LAW and W. T. GILL.—A White Australia: What it Means.
SIR WEMYSS REID.—(1) Last Month.
EDWARD DICEY, C.B.—(2) Last Month.

London: SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & CO., LIMITED.

Digitized by Google

BLACKWOOD'S SELECTED LIST

Sermons to Britons Abroad.
3s. 6d. net.

A New Theory of Organic Evolution.
By JAMES W. BARCLAY.
3s. 6d. net.

Our Heritage: Individual, Social, and Religious.
By W. S. BRUCE, D.D.
3s.

BARBOUR, R. W.—THOUGHTS from the Writings of. **2s. 6d. net.**

Faiths of the World.
Second Series of St. Giles Lectures. Third Edition Revised.
5s.

The Law of Creeds in Scotland from 1560–1902.
By A. TAYLOR INNES.
10s. net.

Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI.
By G. W. SPROTT, D.D.
4s. net.

MAIR, Rev. Dr.—SPEAKING; or, Voice Formation to the Platform and Pulpit. Third Edition, enlarged and revised. **3s.**

The Development of Modern Philosophy.
With other Lectures & Essays.
By ROBERT ADAMSON, LL.D., late Professor of Logic in the University of Glasgow.
Edited by Prof. W. R. SORLEY, University of Cambridge.
In Two Vols. demy 8vo.
18s. net.

A History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West.
By R. W. CARLYLE, C.I.E., Balliol College, Oxford; and A. J. CARLYLE, M.A., Chaplain and Lecturer (late Fellow) of Univ. Col., Oxford.
In Three Vols.
Vol. 1—A History of Political Theory from the Roman Lawyers of the Second Century to the Political Writers of the Ninth.
By A. J. CARLYLE.
15s. net.

Digest of Laws and Decisions relating to the Church of Scotland.
By Rev. Dr. MAIR.
New Edition in the Press.

CONDER, Lieut.-Col. C. R.—THE FIRST BIBLE. 5s.

Agnosticism.
(Croall Lecture for 1887–88.)
By Professor FLINT.
18s. net.

Theism.
(Baird Lecture for 1876.)
By Professor FLINT.
7s. 6d.

Anti-Theistic Theories
(Baird Lecture, 1877.)
By Professor FLINT.
10s. 6d.

CHURCH CONGRESS. Now ready, Official Report of Second Church of Scotland Congress (held at Aberdeen). Price, **2s. 6d. net,** in covers; by post, **2s. 10d.,** and in cloth, lettered, **3s. 6d. net**; by post, **3s. 10d.**

Book of Common Order
Forms of Worship issued by the Church Service Society.
One Vol., **3s. 6d.** In Two Vols., **4s.**

Kyrie Eleison
(Lord have Mercy).
A Manual of Private Prayer.
By Rev. H. J. WEATHERSPOON.
From **6d. net** to **4s. 6d. net.**

Book of Daily Offices.
For Morning and Evening Prayer.
3s. 6d.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS, EDINBURGH and LONDON.

Digitized by Google

MR. SHERLOCK'S PUBLICATIONS.

The CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW says:—'Mr. Sherlock seems to us to provide the best available "inside" for a parish magazine in the "CHURCH MONTHLY."'

The TIMES says:—'The "CHURCH MONTHLY" is excellent.'

The Church Almanack, 1904.

The Church Helper Almanack, 1904.

The Church Monthly, 1904.

Old Jonathan, 1904.

TO THE CLERGY.

LOCALISED Copies of the above Almanacks can now be supplied. It is requested that orders may be sent in at once.

FREE GRANTS of the 'CHURCH MONTHLY' will be sent to any Clergyman willing to introduce the Magazine in his Parish.

N.B.—The 'CHURCH MONTHLY' is published in TWO sizes: Crown 4to. and Demy 8vo.

Specimens, Terms and Particulars as to FREE GRANTS will be sent post free to any address on application to Mr. FREDK. SHERLOCK, 30 and 31 New Bridge Street, Ludgate Circus, London, E.C.

Digitized by Google

BY APPOINTMENT TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

HEATON, BUTLER, & BAYNE,

Artists in Stained Glass, Mosaics, and Decorations.

Prize Medals:

LONDON, 1862; PARIS, 1867 and 1900; PHILADELPHIA.

A List of the Windows recently designed and executed by the Firm in various parts of the United Kingdom, in the Colonies, and Abroad will be sent on application. They include, among many others:

St. Andrew's, Nettingham.
St. Thomas', ,,
Stratford-on-Avon.
Innishannon (Ireland).
West End, Southampton.
St. Jean's, Cambridge.
St. Matthew's and St. John's, Bolton.
etc.

Manchester Cathedral.
Seapatrick, Co. Down, Ireland.
English Church, Grasse.
Caerleon, Monmouth.
Marple, Stockport.
Church of Heavenly Rest, New York.
etc.

St. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.
Trinity, Hartford, New York.
St. George's, Flushing.
Also Tallow Chandlers' Hall, London, and the Library Window of Manchester College, Oxford.
etc.

OFFICES and STUDIOS: 14 GARRICK STREET, LONDON, W.C.

FUNERALS.

Conducted in Proper Form and with Appropriate Fittings, APPROVED OF BY THE ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, and Recommended by the Clergy, by

THOMAS VIGERS,

Undertaker to the Guild of S. Alban.

MAKER OF THE COMBINED HAND AND WHEEL BIER.

PALLS AND MORTUARY CHAMBER FITTINGS LENT ON HIRE.

MONUMENTAL MASON.

3 Eccleston Street, Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.;
47 Crawford Street, Bryanston Square, W.

AUCTIONEER AND VALUER FOR PROBATE, &c.

J. WIPPELL & CO. Ltd.,

MANUFACTURERS OF ALL ARTICLES OF

Church Furniture

IN WOOD, METAL AND STONE.

EXETER: 55 and 56 High Street, and Cathedral Yard.

LONDON: 4 and 5 Duncannon Street, Charing Cross.

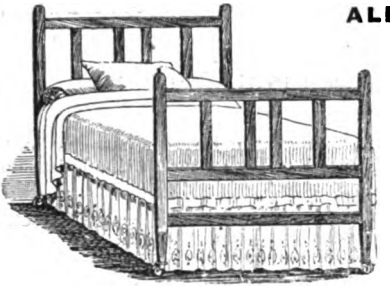
Digitized by Google

OETZMANN & CO.

HAMPSTEAD ROAD, W.

(Continuation North of Tottenham Court Road.)

60 & 61 GRAFTON ST., DUBLIN. 75 UNION ST., RYDE.



ALL CARPETS MADE UP FREE OF CHARGE.

Solid Birch, Polished Walnut, Fumed Oak, Mahogany, or Stained Green Colour, Wooden Bedstead, complete with superior double woven wire mattress, 3 ft. wide by 6 ft. 6 in. long .. .. **£1. 1s.**

Wool Mattress, Bolster, and Feather Pillow to fit above **10/6**

Pepper, Mustard, and Salt Cruet.

Beautiful 'Antique' pierced Design, highly polished hard White Metal, and fitted with Blue Glass Linings.

Mustard Pot.	Pepper.	Salt.
2½ in. high, 1/-.	2⅛ in. high, 6½d.	1⅞ in. high, 6½d.

Set of Three complete, 1/11.

Ditto, heavily Silver-Plated, 2/6, 1/3, 1/3, or Set complete, 4/9.

Silver-Plated Salt and Mustard Spoons for above, 6d. each.

BENHAM & FROUD,

LIM.

CHURCH FURNISHERS.

MANUFACTURERS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION OF

ECCLESIASTICAL METAL AND WOOD WORK.

SPECIALITY:

SOLID BRASS EAGLE LECTERNS

From £24 upwards.

Church Lighting by Electricity, Gas, Oil, &c.

MEMORIAL BRASSES.

TRADE MARK

THE BALL & CROSS OF ST. PAUL'S

MADE AT THESE WORKS 1821.

New Address:

'CHANDOS HOUSE,'

STORE STREET,

(Off Tottenham Court Road.) **LONDON, W.**

Digitized by Google

THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. 114 JANUARY 1904 VOL LVII.

PAGE

I. THE CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA 241

II. A PHILOSOPHY OF PHRASES 257

III. THE CRITICISM OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS—THEIR HISTORICAL VALUE 284

IV. MONOTHEISM IN SEMITIC RELIGIONS 300

V. A JESUIT PHILANTHROPIST. FRIEDRICH VON SPEE AND THE WÜRZBURG WITCHES 318

VI. CHARLOTTE MARY YONGE 337

VII. THE HOLY EUCHARIST: AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY. Part IX. . . . 360

VIII. THE EDUCATION ACTS AND AFTER 396

IX. THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON 414

SHORT NOTICES:

I. CHURCH HISTORY AND LITURGIES 435

The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar according to the Coptic Rite. *By* G. Horner.—*The Testament of Our Lord. Translated by* Cooper and Maclean.—*The Symbol of the Apostles.* *By* A. MacDonald.—*The Catechetical Oration of Gregory of Nyssa.* *By* J. H. Srawley.—*Life of Ulrich Zwingli.* *By* S. Simpson.—*A Compendium of the Canon Law.* *By* P. H. Lempriere.—*History of the American Church.* *By* Bishop Coleman.—*History of Church and State in Norway.* *By* T. B. Willson.—*The Book of Common Prayer.* *By* H. Pole.—*Rome and Reform.* *By* T. L. K. Oliphant.—*Description du Speculum Vitae B. Francisci.* *By* P. Sabatier.—*Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani in Assisi.*—*Christianity and Modern Civilization.* *By* W. S. Lilly.—*The Jesuits in Great Britain.* *By* W. Walsh.

II. OLD TESTAMENT 448

The World before Abraham. *By* H. G. Mitchell.—*Six Lectures on Genesis.* *By* J. Green.—*The Bible True from the Beginning.* *By* E. Gough.—*Semitic Origins.* *By* G. A. Barton.—*Hebrew Ideals.* *By* J. Strachan.—*Composition of the Hexateuch.* *By* J. Estlin Carpenter.—*Key to the Hebrew Psalter.* *By* G. A. Alcock.—*Notes on Hebrew Text of Kings.* *By* C. F. Burney.—*Numbers* [International Critical Commentary]. *By* G. Buchanan Gray.—*The Book of Psalms.* *By* A. F. Kirkpatrick.—*David the King.* *By* M. Dieulafoy.—*Song of Solomon.* *By* A. Harper.—*Religions of Bible Lands.* *By* D. S. Margoliouth.—*Biblical History of the Hebrews.* *By* F. J. Foakes-Jackson.

III. NEW TESTAMENT 461

Demonic Possession in the New Testament. *By* W. M. Alexander.—*Roman Law and History in the New Testament.* *By* S. Buss.—*The Wisdom of James the Just.* *By* Bishop Boyd Carpenter.—*Pauline Epistles.* *By* R. D. Shaw.

IV. PHILOLOGY 466

A Compendious Syriac Dictionary. *By* J. Payne Smith (Mrs. Margoliouth).

V. BIOGRAPHY 467

Studies in Contemporary Biography. *By* J. Bryce.—*Life and Letters of Sir George Grove.* *By* C. L. Graves.—*Life and Letters of Bishop Westcott.* *By* A. Westcott.—*Selected Letters of W. Bright, D.D.* *By* B. J. Kidd.—*Henry Cary Shuttleworth.* *By* G. W. E. Russell.—*My Life-Work.* *By* Samuel Smith, M.P.

VI. PHILOSOPHY 476

Texts to illustrate Lectures on Greek Philosophy after Aristotle. *By* J. Adam.

PERIODICALS 478

BOOKS RECEIVED 485

INDEX TO VOL. LVII. 492

Digitized by Google

MACMILLAN & CO.'S LIST.

NEW WORK BY THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS. A Revised Text and Translation, with Exposition and Notes. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Westminster. 8vo. 12*s.*

GUARDIAN.—'The present volume covers a good deal of ground which has not been covered, or not nearly so well covered, before.'

CHURCH TIMES.—'We have no hesitation in saying that this volume will at once take its place as the standard commentary upon the Epistle to the Ephesians. . . . We earnestly beg the clergy and intelligent laity to read and ponder over this most inspiring volume.'

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION ADDRESSES. By the late BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. Crown 8vo. 1*s.* net.

POLITICS & RELIGION IN ANCIENT ISRAEL. An Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament. By the Rev. S. C. TODD, M.A. Cantab., Canon of S. Saviour's Cathedral, Natal. Crown 8vo. [*Shortly.*

8vo. 6s. net.

ESSAYS ON THE WORK entitled 'SUPERNATURAL RELIGION.'

Reprinted from the *Contemporary Review.* By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., late Bishop of Durham.

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER'S CHARGE, 1903.

THE CHURCH'S FAILURES AND THE WORK OF CHRIST. 8vo. sewed, 1*s.* net.

THE SOURCES AND AUTHORITY OF DOGMATIC THEOLOGY. Being an Inaugural Lecture delivered by the Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, D.D. 8vo. sewed, 1*s.* net.

VOLUMES I.–IV. and VI. NOW READY.

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

Edited by the late Very Rev. W. R. W. STEPHENS, D.D., Dean of Winchester, and the Rev. WILLIAM HUNT, M.A. In Eight Volumes, crown 8vo. Each Volume is sold separately and contains its own Index.

Vol. I. **The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest (597–1066).** By the Rev. WILLIAM HUNT. Second Impression. With Two Maps. 7*s.* 6*d.*

„ II. **The English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Close of the Thirteenth Century.** By the late Very Rev. Dean STEPHENS, D.D. With a Map. 7*s.* 6*d.*

„ III. **The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.** By the Rev. Canon W. W. CAPES, M.A. 7*s.* 6*d.*

„ IV. **The English Church in the Sixteenth Century, from the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Death of Mary.** BY JAMES GAIRDNER, C.B., Hon. LL.D. Edin. With a Map. 7*s.* 6*d.*

„ V. **The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.** By the Rev. W. H. FRERE. [*In the press.*

„ VI. **The English Church from the Accession of Charles I. to the Death of Anne (1625–1714).** By the Rev. W. H. HUTTON, B.D. With a Map. 7*s.* 6*d.*

*** Volumes VII. and VIII. [*In preparation.*

THE SOUL: A STUDY AND AN ARGUMENT. By DAVID SYME. Crown 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

DAILY CHRONICLE.—'It displays a bold originality. . . . Mr. Syme works out a singularly bold and fascinating theory. . . . A writer who is certainly eminently suggestive.'

THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES.

Published Quarterly.

Price 3*s.* 6*d.* net. Annual Subscription, post free, 12*s.* net.

MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED, London.

Digitized by Google

Scottish Provident Institution

INSTITUTED 1837. INCORPORATED 1848.

· MUTUAL · LIFE · ASSURANCE · WITH ·

· MODERATE · PREMIUMS ·

1837 1902

INCOME
PREMIUMS AND INTEREST
TWENTY SEVEN
MILLIONS STERLING

PAYMENTS
CLAIMS AND OTHER OUTGOINGS
FIFTEEN
MILLIONS STERLING

THE FUNDS
EXCEED
TWELVE
MILLIONS STERLING

THE PREMIUMS ARE SO MODERATE THAT £1200 OR THEREBY MAY USUALLY BE SECURED FROM THE FIRST FOR THE YEARLY PAYMENT WHICH WOULD GENERALLY ASSURE ELSEWHERE (WITH PROFITS) £1,000 ONLY. THE DIFFERENCE OF £200 IS EQUIVALENT TO AN IMMEDIATE AND CERTAIN BONUS.

THE WHOLE SURPLUS GOES TO THE POLICY-HOLDERS ON A SYSTEM AT ONCE SAFE AND EQUITABLE. THE IMMEDIATE ASSURANCE FOR THE PREMIUM PAYABLE BEING EXCEPTIONALLY LARGE. THE SURPLUS IS RESERVED EXCLUSIVELY FOR THE POLICIES OF THOSE MEMBERS WHO PROVE TO BE GOOD LIVES.

THE SURPLUS AT LAST VALUATION 1902 WAS £1,581,000. MORE THAN 60 PER CENT OF THE MEMBERS WHO DIED DURING LAST SEPTENNIUM WERE ENTITLED TO BONUSES WHICH, NOTWITHSTANDING THAT THE PREMIUMS DID NOT AS A RULE EXCEED THE NON-PROFIT RATES OF OTHER OFFICES, ON THE AVERAGE WERE EQUAL TO ADDITIONS OF OVER 50 PER CENT TO THE POLICIES PARTICIPATING.

THE DISTINCTIVE SYSTEM OF THE INSTITUTION IS SPECIALLY SUITABLE FOR FAMILY SETTLEMENT OR ESTATE DUTY POLICIES AND PARTNERSHIP OR OTHER BUSINESS ARRANGEMENTS AND FOR ALL CASES WHERE IT IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE THAT THE PREMIUM BE MODERATE AND RIGHT TO PARTICIPATION IN THE WHOLE SURPLUS BE SECURED.

EDINBURGH · 6 ST ANDREW SQ · JAMES GRAHAM WATSON MANAGER

JANUARY 1903

Digitized by Google

SCOTTISH PROVIDENT INSTITUTION

ANNUAL PREMIUMS FOR ASSURANCE OF £100 AT DEATH

with right to participate in the Surplus

Age next Birthday.	ANNUAL PREMIUM		
	During Life.	During 25 Years.	During 20 Years.
20	£1 13 8	£2 6 3	£2 12 2
22	1 15 0	2 7 6	2 13 8
24	1 16 7	2 8 11	2 15 3
26	1 18 4	2 10 5	2 17 0
28	2 0 3	2 12 1	2 18 10
*30	*2 2 4	2 13 11	3 0 10
32	2 4 7	2 15 11	3 3 0
34	2 7 2	2 18 1	3 5 5
36	2 10 0	3 0 5	3 7 11
38	2 13 1	3 3 0	3 10 8
†40	2 16 6	†3 5 11	3 13 7
42	3 0 9	3 9 7	3 17 4
44	3 5 7	3 13 8	4 1 5
46	3 10 10	3 18 2	4 5 10
48	3 16 8	4 3 2	4 10 7
50	4 3 2	4 8 8	4 15 11

[The usual *non-participating* Rates of other Offices differ little from these Premiums.]

ILLUSTRATION:

* A person aged 30 may secure £1000 at death by a yearly payment during life of £21:3:4;

Or he may secure £1000 by 25 yearly payments of £26:19:2, being thus free of payments before age 55.

† At age 40 the annual premium ceasing before age 65 is, for £1000, £32:19:2—about the same many Offices require during the whole of life.

To Professional Men and Others whose income is dependent on continuance of health, the limited payment system is specially recommended.

The following leaflets may be had on application:—

The Selection of a Policy—Suggestions on the most economical methods of securing the advantages of Life Assurance.

Endowment combined with Limited Payment Assurance, forming an annuity for advanced age and a provision at death.

A Remunerative Investment—Combining Assurance at death by Single Payment with an Annuity during life.

An Attractive Provision for the Future of the Young.

A Provision for Teachers, etc. etc.

BRANCH OFFICES:

GLASGOW, 29 ST. VINCENT PL. BRISTOL, 31 CLARE ST. MANCHESTER, 10 ALBERT SQ.
ABERDEEN, 166 UNION ST. CARDIFF, 19 HIGH ST. NEWCASTLE, 1 QUEEN ST.
DUNDEE, 49 MEADOWSIDE. LEEDS, 35 PARK ROW. NOTTINGHAM, 32 KING ST.
BIRMINGHAM, 95 COLMORE ROW. LIVERPOOL, 25 CASTLE ST. BELFAST, 1 DONEGALL SQ., W.

DUBLIN: 36 COLLEGE GREEN

LONDON OFFICE: 17 KING WILLIAM STREET, E.C.

WEST END OFFICE: 17 PALL MALL, S.W.

HEAD OFFICE: No. 6 ST. ANDREW SQUARE, EDINBURGH

Digitized by Google

Printed by R. & R. Clark, Limited, Edinburgh

Policy Accounts with the Policyholders

Showing the **Working of the Society's "Compound Bonus" System,*** and its practical effect per £1000 assured *under participating policies of all durations*, from the oldest to the most recently issued, as at 31st December 1901, when the last Division of Profits was declared.

Bonuses declared.	£1000 Assured and Bonus Additions thereto under Policies issued in the following years										
	1826	1838	1845	1852	1859	1866	1873	1880	1887	1894	1901
Original Sum Assured .	£1000	£1000	£1000	£1000	£1000	£1000	£1000	£1000	£1000	£1000	£1000
Bonus declared 1831 .	90	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. 1838 .	152	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. 1845 .	174	143	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. 1852 .	174	143	125	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. 1859 .	181	148	130	116	16	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. 1866 .	188	152	128	108	90	13	...	...	...	...	...
Do. 1873 .	240	196	172	153	136	124	18	...	...	...	...
Do. 1880 .	262	215	188	166	148	135	121	17	...	...	...
Do. 1887 .	293	240	210	186	165	152	135	121	17	...	...
Do. 1894 .	328	268	235	208	185	169	152	135	121	17	...
Do. 1901 .	367	300	263	232	207	189	169	152	135	121	17
Total Sum payable .	**£3449**	**£2825**	**£2471**	**£2187**	**£1947**	**£1782**	**£1595**	**£1425**	**£1273**	**£1138**	**£1017**

* *Under the "Compound Bonus" System Bonuses accumulate on Original Sums Assured, and on Bonuses in force as well, just as, in compound interest, interest accumulates on interest as well as principal: the effect of which is that the Bonuses become greatly larger with the increasing age of the policy than they could under the ordinary system, thus: the Compound Bonus of £1 : 14s. per cent, declared at 31st December 1901, computed on Original Sums alone, gradually increased from that rate on the youngest policy to £5 : 4 : 9d. per cent on the oldest, as shown in full detail in the Society's prospectus. In like manner*

A Compound Intermediate Bonus accrues with payment of each annual premium due between 31st December 1901 and 1908, at the rate of £1 : 12s. per cent on the above total sums, which will yield from £1 : 12s. to £5 : 10 : 5d. per cent per annum on the Original Sums Assured.

Nothing can more clearly substantiate the Society's claim to be a "Great Bonus Yielding Office" than the above Policy Accounts, while their fulness and simplicity render misunderstanding impossible.

R. & R. Clark, Ltd., Printers, Edinburgh.

LONDON, 28 CORNHILL, E.C., AND 5 WATERLOO PLACE, S.W.

Digitized by Google

ESTABLISHED 1815

THE
Scottish Widows' Fund
Life Assurance Society

See Policy Accounts with the Policyholders within relating to Policies of all durations

FUNDS . . . £16,500,000
REVENUE . . £1,700,000

The Society being a Mutual one, the Whole Funds, Revenue, and Profits belong to the Policyholders

HEAD OFFICE - 9 ST. ANDREW SQUARE, EDINBURGH

Digitized by Google

The Church Quarterly Review.

No. 114. JANUARY 1904. Vol. LVII.

CONTENTS:

		PAGE
I.	THE CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA	241
II.	A PHILOSOPHY OF PHRASES	257
III.	THE CRITICISM OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS—THEIR HISTORICAL VALUE	284
IV.	MONOTHEISM IN SEMITIC RELIGIONS	300
V.	A JESUIT PHILANTHROPIST. FRIEDRICH VON SPEE AND THE WÜRZBURG WITCHES	318
VI.	CHARLOTTE MARY YONGE	337
VII.	THE HOLY EUCHARIST: AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY. Part IX.	360
VIII.	THE EDUCATION ACTS AND AFTER	396
IX.	THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON	414
	SHORT NOTICES	435

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODE & CO. LTD.
5 NEW-STREET SQUARE, E.C.

Digitized by Google

JONES & WILLIS LTD.

BIRMINGHAM: 79 Edmund Street.
LONDON: 43 Great Russell Street
(Opposite the British Museum)
LIVERPOOL: Concert St., Bold St.

MANUFACTURERS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION OF

CHURCH FURNITURE

IN

METAL, WOOD, STONE, AND TEXTILE FABRICS

STAINED GLASS ARTISTS AND DECORATORS.

Designs, Patterns, and Estimates on application. Catalogues free to the Clergy.

IF YOU WANT— APPLY TO—

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

EYRE & SPOTTISWOODE,
East Harding Street,
LONDON, E.C.

Deposit a/c's opened.
Standing Orders received.
Lists on Application.
Any Information given.

HART, SON, PEARD, & Co., Ld.,

Ecclesiastical Art Metal Workers.

ALTAR CROSSES, CANDLESTICKS, VASES,
CHALICES, LECTERNS, MEMORIAL BRASSES,
CHANCEL AND PARCLOSE SCREENS.

ELECTRIC, GAS, and OIL LIGHT FITTINGS.

JURORS' AWARD:—'For great Beauty of Design and Perfection of Workmanship.'

138–140 CHARING CROSS ROAD, W.C., LONDON

(Removed from Drury Lane),

AND GROSVENOR WORKS, BIRMINGHAM.

CATALOGUES AND ESTIMATES SUPPLIED.

Digitized by Google

SOCIETY FOR
PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORICAL RECORDS AND LEGENDS OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA. By T. G. PINCHES, LL.D., M.R.A.S. SECOND EDITION, revised, with Appendices and Notes. With several Illustrations. Large post 8vo. cloth boards, *7s. 6d.*

[*Applies to the criticisms of the Old Testament the most recent discoveries in the field of archæology. This new Edition contains the Laws of Hammurabi and other new matter, amounting in all to nearly* 100 *pages.*]

THE SUPERNATURAL IN NATURE. A Verification by free use of Science. By J. W. REYNOLDS, M.A. SECOND EDITION. Demy 8vo. cloth boards, 6s.

THE MYSTERY OF MIRACLES. A Scientific and Philosophical Investigation. By J. W. REYNOLDS, M.A. THIRD EDITION. Crown 8vo. cloth boards, 4s.

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP, ITS ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION. By the Monsignore DUCHESNE. Translated by M. L. MCCLURE from the Third Edition of 'Les Origines du Culte Chrétien.' Demy 8vo. cloth boards, 10s.

ST. ALDHELM: his Life and Times. Lectures delivered in the Cathedral Church of Bristol, Lent, 1902, by the Right Rev. G. F. BROWNE, D.D., D.C.L., F.S.A., Bishop of Bristol. With several Illustrations. Small post 8vo. cloth boards, 5s.

'CHRISTIAN SCIENCE' CONTRASTED WITH CHRISTIAN FAITH AND WITH ITSELF. By WILLIAM LEFROY, D.D., Dean of Norwich. Crown 8vo. cloth boards, 2s. 6d.

OUR LORD'S VIRGIN BIRTH AND THE CRITICISM OF TO-DAY. By the Rev. R. J. KNOWLING, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in King's College, and Boyle Lecturer. Crown 8vo. cloth boards, 1s. 6d.

EVOLUTION AND THE HOLY SCRIPTURES: being Addresses delivered by the Ven. JAMES M. WILSON, D.D., Archdeacon of Manchester. Medium 8vo. paper cover, 6d.

THE BIBLE AND MODERN INVESTIGATION. Three Lectures delivered to Clergy at Norwich at the request of the Bishop, with an Address on 'The Authority of Holy Scripture.' By the Very Rev. HENRY WACE, D.D. Crown 8vo. cloth boards, 1s. 6d.

THE BABYLONIAN EXCAVATIONS AND EARLY BIBLE HISTORY. By Professor KITTEL, of Leipsig. Translated from the German by EDMUND MCCLURE, M.A. Edited, with a Preface, by the Rev. HENRY WACE, D.D. Small post 8vo. paper cover, 6d.

ON AGNOSTICISM. Replies to the late Professor Huxley, F.R.S. By the Rev. HENRY WACE, D.D. Medium 8vo. paper cover, 6d.

EARLY BRITAIN:

ROMAN ROADS IN BRITAIN. By THOMAS CODRINGTON, M.Inst.C.E., F.G.S. Fcp. 8vo. With several Maps. Cloth boards, 5s.

THE TIMES says: 'Mr. Codrington's book has much to recommend it to the antiquary and the topographer. To come suddenly upon a book literally packed with suggestions for the well-being of the walker is, in this year of grace and automobility, no small joy.'

ROMAN BRITAIN. By EDWARD CONYBEARE. Fcp. 8vo. cloth boards, 3s. 6d.

FAVOURITE ENGLISH POETS AND CLASSICS:

KINGSLEY'S WESTWARD HO! TENNYSON'S POEMS, including In Memoriam, Maud, The Princess, Idylls of the King, &c. Crown 8vo. cloth boards, each 2s. 6d.

LONDON: Northumberland Avenue, W.C.; 43 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
BRIGHTON: 129 North Street.

Clergy Mutual Assurance Society.

FOUNDED 1829.

Offices:—2 & 3 THE SANCTUARY, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Patrons { THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

President—THE BISHOP OF LONDON. **Vice-President**—THE LORD HARRIS.

Trustees { THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
THE DEAN OF YORK.
SIR PAGET BOWMAN, Bart.
GEORGE T. BIDDULPH, Esq.

Honorary Council.

The Rev. Canon George Body, D.D.
Francis H. Champneys, Esq., M.D.
The Lord Clinton.
The Bishop of Crediton.
The Earl of Desart.
The Hon. Edward W. Douglas.
The Rev. Canon Moore Edr.
The Lord Estcourt.
The Bishop of Exeter.
The Bishop of Guildford.
Bishop W. T. Harrison.
The Bishop of Lichfield.
The Rev. Canon Lonsdale.
The Bishop of Oxford.
The Dean of Peterborough.
The Bishop of St. David's.
The Archdeacon of Surrey.
The Hon. Edward P. Thesiger, C.B.
The Bishop of Wakefield.

Directors.

Chairman—The Dean of Canterbury. | *Deputy-Chairman*—Sir Paget Bowman, Bart.

The Dean of the Arches.
George T. Biddulph, Esq.
The Very Rev. Dean Blakiston.
The Rev. The Lord Braybrooke.
The Rev. Canon Burn-Murdoch.
Alfred J. Butler, Esq., D.Litt.
The Rev. C. L. Lovett Cameron.
J. E. Compton-Bracebridge, Esq.
The Archdeacon of Durham.
The Rev. Prebendary Harvey.
The Rev. Canon Jelf.
The Rev. J. Y. Stratton.
John Charles Thynne, Esq.
The Dean of York.

Physician—J. Kingston Fowler, Esq., M.A., M.D.

Secretary—W. N. Neale, Esq. | **Assistant Actuary**—F. T. M. Byers, Esq., F.I.A.

Actuary and Manager—Frank B. Wyatt, Esq., F.I.A.

The Society offers the BENEFITS of MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE on highly favourable terms to

THE CLERGY AND THEIR RELATIVES.

THE WHOLE OF THE PROFITS BELONG TO THE MEMBERS.

Accumulated Fund - £4,147,020 | Annual Income - £400,381

Bonuses Distributed, £3,723,720.

The **ANNUAL PREMIUMS** are **LOWER THAN THOSE USUALLY CHARGED.**

Under the '**REDUCED PREMIUM**' system—applicable to Whole-Life and Endowment Assurances—only **FOUR-FIFTHS** of the ordinary Annual Premium is payable, the other one-fifth remaining a debt to be repaid out of Bonus.

Notwithstanding the **LOWNESS** of the Premiums charged, the **BONUSES** are on an **EXCEEDINGLY HIGH SCALE.** For the 20 years ending May 1901, the Bonuses distributed were equal to an average Cash Return of no less than **45** per cent. of the Premiums paid.

The **CONDITIONS OF ASSURANCE** are most favourable, and **SURRENDER VALUES, PAID-UP POLICIES,** and **LOANS ON DEPOSIT OF POLICIES** are all on an exceedingly liberal scale.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

No Agents employed and no Commission paid for the introduction of business, whereby about £10,000 a year is saved to the Members.

Assurances can be readily effected by direct communication with the Office.

Specimens of Rates Charged:—

Age next Birthday.	WITH FULL PROFITS. Assurance of £100 payable at Death.	WITH FULL PROFITS. Endowment Assurance of £100 payable at Age 60 or earlier Death.	UNDER 'REDUCED PREMIUM' PLAN. Assurance of £100 payable at Death.	UNDER 'REDUCED PREMIUM' PLAN. Endowment Assurance of £100 payable at Age 60 or earlier Death.	Age next Birthday.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
20	1 15 0	2 6 3	1 8 0	1 17 0	30
25	2 0 2	2 14 4	1 12 2	2 3 6	35
30	2 6 4	3 5 1	1 17 1	2 12 1	30
35	2 13 0	4 0 2	2 2 5	3 4 2	35
40	3 2 2	5 2 6	2 9 9	4 2 0	40
45	3 12 4	6 19 3	2 17 11	5 11 5	45
50	4 7 4	..	3 9 11	..	50

NOTE.—The 'Reduced' Annual Premium is four-fifths of the Ordinary Annual Premium, the other one-fifth remaining a debt to be repaid out of Bonus.

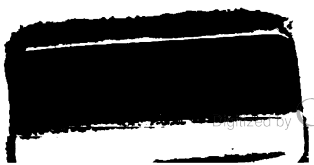
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
3 9015 06927 0489



Digitized by Google